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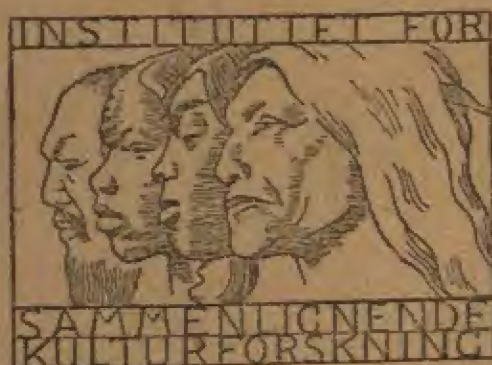
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# INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

BY  
GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. II  
IRANIAN PAMIR LANGUAGES  
(YIDGHA-MUNJI, SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI AND WAKHI)



OSLO 1938

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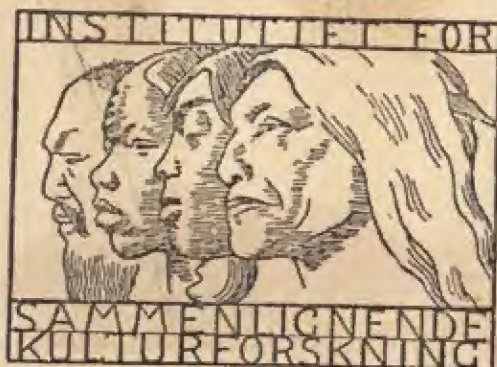
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## PREFACE

**T**he following description of some Iranian languages of the Pamir and Hindukush regions is based mainly upon the material collected by the author in Chitral in 1929 and specified in the Introductions to the various sections of this book. To this has been added a few Shughni sentences taken down in Kabul in 1924. With the permission of the Institute and of the Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund the late Dr. Sköld's Ishkashmi and Wakhi material has also been incorporated.<sup>1</sup> And, finally, Colonel Lorimer has kindly allowed me to make use of his manuscript Wakhi Vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Material from other, printed, sources has been utilized as far as it helps to throw light on the historical development and etymology of the languages in question.

It has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of the Pamir dialects. And, as none of my informants were good story-tellers, the texts are restricted in quantity and not very satisfactory in quality. But it is hoped that this publication will add something to our knowledge of some highly interesting, but rapidly decaying relics of Iranian, that most important but imperfectly known branch of Indo-European. I have preferred the term 'languages' to 'dialects'

<sup>1</sup> V. H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XXI, p. VI, sq.—The editor of this work, Professor H. Smith, has included Wakhi in the *Vergleichende Wortliste* given pp. 132 sqq., to which is referred for a systematic arrangement of part of Sköld's Wakhi material.

<sup>2</sup> V. below, p. 433.

because, in spite of their numerical and cultural insignificance, these vernaculars can no more be reduced to a common standard than can for instance modern English, German and Norwegian.

The Vocabularies of the Pamir languages are of a very composite nature. The most interesting part consists of genuine Iranian words inherited within each separate language. They are of special importance because of our limited knowledge of the ancient Ir. vocabulary. Fortunately the isolated Iranian vernaculars of the Pamirs, and notably Wakhi, have preserved a number of ancient I.E. words, many of which are not known elsewhere in Iranian or Indo-Aryan. On principle I feel no diffidence in comparing words from a single Pamir tongue with such found in other I.E. languages. But opinions may differ as to how far one ought to go in including uncertain etymologies. In a work of this kind I have thought it useful to suggest even doubtful derivations for the critical examination of specialists.

Also from the purely Ir. point of view the vocabularies of the Pamir dialects are of great interest. I feel convinced that the only possible method of localizing the language of the Avesta is a minute study of its vocabulary in the light of the modern dialects, and its character appears to me to be preponderantly Eastern Ir. We may also mention the curious fact that while in Yidgha-Munji the word for 'sun' (*mīra*) goes back to *Miθra*, the neighbouring Sanglechi has preserved the name of Ahura-Mazdā in the same sense.

The loan-words of the Pamir languages are of various kinds. Some, not always easily recognizable, have come in from one of the neighbouring Ir. dialects. A few are borrowed from Turkish or I.A. But a very large and rapidly increasing number of words are of Persian origin. It would be of great interest to investigate the different strata of such loans and the various roads of invasion.

An interesting element are such Pamir-Hindukush words of unknown origin which appear to be common to several of the Ir. and I.A. languages of this region, in some cases also to Burushaski. And, finally, we find within each dialect, and especially in Wakhi, a number of apparently isolated words.



A firm basis for our understanding of the phonetical and morphological development of the Pamir languages has been laid by Geiger, and Munji and Ishkashmi-Zebaki have been dealt with separately by Gauthiot, Grierson and Zarubin. I am indebted to these my predecessors at every step in my investigation, but I have not thought it necessary or practical to quote them constantly. With the help of the new material at my disposal I have tried to carry out an historical explanation as far as possible, being well aware that much remains uncertain and hypothetical.

If the phonological and systemological view point has not been followed up as much as might be desirable, this is to a great extent due to the character of the material, which is often incongruous and insufficient for such purposes.<sup>1</sup> Especially the vocalic systems of the languages in question are not easily definable, and the swamping with loan-words makes it difficult to decide exactly what phonemes belong to the genuine systems of the dialects. Still greater are the obstacles which meet us if we try to reconstruct the phonetical system of a Pamir language at some earlier stage, in order to be able to consider the sound-changes which have taken place from a phonological point of view. Yet an attempt may be made to offer a few remarks of a more general nature.

If we look at the changes through which the Yidgha-Munji consonant system has developed from Old Iranian, we find that the most striking feature is the dissolution—as in most modern Ir. languages—of the harmony in the system of fricatives. Among the unvoiced fricatives *x* and *f* are retained, but their position in the system has been changed through the introduction of epenthetic vowels in the groups *fr*, etc., through the metathesis of *fr*, etc., and through the change of *ft* > *vd*, etc. How long *ð* has been retained is impossible to tell. We can only prove that the change into *ð* is later than the dropping of unstressed *i*,<sup>2</sup> and point to the

<sup>1</sup> In the section-headings 'Historical Phonology' the word phonology has not been used in the modern, "phonological" sense.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 172, 9.



fact that common Yd.—Mj. still retained  $\theta$ ,<sup>1</sup> just as Shgh. does to the present day. But while  $*\thetarai$ ,  $*\acute{xrai}$  '3' and  $*\acute{\epsilon}\theta\phi\ddot{u}r$ ,  $*\acute{\epsilon}\acute{x}\phi\ddot{u}r$  '4' have remained long,  $-\theta r-$  was reduced to  $-r-$  at an early date, e.g. in  $\bar{p}\ddot{u}r$  'son'.

Phonetically  $\delta$  may have become  $l$  very early,<sup>2</sup> but phonologically speaking the change was not completed till it coalesced with  $l < r\delta$ , and with  $l$  in loan-words, thus forming a new phoneme, and breaking up the series  $v$  ( $\beta$ ),  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ .

Through the change of  $nd > d$ ,  $ft > vd$ , etc., and through the adoption of loan-words the voiced occlusives have again become part of the system, and new occlusives have been added by the introduction of  $g$  and the development of palatal  $k'$  and  $g'$ . A new opposition has been created through the differentiation of  $\acute{\epsilon}$  and  $e$ , but a parallel pair  $j : \acute{j}$  has not come into existence.

The system of sibilants was profoundly altered through the early change, common to many E.Ir. languages, of  $\acute{j} > \acute{s}$ , of  $-\acute{s} > *-\acute{s}$  (from which Yd.—Mj.  $-y-$ , etc.), and of  $s(t)r > \acute{s}$ , opposed to  $\acute{s}$ .

It is not probable that the introduction of cerebrals in Yd.—Mj. should be due merely to the influence of Indo-Aryan loanwords, of which few, if any, appear to be of great antiquity. In most East Ir. languages ancient  $rt$  is represented by a sound which probably has passed through a common stage  $\acute{d}$ . Thus: Shgh.  $m\ddot{u}d$ , Rosh.  $m\ddot{u}g$ , Yazgh.  $m\ddot{a}g$ , Yd., Par.  $m\ddot{u}r$ , Sgl.  $m\ddot{a}l$ , Psht.  $m\ddot{a}r$ , Orm.  $m\ddot{u}ll$ , Saka  $m\ddot{u}ḍa$ , but Oss.  $m\ddot{a}rd$ , Wkh.  $m\ddot{a}rt$ , Yaghn.  $m\ddot{u}rta < *m\ddot{u}rta$ .

The intermediary stage between  $rt$  and  $\acute{d}$  may either have been  $*rd$  or  $*t$ . The latter alternative seems the more probable one on account of the treatment of secondary  $*rt < *rit$  in Shgh., Rosh.  $\acute{z}ird$ , Yazgh.  $\acute{z}\ddot{a}rd$ , Yd.  $\acute{z}it$ , Par.  $\acute{z}it\ddot{o}$  'yellow' (and  $m\ddot{a}t$  'killed'). A development of  $rt > rd > \acute{d}$ , and of  $rit > rt > rd$  in Shgh. would imply that  $rt$  had twice changed into  $rd$ , and the tentative chronology of Yd.—Mj. tabulated on p. 109, 7)<sup>3</sup> presupposes a sonorization of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sgl.—Ishk. § 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Yd.—Mj. § 127.

<sup>3</sup>  $*rt > *rd > *d$ .

*t* after *r* earlier than that of intervocalic occlusives. It is therefore, I think, more plausible to assume an early assimilation of *rt* > *t* in this group of E.Ir. dialects, and it is perhaps not excluded that Av. "š" represents an attempt to denote a cerebral sound of this type.<sup>1</sup>

In pre-Yd.—Mj. other cerebrals appeared through the assimilation of *rn*, and *rzn* > *ṛ*, of *rn* + *t* > *ṛt* (*ṛt*), and the absorption of the variety of *t* pronounced after an *ṣ* into the cerebral series. The subsequent fate of these early Yd.—Mj. cerebrals may be tabulated as follows:

* <i>ārtaka</i> -flour	> * <i>yāṭay</i>	> * <i>yāḍay</i>	> { Y <i>yārē</i> M <i>yōrēy</i>
* <i>arnati</i> grinds	> * <i>yēṇt</i>		{ Y <i>yeikʷ</i> (= * <i>yeig'</i> ) M <i>yēn'g'</i>
* <i>arn</i> + <i>ta</i> -ground	> * <i>yanṭ</i>		> Y <i>yāgʷ</i>
* <i>arnami</i> I grind	> * <i>yāṇam</i>		{ Y <i>yāṇ/n-</i> M <i>yāṇʷ</i> . (= * <i>yān'g'</i> )
* <i>barzna</i> -long	> * <i>βan</i>		{ Y <i>vān</i> M <i>vān'g'</i>
* <i>am(a)rnā</i> apple	> * <i>amuṇā</i>		{ Y <i>āmuṇo</i> M <i>amīngʷo</i> (= * <i>amin'g'o</i> )
* <i>parna</i> -leaf	> * <i>pāṇ</i> > * <i>pūṇ</i>		{ Y <i>pūṇ-ā</i> M <i>pūṇʷ</i> (= * <i>pūn'g'</i> )
* <i>aštā</i> eight	> * <i>aštā</i>		{ Y <i>oščo</i> M <i>oškʷo</i>
	* <i>ṭangā</i> pear (lw.)	> Y <i>kyogō</i> , <i>čogō</i>	
	* <i>maṇḍ-</i> to rub (lw.)	> * <i>maḍ-</i> > Y <i>magʷ</i> .	

Also Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is characterized by the late loss of *ṛ* (> S *t*, I *s*), but early assimilation of *ṛr*, by the dissolution of the system of fricatives, the development of *ṣ* from *s(t)r*, the opposition between *č* and *c*, the introduction of cerebrals and *q*, and by the

<sup>1</sup> At any rate no E.Ir. dialect lends any support to Junker's assumption of a "unvoiced, fricative *r*" as the intermediate stage.



development of *l* (from *rt/d* and *-š-*), which appears at present to be about to coalesce with *l*. Characteristic of Sgl. is the phonological equivalence of *-d-* and *-δ-*, while in Ishk. the two sounds have coalesced also phonetically.

From Wkh. may be mentioned the differentiation of *γ* and *ȳ*, and of *x* and *š*. The unvoiced fricatives, which had to a great extent disappeared,<sup>1</sup> have been reintroduced in loanwords and in secondary formations. Also cerebrals have been adopted into the system.

It is not possible to reconstruct a common phonological system for all Pamir languages. Only a few sound-changes are common to all of them, and these are also shared, e.g., by Psht. Examples are *sr* > *š* (but note the preservation of *str* in Wkh.), *šm* > *šm*, etc., *ft* > *vd*, etc., *nt* > *nd*, and probably *b-*, *d-*, *g-* > *β-*, *δ-*, *γ-*.<sup>2</sup> Note also the tendency to avoid a vocalic initial through the prothesis of *y-* and *w-*. With the exception of Wkh. they have sonorized *sn* > *zn*, and intervocalic *-š-* > *\*ž-*, and to a varying degree intervocalic surd stops. Regarding the development of *rt* see above. The treatment of *θr* and of *št* varies from language to language.

There is a common tendency towards a relaxation in the articulation of *i* and *u*; *ai* and *au* were monophthongized, as everywhere in Middle and Modern Iranian, and it is possible that the development of *ā* > *ū* is common to the southern group of Pamir languages (Yd.—Mj., Sgl.—Ishk., and Wkh.).<sup>3</sup>

Ancient "a" appears in various forms in the modern dialects. It is impossible to decide at which stage the variations of this sound became separate phonemes.

Common Sgl.—Ishk. appears to have known four sounds developed from *a*, viz.<sup>4</sup>: 1) *o*, e.g., in Sgl. *dos*, Ishk. *das* 'ten'; 2) *a*, e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wkh. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Sgl.—Ishk. *d-* may be due to a secondary influence of Prs.

<sup>3</sup> But various instances of *a*-umlaut show that final *ā* had not become labialized before it was dropped in Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk., and also in Parachi. Cf. p. 324; IIFL. I, p. 23, and NTS. I, p. 84. Probably it was shortened to *-a* at an early date.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. §§ 78 sqq.



in Sgl.—Ishk. *kas-* 'to see'; 3) *ō*, e.g., in Sgl. *vōst*, Ishk. *vūst* 'bound'; 4) *ā*, e.g., in Sgl. *vānd-*, Ishk. *vōnd-* 'to bind'. In the modern dialects the quantity is perhaps not relevant, but it certainly was so in common Sgl.—Ishk. We therefore find early Prs. lws with *ō* in Class 3 (e.g. *kōr*: *kūr* 'blind'); and such with Prs. *ā* in Class 4 (e.g. *nāf*: *nōf* 'navel').

Type 1 frequently goes back to words with *a* in originally open syllable. Thus, Sgl. *dos* 'ten', *oγod* 'came', *vōr* 'door', *xōf* 'foam', *zōd* 'killed', *mođ(ak)* 'here', *novōk* 'rain'.

Type 2 may represent *a* in open syllable before an *ā* in the following syllable. Thus *kasen* 'I see' < \**kasāmi*; *xwārən* 'I eat' < \**hwarāmi*; <sup>1</sup> *fras-* 'to ask'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *tar* 'from' < \**tarā*, etc.

Type 3 contains chiefly words with *a* in ancient closed syllable: Sgl. *vōst* 'bound'; *γōndəm* 'wheat'; *vōš* 'rope' (< \**bastra-*); *kot* 'saw' (< \**kašta-*); *ōvōd* 'seven'; *f'rōt* 'asked', etc.

Type 4 consists of words with *a* in a closed syllable before *ā* or *i*, both of which may have prevented labialization. Examples are: Sgl. *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh', and other verbal stems; *cām* 'eye', *pām* 'wool', *dānd* 'tooth', *mār* 'husband', from nominatives in *-ā* of ancient stems in *-n*; <sup>2</sup> *wār* 'trousers'; *zāl* 'yellow' < \**zarila-*; *jān* 'woman' < \**janīci*; *āšik* 'tear' < \**asrika-* < \**asrūka-*; *mārcik* 'ant' < *marwiči* + *ik*.

But there are numerous exceptions, which do not fit in with this scheme.

Thus *wāt*: *wał* 'fell' belongs to Type 2 and not, as expected, to 3; *warf* 'snow' (< \**wafrā(h)*) to 2, and not to 4; <sup>3</sup> *ormōzd* 'sun' to 3 and not to 4; <sup>4</sup> *xuāl*: *xōl* 'six' must, in order to fit in, be derived from \**xwaššā*, but Sgl. *hōt*, Zeb. *ūt* 'eight', points to \**ašta*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But *xwōrō-i* < \**hwarati*. Cf. Shgh. *xāron*: *xīrd*; Par. *xarem* (not \**xōrem*, cf. Par. Gramm. § 189).—But Mj. (*xarem*) *xūt* prob. < \**xārt* < \**xart*.

<sup>2</sup> But note Yd. *cam*, *pad*, *lad*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Ishk. got its *a* from Prs. *barf*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ahuramazda(h)* may have been transferred into the *a*-declension at an early date.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *ał* with *a* from Prs. *ašt*?

In the suffixes *-ōk* (< \**akah*) and *-āk* (< \**akā*) the vowel must have been lengthened. Especially difficult to explain are: *sor*: *sur* 'head'; *xor*: *xur* 'ass'; *tovōr*: *tuwur* 'axe'; *yōz*: *yūz* 'firewood', which belong to Type 3, although one would expect to find them together with *vōr*: *var* 'door' in Class 1.<sup>1</sup> It ought, however, to be noted that we also find Wkh. *xur* 'ass'; *γūz* 'firewood'; *purk* 'rat' in contradistinction to *bār* 'door', *pārg* 'ashes'; but Wkh. also has *t̪pār* 'axe'.

In spite of these irregularities, which may partly be due to mixing of dialects, the factors mentioned above appear to be the only ones which might explain at any rate the majority of cases. And, at all events, it seems certain that common Sgl.—Ishk. must already have possessed four separate phonemes: *a*, *o*, *ā*, *ō*, all derived from ancient "a".

In the Vocabularies the words have been arranged in order of their consonants (cf. IIFL. I. p. 230).

Words quoted from other sources have as far as possible been adapted to the transcription used in this work.

Thus Shaw: *ā* = *ā*, *a* = *Δ*, *ē* = *ē*, *ī*, *î* = *ī*, *ó*, *ô* = *ō*, *ū*, *û* = *ū*, *ih* = *θ*, *dh* = *ð*, *sh* = *š*, *sch* = *š*, *z* = *z*, *khh* = *x*, *kh* = *χ*, *gh* = *γ*, italic *g* = *γ*, *ch* = *č*, *ts* = *c*, *j* = *j* and *dz* = *j*.

I have also changed Sköld's and Lentz's *i*, *u*, *ts*, *tš*, etc., into *y*, *w*, *c*, *č*, etc., and *š*, *ž* in Shgh., etc., into *š*, *ž*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., *yōč* for Sköld's *iočš*.

I have retained Lorimer's *u* for the high, mixed vowel. Sköld himself has frequently altered the *ū* of his original notations into *ÿ*, but *ū* has sometimes remained unchanged.

In words taken from Bellew's and Biddulph's lists I have tran-

<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *pōrk*; Ishk. *purk* 'rat, mouse' < \**pōrk* < \**pork*, with early contraction < \**paruka*; but Zeb. *park* 'ashes' < \**parakā*.

<sup>2</sup> The Afghan author of the list of Shughni words in *Annuaire de la revue de Kaboul*, 1934—35, pp. 148 sqq., writes *ش* *š*, but *څ* *č*.



scribed *ā* with *ā*, *gh* with *γ*, *sh* with *š*, *ch* with *č*, and *th* with *θ*, wherever the correctness of the transcription seemed to be certain. But I have quoted, e.g., Bellew's "*zāghit*", Biddulph's "*thurght*", and Capus' "*dghogit*, *dzogit*" 'daughter' within quotation-marks, without attempting to restore the true phonetical form (< \**ḏäγ'd*, \**ḏäγ'd*, and \**ḏoy'd*?).

In a few cases I am afraid that I have not been consistent in the use of final, postvocalic *-i*, *-u* and *-y*, *-w*.

The Pers. and Khovar translations added to words and phrases in the Vocabularies are given in the exact, not always very correct, form in which they were given by my informants.

In the Yd.—Mj. Vocabulary "Y" after a word denotes that identical forms were given by Yzh, Ysh and at least two other Yd. informants. Similarly "Sgl. p." in the Sgl.—Ishk. Vocabulary means that the form is common to Sgl. p 1, 2, and 3.

The English-Iranian Index which I hope may be of some use to Iranian scholars, has to a large extent been compiled by my wife.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Konow for his advice during the proof-reading, to Mr. G. K. Laycock, Lecturer at the University of Gothenburg, for correcting the English of the greater part of the volume, and to the printers and the diligent and patient compositors. I desire also in this place to express my gratitude to the authorities of Chitral, who kindly helped me and received me with hospitality during my work in the country.

The printing of this volume began in June 1936, and later publications have only occasionally been referred to.

Oslo, 7—1—1938.

G. M.





## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Languages.*

Bal. = Balochi.	O. Prs. = Old Persian.	S(gl). = Sanglechî.
Bart. = Bartangi.	Or. = Oroshori.	Shgh. = Shughni.
Bur. = Burnshaski.	Orm. = Ormuri.	Sogd. = Sogdian.
IA. = Indo-Aryan.	Oas. = Oasetic.	Wan. = Wanetsi Pashto.
IE. = Indo-European.	Par. = Parachi.	W(kh). = Wakbi.
Ir. = Iranian.	Prs. = (New) Persian.	Y(d). = Yidgha.
I(ahk). = Ishkashmi.	Psht. = Pashto.	Yaghn. = Yaghnohi.
Khow. = Khowar.	Rosh. = Roshani.	Yazgh. = Yazghulami.
M(j). = Munji.	Sar. = Sarikoli.	Zb. = Zebaki.

### *Books and Periodicals, etc.*

- AIM. = Herzfeld, Archâologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.  
 B. = Biddulph, Yidghah Voc., in *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*.  
 Barth. Miran. Mund. = Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, I—VI, Sitzb. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss. 1916—1925.  
 Be. = Bellew, Voc. of Sârigh Cûll, Wâkhi etc., in Forsyth, Report on a Mission to Yarkund 1873.  
 Benv. Gr. Sogd. = Benveniste, Grammaire Sogdienne, II.  
 Bi. = Biddulph, Voc. of Sirikol, Wakhan and Kunjoot dialects, in Forsyth, Report (v. above).  
 Burhan ud Din. Bu D. = Burxan-ud-Din-xan-i-Kuškiki, Kattagan i Badaxšan, Taškent, 1928.  
 Cap(us) = Voc. Wakhi, in Bull. de la Société d' Anthropologie de Paris, 3<sup>e</sup> Série, Tom. 12, p. 206 sq.  
 Et. Voc. Psht. = Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.  
 G. = Gauthiot, Quelques observations sur le Mindjâni, MSL. XX, pp. 133 sqq.

- Geiger, Pamirdialekte, or Gr.Ir.Ph. = W. Geiger, Die Pämirdialekte, in Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, I, 2.
- Gramm. = Grammophone record.
- Grierson = Sir George A. Grierson, Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami. As. Soc. Prize Publ. Fund, V.
- Herzfeld, v. AIM.
- Hjuler = A. Hjuler, The languages spoken in the Western Pamir, in: The Second Danish Pamir-Expedition, conducted by O. Olufsen.
- Houtum-Schindler = H. Sch., Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze, ZDMG, 38, pp. 43 sqq.
- IIFL, I. = Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, I.
- Junker, Drei Erz. = H. Junker, Drei Erzählungen auf Yaṣnābī, Sitz. d. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1914, 14.
- Kl. = S. I. Klimčickiy, Vaxanskie teksti, in: Trudy Tadžikistanskoy bazi, Tom III.
- Lentz. = W. Lentz, Pamir-Dialekte, I. Ergänzungsheft z. Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, Nr. 12.
- Lorimer, Bur. Gramm. = D. L. R. Lorimer, Burushaski Grammar.
- Mir. Man. = Andreas-Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica (in SBW).
- Munshi Faiz Bakhsh. = Vocabularies collected by M. F. B., and publ. by Shaw, in Ghalehah Languages, pp. 134 sqq.
- Or. Stud. Pavry = Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933.
- Ol. = Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) Afgh. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) N.W. Ind. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India.
- Sbgh. ABC and abc. = Inqilōbī Madani Pōndand (Shughni primer for grown up people), and Xuṣṣōni Alifbā (Shughni primer for children), Stalinabad 1932 and 1931.
- Sköld, Mater. = H. Sköld, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen. Skr. utg. av kgl. Ham. Vetensk. samf. i Lund, XXI.
- Stein = Material collected by Sir A. Stein, and published by Grierson (v. above).
- Studia Indo-Ir. = Studia Indo Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger.
- Tomaschek = W. Tomaschek, Centralasiatische Studien, II.
- Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan = N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Buklinio, Agricultural Afghanistan, Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian).
- W(alde)P(ok.) = A. Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch d. indo-germ. Sprachen, herausgeg. von J. Pokorny.
- Zar. = Zarubin, K xarakteristike mundžanskogo yazika, Iran, I.
- Zar. Očerķ razg. yaz. samark. = Zarubin. Očerķ razgovornogo yazika Samarkandskix Evreav, Iran., II.



YIDGHA-MUNJI



## INTRODUCTION

1. A bibliography of the scanty literature dealing with the two closely related Iranian dialects Munji and Yidgha has been given in LSI, X pp. 509 and 518, and it has been brought up to date by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> and by Lentz.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the present author's review of Zarubin's article,<sup>3</sup> and the short remarks about Yidgha and Munji, Report on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India, pp. 69—72.

The material for the study of Yidgha was previously limited to the Vocabulary of some 500—600 words with introductory remarks given by Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh,<sup>4</sup> and to the translation of the Parable and the Standard List of words contained in the LSI.

Munji was made known to philologists four years earlier than its sister dialect through the vocabulary of some eighty words collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw.<sup>5</sup> This list is, however, disfigured by numerous errors and misprints.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the material published in LSI, the only contributions to our knowledge of Munji in recent times have been

<sup>1</sup> К характеристике мунджалского языка, Враз, I, 111 sqq., Leningrad, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Pamir-Dialekte, I, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296—98.

<sup>4</sup> Calcutta 1880, pp. CLIV—CLXIX.

<sup>5</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages, JASB, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *kara* 'ass', with *k-* for *x-*; *tarávi* 'black', with *t* (ȧ) for *n* (ȧ); *pāsti* 'bone', with *p* (ȧ) for *y* (ȧ); *ghaoda* 'cow', with *d* (ȧ) for *u* (ȧ); *yārgħ* 'rat', with *y* (ȧ) for *p* (ȧ); *corah* 'goat', with *r* (ȧ) for *s* (ȧ), etc.



Gauthiot's *Quelques observations sur le mindjani*,<sup>1</sup> containing some 300 words, and Zarubin's above-mentioned article (about 850 words of vocabulary, with a valuable grammatical introduction).

Probably no part of this material has been collected in Yidgha or Munji-speaking territory. Gauthiot took down his vocabulary in Samarkand from a Kulābi peasant who was born in Wakhan in a small colony of Munjis settled there. Zarubin's material is derived from two Munji emigrants living in Ishkashim, and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, the chief informant of the LSI, probably collected his data about the various Pamir dialects from visitors to the capital of Chitral. Biddulph may, of course, have taken down his vocabulary of "Yidghah spoken in the upper part of the Lutkho valley and in Munjan" in Lutkuh itself, but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that he made his diverse linguistic investigations in Chitral Headquarters.

2. As a matter of fact, very few Europeans seem to have visited Munjan, and none of them gives any information about the language spoken there. Wood<sup>2</sup> never proceeded beyond the lapis lazuli mines above Firgamu which are still in Persian-speaking territory. The only other European visitors known to me are Robertson,<sup>3</sup> who in 1892 (?) paid a flying visit to a Munjan village bordering upon Kafiristan, and the Russian botanists Vavilov and Bukinich,<sup>4</sup> who passed through Sanglech and Munjan. But Vavilov did not even notice that the language spoken in Munjan differed from that of the rest of Badakhshan.

Lutkuh, the home of the Yidgha-speaking *Idays*, is much better known, and has, owing to its belonging to the British Indian protected state of Chitral, been visited by numerous British officers. But

<sup>1</sup> MSL, XIX, pp. 133-157.

<sup>2</sup> A personal narrative of a journey to the sources of the Oxus. London 1841. V, pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *The Kāfirs of the Hinda-Kush*, pp. 315 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Agricultural Afghanistan*. Leningrad 1929, pp. 112 sqq.

none of them has, as far as I am aware, published anything about the local dialect.

3. My material about Yidgha was collected in the summer of 1929 partly in Chitral Town and partly at Garm Chishma and other places in Lutkuh. During a visit to the Dorah Pass I twice came through the Yidgha settlements in Lutkuh. The political unrest in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to obtain permission to visit Munjan, but I came into contact with several Munjis in Chitral. They came there as traders, and some of them used the opportunity to bring with them for sale lapis lazuli from the famous mines which under normal conditions are exploited by the Afghan government.
4. My Yidgha informants were:
  - 1) *Mahmad* from *Zhitr*. My best informant, from whom I got an Yzh extensive vocabulary, besides sentences and paradigms. About 30 years old. (I worked with him at Garm Chishma.)
  - 2) *Hawala Khan* from *Parabek*, havildar in H. H.'s bodyguard, a Yp comparatively young man.—Two short songs, and a vocabulary taken down in the fields and houses of Burbunu (with some contributions from the villagers). (Garm Chishma).
  - 3) *Bik* from *Gufti*, havildar in His Highness' bodyguard. A young, Yg brown-haired and blue-eyed, brachycephalic Homo Alpinus. Quite intelligent and willing.—Vocabulary and some sentences. (Chitral).
  - 4) *Kurban Ali*, born in *Zhitr*, but living in *Ughuti* since many Yu years. 50—60 years old, and not easy to work with.—Two tales.—(Garm Chishma).
  - 5) *Haidar Ali* from *Rubāt-i-Kārōn* in Munjan, but settled for the Yr last 20 years in Garm Chishma. About 40 years old.—His language was in the main Y, but interspersed with some M forms.<sup>1</sup>—Vocabulary and sentences. (Chitral and Garm Chishma).
  6. *Ghulām Haidar*, who first asserted that he was a native of Ysh *Shahr-i-Munjan*, but later turned out to be from *Zhitr*. He

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. *brūt* mustache, *bleo* widow, *ojuzyo* frog, *tōviston* summer, *zimiston* winter (with M *z*), v. Voc. s.vv.



probably thought that the dialect of a more distant place would fetch a higher price in the market.—Quite intelligent.—Vocabulary, sentences, and a long tale. (Chitral).

5. My Munji informants were:

- 7) *Ali Mahmad* from *Miāndeh* in Munjan. Ysh denied that A.M. Mm was a native of Munjan, probably in order to appear to be my—at that time—only purveyor of Munji. There can be no doubt whatever that Mm spoke good and pure Munji, and he was my chief informant as regards that dialect.—Vocabularies, sentences, and a short tale. (Chitral).
- 8) *Kurbān Mahmad* from *Gaz*, below *Miāndeh*.—Middle-aged.—Mg Vocabulary, sentences. (Chitral).
- 9) *Naurōz* from *Gaz*.—Short vocabulary (about 300 words). (Chitral). M(g)
- 10) *Jawcār* from *Tagou*.—Vocabulary. (Chitral). Mt

Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons whom I came across in Chitral village, or on the road:

- 11) A man from *Tili* (*Āuli*).—Vocabulary (125 words). (Chitral). Mti
- 12) *Nazar Shāh* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Voc. (some 50 words). M(sh)
- 13) *Ali Nazar* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Numerals only. Msh
- 14) *Kurbān Mahmad* from *Tagou*.—A few words and grammatical M(t) forms.

6. Unfortunately none of my informants were any good as story-tellers, and it was only with difficulty that I could get tales out of some of them. Moreover, the Munjis were eager to return to the harvesting work as quickly as possible, and not even the persuasive powers of my Pathan servant Yasin Khan could induce them to stay in Chitral. In most cases I could only work with the Munjis for a day or even less.

7. The origin of the name Munjan has been discussed in an article in BSOS, VI, pp. 29 sqq. Prs. *Munjān* is an arabized form of *Mungān*, cf. Sgl. *Mandēzān*. While the Munjis themselves use the Prs. form, the Y name of the valley is *Br'e'yeŋo*, which together

with Kati *Mr'ū-gul* and Khowar *Mirjān* (in poetry) points to original \**Mrga-* or a similar form.

The Kati name used in myths and legends is *Kēmōr*, v. op. cit. p. 442<sup>2</sup>, and cf. the name of the pass leading from Prasun to Munjan: *Kamah* (Robertson), *Kamarbida* (= *Kamār bi dā* 'on the K. Pass', Survey Map), *Komah* (Vavilov), *Kamar Bida* (Voigt, Kafiristan).

8. Munjan is mentioned for the first time in the 7th century AD by Hsüan Tsang, who says that the people depend on the Turks and that their "manners . . . resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country" (Kunduz = Tokharistan).<sup>1</sup>

Very little is known about the subsequent history of the district. Yule<sup>2</sup> has rendered it probable that the Munjan of the Arab travellers must have extended towards the north right up to the neighbourhood of Talikan and Khanabad. However this may be, the evidence of some place-names seems to indicate that Munji was once spoken further north than is the case at present.<sup>3</sup>

Whether *Melengad* (p. 131 *Melengan*) n.e. of Jurm on Burhan ud Din's map (Бадахшан и Каттаран, p. 120) contains *Mj. malanē* 'middle', is of course quite uncertain, as other "l-dialects" exist, cf. below §§ 27, 28.

In more recent times Munjan came under the sway of the Mirs of Badakhshan, and, according to Burhan ud Din,<sup>4</sup> paid a yearly tribute of two Kafir slaves. It is not quite clear how they were able to procure these slaves, since Wood<sup>5</sup> tells us about frequent Kafir inroads into Badakhshan through Munjan, and adds that since

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Eranshahr*, 226, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. *Firgamu*, *Firghamirū* s. of Jurm, *Firgam Tal*, n. of Faizabad, etc. (cf. Voc. s.v. *fer'gāms*), and *Gharmai*, s. of Jurm.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 268.



the time of an especially violent attack some time before his visit, there had been no permanent settlers in the valley above Fargamu. This last information must be greatly exaggerated and is probably due to some kind of misunderstanding. But the peaceful and dull Munjis, who according to Burhan ud Din himself, only possess some 30—40 matchlocks and 5—6 (!) knives and swords between them, are hardly likely to have been able to capture slaves from the Kafirs, even from the meek and peaceful Prasuns. But possibly they bought Kafir slaves for the purpose.

In 1859, on the conquest of Kataghan by the Afghans, Munjan together with the rest of Badakhshan became a tributary to Kabul and, according to Burhan ud Din, agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 300 rupies. Vavilov and one of my informants state that there is a small Afghan military post in the valley.

9. Munjan is an excessively poor district. Vavilov<sup>1</sup> writes that the inhabitants gain their bread with enormous difficulties. They have few children because as they say, there is not enough food for more. The inhabitants of Tili have only sufficient bread for nine months, the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Only on rare occasions do they eat meat. They cannot keep large flocks<sup>2</sup> on account of the scarcity of pasture,<sup>3</sup> but rely on agriculture.

Vavilov and Burhan ud Din agree that apricots and other kinds of fruit are of no importance. There are a few apricot-trees in the lower villages, but the fruit is bitter, and the blossoms are frequently destroyed by frost. Mulberries are not grown. The snow remains in Tili for from three to six months. Barley, millet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the following pp. 112 sqq. and 526 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to B. ud D. the 2500 inhabitants of Anjuman and Munjan possess 111 horses, 898 cows and asses, and 4149 sheep. Vavilov found 25 horses, 40 cows, 25 sheep, 15 goats and 4 donkeys in Tili, a village of 20 houses with 50—60 inhabitants. The position of Tili at the foot of the pass leading to Kafirstan probably accounts for the number of horses.

<sup>3</sup> Robertson (l.c.) mentions the good quality of the grazing grounds, but this may apply only to single localities. Nowhere is the exploitation of summer-pastures in the hills mentioned, nor did I hear about it.

mixed with rye, and peas form the staple crops, but "the fields are heaps of stones amongst which small patches of ground are sown with millet and barley."

The inhabitants eke out the meagre produce of agriculture by trading on a small scale. They carry on their backs salt from Faizabad to Nuristan and sell it in exchange for wool, butter, hides and felt (palas).<sup>2</sup>

But, as I had occasion to observe, Munjis also take part in the export of blocks of red Badakhshi rock-salt to Chitral, and employ horses or donkeys for its transport.

Munjan is not altogether cut off from the outer world. According to B. and D. a "big government road" leads through Munjan from Jurm and across the Hindukush to Prasun in Nuristan (= Kafiristan).<sup>3</sup> Another road, or track, leads from Maghnawul in Munjan across the Khelargai and Dorah Passes to Chitral, without touching the inhabited part of the Sanglech valley. And finally there is a rough track from Maghnawul to the Bashgal Valley.

The road across the Hindukush to Prasun and further into the Kunar valley is of quite recent date and the traffic which it carries has as yet had little influence upon the population of Munjan and their language. The main route, at any rate in earlier times, branched off below Munjan proper, followed the Anjuman river, and crossed into Panjshir and the Kabul region.

Among the three regions which may have influenced Munjan linguistically and culturally there is no doubt that Persian-speaking Badakhshan has for geographical and political reasons played a more important part than Chitral<sup>4</sup> or Kafiristan. But there is one factor which has tended to isolate Munjan from the neighbouring districts on the same river-system. The Munjis are Ismailis

<sup>1</sup> Vavilov, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> B. and D. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> In Woods time the road between Jurm and Munjan was very bad.

<sup>4</sup> The trade in the small bazar at Chitral village appears to have been insignificant prior to the British occupation in 1895.



and pay their tribute to the agents of the Agha Khan, just as the Yidghs and most other Pamir tribes do, while Kuran and Anjuman, with the exception of two villages Rabat and Sekui, bordering upon Munjan and probably originally Munji speaking, are of the Sunni persuasion.<sup>1</sup>

According to Vavilov, the inhabited part of the Munjan valley extends for 22—24 km. from Shahr (i. Munjan) to Tili. In a side valley branching off towards the east at Shahr lies "Torau", 8—9 km. from Shahr, and close to it Maghnawul.<sup>2</sup> From Tili to the top of the Prasun Pass the distance is 42 versts.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the existing maps of Munjan are far from being exact. Thus, on the map accompanying Abdur Rahman's memoirs the whole valley has been turned upside down, and on the apparently very detailed map in B. ud. D.'s book the villages have been thrown about in a most fanciful manner. And even Vavilov, who passed through the district, on both of his maps places Maghnawul and "Torau" in the main valley *below* Shahr!<sup>4</sup> The information I received about the position of the villages agrees in the main with the Survey of India maps.

10. Our only material for determining the number of inhabitants in Munjan is to be found in the particulars given by Vavilov and Burhan ud Din. Burhan ud Din estimates the population at 1500 persons, and the number of houses at 237.<sup>5</sup> He does not, however,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. u. D., l.c.—According to my informants *Robāt* now speaks Farsi, but place-names such as *Tuyakaf* are evidently of Mj. origin.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Vavilov's map, p. 113, 10 versts, a little over 10 km. from Shahr.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees fairly well with the Survey of India map: 17½ m. (29 km.) from Shahr to Tili, and 26 m. (= 43 km.) from Tili to the pass. Vavilov gives the height of Shahr as 2900 metres, of Tili as 3025 metres, and of Maghnawul as 3340 metres.

<sup>4</sup> Vavilov (p. 115) violently attacks Sir G. Robertson to whom, without any foundation in fact, he attributes the absurdity of including Munjan orographically in *Kafiristan*.

<sup>5</sup> Exclusive of the summer kishlak of Nao with 6 houses.

mention the villages of Wulf, Mianshahr and Wayo. Vavilov counts 464 houses, and as he reckons 2—3 inhabitants to each house (in the case of Tili), this would give us a population of some 1200 persons. It ought, however, to be noted that he does not mention the villages left out by B. ud. D., and, besides, he gives no information about Ghaz and Shah Pari. In details the calculations of the two authors as to the numbers of houses in each village vary, but Vavilov is no doubt the more reliable source. But on the whole we shall not go very far wrong if we assume that the total Munji-speaking population amounts to something between 1000 and 1500 persons.

While it is probable that Munji once extended over a wider area, there is nothing, either in written history, or in local tradition, which refers to the immigration of the Munjis into their present home. Probably the growth of the population in the lower valleys, and may be also political disturbances, forced their ancestors to extend their settlements up to the highest possible limit. But we have no means of knowing when Munjan first became inhabited. The archaic character of some place-names (cf. *Tili*, *Wulf*, *Miliyeg*, etc.)<sup>1</sup> points to a comparatively early date.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. List of Names s.v.v.



11.

*List of Villages in the Munjan*

Indian Survey (and other official sources)	Vavilov	Burhan ud Din
Skarzer (left bank)		Iskarzer, 40 houses
Yoim (right bank)		
Sekwao		Sekui, 16 h.
Razar		
But (r)		
Kalaomir (r)		
Toghakaf (l)		
Robāt		Rabat, 20 h.
Shahr-i-Munjan	Šar, 2 900 mètres, 100 h.	Šaran, 80 h.
Doño (Survey)		
Deh Ambe (Mil. Rep.)	Diombe, 30 h.	Deh-i-Ebnai, 15 h.
Wilu (r)	Villo, 30 h.	Vilav, 10 h.
Ghaz (l)		Gez (جَز), 20 h.
Shui Pari (r)		Šah Pari, 12 h.
		Čauni (Post), 9 h.
Sar Jangal (l)		Sar-i-Džengel', 10 h.
Waio (l)		
Mian Deh(a) (r)	Mionbe, 30 h.	Miyan Deh, 25 h.
Yakhdak (l)	Yagdak, 12 h.	Yagdek, 15 h.
Panam (r)	Pano (Pako), 12 h.	Penam (Pekam), 15 h.
Kala-i-Shah (r)	Kala-i-Šau, 200 h.	Kal'a-i-Šah, 10 h.
(=Gulbakaf, Kurbakaf)		
Thali, Tuli	Tli, 3025 m., 20h., 50—60 inh.	Teli, 30 h.
Nāo (r)	Nao, 2 huts	Tav (تَو), 6 h.

*Villages in the Eastern Side*

(Šahr-i- Munjan)		
Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)		
Peip, or Wulf	Torau, 3 130 m.	Tekab
Maghnawul	Magnaul, 3340 m., 30 h.	Megnul
		} 10 h.

## Main Valley (from North to South)

Y r	Y sh	M t	M(g)	
Skörzer	Skarzer (l)			
16) Iwīm	Yu'wīm (r)			
17) Səkvō	4) 'Skəwo (r)			
15) Purwōs?	In Kə'rōn			
14) Rāzer		3) Rāzer (l)		
18) Kula				
19) Tuḡakaf		2) Tuḡakaf (r)		
20) Ru bōt		1) Rubāt		
4) Šār	Šāhar	1) Šahr	Šō'rōn, Šāher	Šār-i-Munjān M (sh)
5) Dēambī	Wilu	2) Dēambeh	Dīam'bē	
6) Wilū		3) Wilu	Wilu	
7) Ġāz		4) Ġaz	Ġəz (Prs. Aiyāz)	
(Šah-i-Parē)		5) Šāi Pa'rē	Šō-i Pa'rī	
8) Sarjaḡgāl				Sarjaḡgāl M m
(Wayo)		6) Wayo		
9) Miān'dēo		7) Miān'dēa	Miān'dīa	Miāndeh M m
10) Iḡ'dak		8) Iḡ'dak	Yuḡ'dāk	Yuḡdāk M m
(Panam)		9) Pa'naū	P <sup>h</sup> a'nō	
11) Kale-i- Šō		10) Ka'lā	K <sup>h</sup> ala-i- Šō	
12) Tə'li	Teli	11) Tə'li	Thr'li	Ti'li=Šu'li M ti
13) Nōu		12) Nau	Nōu	

## Valley (from West to East)

4) Šār	= Miliyeg?		
3) Taḡōu	Tagōu	Tagōu	
2) Wulf	Wulf		Wulf
1) Maḡna'vul	Maḡnawul	Maḡnawul	



12. The territory inhabited by the Yidgha-speaking tribe in Lutkuh<sup>1</sup> is more inviting than Munjan. The altitude of the inhabited parts of the valley is considerably less, from 2 400—2 500 m. (7 600—7 900 feet) as compared with 2 900—3 340 in Munjan. Wheat and maize are grown,<sup>2</sup> apricots and possibly other fruits ripen, and walnuts are at any rate abundant at Izh, at the lower extremity of the Yidgha-speaking district. The so-called Parabek plain especially is both fairly wide and well cultivated, and compares favourably with most parts of Chitral. The houses and their inhabitants did not give the impression of extreme poverty, at least not when seen on a smiling summer day. The houses are built of stone, as there is no forest in the inhabited part of the valley. Higher up there is some birch and willow jungle, and still higher there are apparently rich hill-pastures abounding in a variety of alpine flowers and surrounded by extensive shrubs of briar which cover the hill-sides below the Dorah Pass.

The rain-fall is scanty, but there seems to be quite sufficient water for irrigation coming from the numerous hill-nullahs that drain the snow-fields.

The continuous Yidgha settlements do not extend for more than about 10 km. (6—7 miles) from Burbunu to Birzin, but there are a couple of hamlets, *Goik* and *Imirdino*, a few miles higher up.<sup>3</sup> Below Burbunu the population speaks Khowar, and between Imirdino and the foot of the Dorah Pass there are a few small settlements, dating from the nineties, of Kati refugees from the upper Bashgal valley.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grierson in LSI gives *Loṭkuh* as the correct pronunciation. I heard Khowar *Loṭkuh*, *ṭkuṭ*, meaning the large (*loṭh*, *loṭh*) valley or district (*kuṭ*). *Lutkho* is an incorrect form, due to the association of the word with *Turi-kho* and *Muli-kho*, the home-valleys of the *Kho*<sup>7</sup> tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Gardon Lutkuh counts among the richest wheat-growing districts in Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> V. Map.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bruce, *Twenty Years in the Himalayas*, p. 264, there was before that time a small settlement of Prasun Kafirs at the foot of the pass.

13. The following particulars about the Yidgha speaking villages are taken from official reports (of 1904) by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon, which I have got permission to use. His two lists of the number of houses and families are probably derived from different sources.

*List of Villages of Northern (Left) Bank of the River (from below).*

Gurdon	Survey Map	Yidgha
Burbunu 10 (9) houses	Burbunu	<i>Burbu'nū</i>
J(h)itur 15 houses, 21 families	Itr	<i>Žitr, Žitr</i>
Rui 12 h., 12 f.	Rui	<i>Rui</i>
Gistini, Ge <sup>o</sup> 6 h., 21 f.	Gastinu	<i>Gistini</i>
Gulugh 4 h., 6 f.	Ghalok	<i>Gul'yū</i>
Ughuti 7 h., 7 f.	Ughuti	<i>Avyato</i> (Khow. <i>Uyuti</i> )
Gohik 9 f.		<i>Go'ik</i>
Imirdin 3 (12) h., 7 f.	Imirdit	<i>Imirdino</i> ( <i>Imurjin</i> )

*Villages on the Right Bank.*

Gurdon	Survey	Yidgha
W(h)arth 6 h., 5 f.	Warth	<i>Wart</i> (Khow. <i>Waxt</i> )
Parabek 3 h., 6 f.	Parabek	<i>Parəuko</i> (Khow. <i>Parabek</i> )
Gufti 4 h., 8 f.	Gufti	<i>Guftio</i> (Khow. <i>Gufti, Guxti</i> )
Birzin 10 h., 12 f.	Birzin	<i>Birzin, Br'zin</i> <sup>1</sup>
80 h., 110 f.		

According to Gurdon's calculations, the total population would at that time have amounted to not more than 6—700 persons, and Biddulph<sup>2</sup> can hardly be right in putting the number of families

<sup>1</sup> Besides Yu mentioned *Arftiko* (above Imirdino?) and *Xūyiko* (below Parəuko?).

<sup>2</sup> P. 64.



at one thousand. I was told that there were now 2—300 Yidgha-speaking houses (about 800—1000 persons), and it is quite possible that the population has increased so much during the last thirty years of peace.

14. The name of a member of the tribe is *Idəy*, pl. *Idyë* (Mj. *Yidg*, pl. *Yidgi*). This is also the name of the tribe itself and the valley it inhabits (Biddulph *Yidokh*, usually in the obl. pl. *Idyef*), while the language is called *Yed'yā*, Mj. *Yid'yūn*, or also *Yidgānə rōi*. Phonetically *Idəy*, *Yidg* points to an ancient form *\*Indug* < *\*(H)induka*,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that this name was first given by the Munjis to those of their fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the mountains.

According to my informants, Yidghs live also below Burbunu, at Droshp, Chirwul (near Garm Chishma) and Murdān, but do not speak the language any longer.

The religious centre of the tribe lies just outside the area in which Yidgha is spoken, close to the bridge at Izh, and it is quite a picturesque Maulai shrine with pretty woodcarving and surrounded by fine trees.

According to Biddulph<sup>2</sup> the Yidghs "claim to have migrated from Munjan<sup>3</sup> seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan in which the Meer of Munjan was slain". This information has every appearance of being precise and trustworthy and fits in well with the linguistic facts. Gurdon believes that they came from Munjan, Kuran and Ishkashim, but I doubt whether there are any grounds for including the last mentioned district. I was not able to get this tradition about their origin confirmed. Yu, my oldest informant, did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 118, 164. *Injigān* is probably the Badakhshi form < *\*Indigān*.

<sup>2</sup> Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek (BB., 7, p. 195) writes that they came from Yamgān, but I do not know his source for this statement.

know when the tribe had settled in Lutkuh, nor had he heard about any immigration from Munjan. According to him, the Yidghs originally came partly from Badakhshan and partly from Turikho in Chitral. Yzh did not believe that his ancestors had come from Munjan or any other part of Badakhshan. He said that there was no intermarriage or relationship between Lutkuh and Munjan. His own family (*Gažandorë*) had come from Turikho, he did not know how long ago.

The names of the Yidgha speaking villages are of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> They cannot be proved to be Khowar, but they show at any rate that the valley was inhabited before the arrival of the Yidghs at some unknown date.

It ought, however, to be noted that names such as *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*<sup>2</sup> seem to have entered Yidgha at an early date, and it can scarcely be assumed that the names of these insignificant villages had become current among the ancestors of the Yidghs while they were still inhabiting Munjan. The name of Chitral (*Čitrēyo*) is a different case.

15. At present the Yidghs are included among the Faqer Maskin, the poorest class in Chitral. They are divided into clans like the Khos, the principal ones being *Haidardorë* in Gistini and Parabek, *Gažandorë* in Žitr and Imirdino, *Danguladorë* in Gurti, *Sumāldorë* in Žitr (Balā), *Šixāidōrë* in Žitr, *Čalamāndorë* and *Šexāmāndorë* in Burbunū, *Morātdorë* in Birzin, and *Sumbāldorë* in Wart.<sup>3</sup> Thus there are nine clans to some 80 houses!

Apparently the Yidghs have to a great extent been assimilated into the Kho population, and they never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade-route between Chitral Headquarters and the Dorah Pass may have contributed to their complete submission to their masters.

<sup>1</sup> With exception of *Xūyiko* 'the Well' mentioned only by Yu., and possibly of *Rūi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. List of Proper Names, s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix *-dor* is of Khowar origin.

<sup>4</sup> — Kulturforschung.



16. As might be expected, there is practically no dialectic variation within the limited territory in which Y is spoken. Ysh had a tendency to nasalize his final vowels, and he pronounced *kōfila* 'caravan' and *pəsg-* 'to break' as against Yzh *kāfila* and *pəcəg-*, and Yg had *war* 'oath', while Yzh, sb, and r all pronounced *wōr*. A pellet-bow was called *xəsmānek* in the lower villages, but *səxmān(ek)* higher up, and similar discrepancies occur in a few other words. But on the whole the dialect of the few hundred Yidghs is homogeneous.

17. Munji, on the other hand, is divided into several sub-dialects, which differ mainly in some phonetic details.<sup>1</sup>

They may be roughly divided into two groups. One includes the dialect of Miandeh (Mm) and the dialects of Zarubin's and Gauthiot's informants.<sup>2</sup> It is characterized by having *-y-* for ancient *-k-*<sup>3</sup> and, in a number of words, *ū* for ancient *ā*, corresponding to *γ* and *ī* of other M dialects and of Y. Examples are e.g. Mm. *čfūr* 'four', *rūgo* 'vein', but Mt, etc. *čfir*, *rīya*, Yd. *čšir*, *rīyo*.

In this group the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd*, *mb*, *ng*<sup>4</sup> is stronger than in the rest of Munji, and G and Z goes still further than Mm. Thus Mm, Z, G have *loq* 'tooth' corresponding to *lōnd* of other Mj. dialects, and Z, G have assimilation also e.g. in *yodum* 'wheat': Mm etc. *yōndum*. Y has assimilated forms in both cases.<sup>5</sup> The dialect described in the LSI. has *d* in *lād* and *ū* in *čfūr*, but *γ < k*, e.g. in *γauya* 'water'. We may therefore assume that it belongs to a part of Munjan situated below Miandeh and the homes of Z and G, but above Ghaz, possibly to Wayo.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., pp. 70 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthiot's informant was a native of Wakhan, but his dialect evidently originally belongs to some locality in upper Munjan, possibly to Kala-i-Shah.

<sup>3</sup> G. gives *γ* in a few words, but also in *ayūškva* 'finger' where it can hardly be correct. Cf. § 117.

<sup>4</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 118.

The dialect on which Mullah Faiz Bakhsh's short vocabulary is based agrees with that of the villages of lower Munjan (Ghaz and Shahr) and of the Tagou valley, but has retained the nasal in *ankardia* (read \**angaskia*?) 'finger' where all other varieties of Mj. have the assimilated form.

A curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, is that the dialect of my informant from Tili, the uppermost village of all, is in line with that of Lower Munjan, and not with Mm, Z and G. Thus we find e.g. Mti *riya* 'vein' (with *i* and *ɣ*), *lōnd* 'tooth', and, besides, *ōskiy* 'roof' (Mt, etc. *askiy*, but Mm, G, Z *yēskig*, etc.), *yimayeka* 'moon' (Mg, etc. *yumayika*, but Mm, G, Z *yumago*, etc.) Mti also agrees with lower Munjan in having a long *ō* in *yōrza* 'beard' and in some other words. It is, of course, possible that Mti was really a native of one of the lower villages.

Apart from the divergences in the treatment of *nd*, etc. Mm differs from Z in some particulars. Thus, e.g.:

Mm, *t yūr* 'ground': Z *yēn'g*.

Mm *vzēd* 'knew': Z *vzē(n)d*, Mt *vzēnd*.

Mm *lvēd* 'winnowed': Z *liv'y*, Mt, (g) *lvēy*.

Mm *uwjuzgo* 'frog': Z, G *uwyzoga*, Mt, etc. *ujizga*.

18. Mm shares with Y, and to some extent with Z, the fem. ending *-o*, *-ā*, corresponding to *-a*, *-ā* of other M dialects.

The villages of upper and lower Munjan being isolated from each other, certain phonetic variations and some differences in the formation of past stems have arisen.

But as a whole M is quite distinct from Y in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, although, as we have seen above, some innovations in M dialects are shared also by Y. Thus the transition of *ūg* into *iy* may have taken place in lower Munjan before the emigration of the Yidghs to Lutkuh.

19. Among the phonetic differences separating M as a whole from Y, the most important are:



Anc. <i>rt</i>	results in Y <i>r</i> but M <i>r</i> (v. § 124).			
• <i>št</i>	—	—	<i>šē</i>	— <i>škʷ</i> (v. § 109).
• <i>rn</i>	—	—	<i>n, n</i>	— <i>g'gʷ</i> , etc. (v. § 133).
<i>rd</i> (in sec. contact)	—	—	<i>dr</i>	— <i>ler</i> (v. § 127).
<i>w, v</i> (in some cases)	—	—	<i>b</i>	— <i>v</i> (v. §§ 88, 107).

Note also the Y tendency to drop *w* before *u* (v. § 81), and Y *i* corresponding to Mj. *yu* (§ 84). Regarding the different development of ancient *a* in Y and M v. § 139.

Owing to special factors or more sporadic changes we find Y *āyury* egg, *išēiy* roof, *avlāsto* sleeve, *čkən* puppy, *čšir* four, *dir* other, *fšarm* shame, *laxsərə* ice, *rispən* iron, *šinjo* needle, *tīč-* to fall, *vri-* to break, *xird-* to shave, *yečko* duck, *zeviryo* birch-tree; but M *aryūg*, *yškig*, *alcosto*, *skən*, *čfür*, *yūdūr*, *šforʷm*, *yaxsəriy*, *yuspʷn*, *šēno*, *čāč-*, *vri-*, *xred-*, *yälko*, *vəzvurgo*, or similar forms.

The morphological differences between Y and M are not numerous. The most important concern the genus inflection of adjectives<sup>1</sup> and the preterite of intransitive verbs.<sup>2</sup> The difference between Y *vʷto* and M *flo* 'thee', and between Y *wulo*, pl. *wuli* 'wife' and M *wula*, *wuli*, etc., is due to phonetic factors.

20. It is in their vocabularies that Y and M diverge most widely from each other. We must, of course, bear in mind that our knowledge of the vocabularies of the two dialects is far from being complete, and that in many cases the absence of a word in one dialect may only be apparent. But, taken as a whole, the evidence of the vocabularies clearly shows how the separation of centuries and the difference of outside influences have drawn the two sister-dialects apart.

In a great number of cases M, as is only natural in consideration of its geographical and political position, has adopted a Prs. term where Y has retained the genuine dialect word, or has borrowed from Khowar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 195. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 234.

21. Examples abound in the Vocabulary. Here we shall mention only a few characteristic ones:

M (from Prs.): *nāxun* nail, *anār* pomegranate, *guzar* ford, *xókovo* first watering, *lašôm* bridle, *bārân* rain, *daro* valley, *naxš* song, *toko* alone, *bohôr* spring, *gušacôr* earring, *g'ro* knot, *duzd* thief, *qala* fort, *mô* month, *xargûš* hare, *kus* vulva, *qasam* oath, *naxčir* male ibex, *sîl* flood, *jigar* liver, *xors* bear, *araq* sweat, *barg* leaf, *rûšân* bright, *axtaxâna* stable, etc.

But Y: *anaxno*, *alâno*, *pîls*, *avzino*, *awlân*, *nôvo*, *koša*, *fagyikê*, *fkyiyiko*, *fsidro*, *yûdrikê*, *çursê*, *yâl*, *lizo*, *mux*, *sîy*, *šrno*, *wor*, *žûmânê*, *yongo*, *yêyên*, *yarš*, *xûl*, *pûnuk*, *orunyo*, *aspelan*, etc.

Corresponding to M (from Prs.) *amsâyaga* neighbour, *darûn* belly, *našpoliy* pear, *dasta* handle, *haud* lake, *tilâ* gold, *taqio* pillow, *šamšêr* sword, *nugra* silver, *xušô* ear of corn, *bucaya* widow, *garm*, *suzôn* hot, we find Y (from Khowar): *grambešu*, *ûžût*, *kyogô*, *hostaganu*, *žoi*, *svorum*, *vrazidinê*, *xugor*, *drozum*, *sor*, *wdsarico*, *pič*.

In some cases Y and M have borrowed different forms of Prs. words, Y usually through the medium of Khowar. Examples of such words are: M *âino* mirror, *âsân* easy, *b'rinj* rice, *k'tôb* book, *tiramâ* autumn: Y *šišoço*, *askân*, *grinj*, *ketiu*, *pâiz*.

22. Very rarely M has retained a genuine word which has been lost in Y: M *yûi* husband's brother, *zoyno* chin, *z'çerîy* thirsty, *yuvazgo* plough-wedge: Y *x'sur*, *zanax*, *trušnê*, *ačardînê*.

Corresponding to M *ôš* 'porridge' and *juâna* 'calf, one to two years old', which are of Prs. origin, Y has the Ind. loan-words *ačilê* and *bakiṇḍa*, but the exact source of these words is unknown. *pâpos*, etc. 'lungs' is one of the very few words of Ind. origin occurring in both dialects. A curious case is M *souno* 'co-wife', which appears to be an IA. loanword,<sup>1</sup> although I am unable to explain how it has penetrated into M. Y has the Prs. word *ambôy*.

Loan-words from Kafiri are Yd. *plac* cheese, *kītayê* almond (prob. borr. from the Lutkuh Kafirs), and possibly Y—M *ç'ra'û* male markhor, v. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.



23. Khowar loan-words are very rare in Munji. I have only come across *bānj* 'holly-oak' and *droxum* 'silver' and do not feel at all sure that these words are really in common use in M.

Y, on the other hand, contains, besides those mentioned above, a great number of Khow. words, which denote plants, implements, etc. unknown in Munjan, or the correspondent forms of which have not been recorded in M. Some of the Khow. loan-words in Y are in their turn of Ir. origin, and it is worthy of note that even Y, the dialect of a small and outlying district of Chitral has to some extent contributed to the vocabulary of Khowar.<sup>1</sup>

24. Of special interest are those cases where the difference of vocabulary between Y and M is not due to one of the dialects having borrowed, from Prs. or M, but where each of them has chosen a different word of dialectal origin. To some extent there may be, or have been, a slight difference in meaning, but we must also reckon with the possibility of real homonyms existing in original Y—M, due to ancient mixing of dialects.

The possibility of some of the words co-existing in both dialects should, of course, not be ruled out.

Examples of such words are:

M *āgung*<sup>v</sup> dough: Y *lavaza*.

\* *yōba* dance: Y *drūda*.

\* *frayingo* she-goat, one y. old: Y *prenjio*.

\* *yūelo* yoke-rope: Y *frāiyo*.

\* *sam'lasiko* neckrope of the bullock: Y *sabə'ranj*.

\* *pa'težo* she-calf, one y. old: Y *miščoyo*.

\* *p'rivur* cow-house: Y *yijio*.

\* *kosk* barley: Y *gersio*.

\* *šino* anus: Y *yumino* (but *šino* vulva).

\* *nāmyo*, *yistōn* felt: Y *liezīn*.

\* *škyui* neck: Y *šilē* (v. Voc. s.vv.).

\* *sasto* hill-side: Y *paifar*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my treatment of this subject in Iranian Elements in Khowar, BSOS. VIII, 657—671.

M *yurv* mouth: Y *p'korē*.

» *kupor* lip: Y *poršik*.

» *zōb* gums: Y *sotkē*.

» *puma* avalanche: Y *resšk*.

» *ken* to dig: Y *nikanā(w)*.

» *vrind* to be standing: Y *fsāy*.

25. But on the whole, in spite of the divergences mentioned above, Y—M forms a well-defined group clearly distinguished from all other Ir. languages by a series of characteristics.

The vocabulary contains a great number of words peculiar to this dialect group. As regards the morphology we may mention the formation of masculines in Y *-ē*, M *-iy*, the feminines in *-o*, *-a*, the obl. sg. in *-en*, the pronouns *za*, *zo* 'I' and *māf*, *mof* 'you', and the personal ending 3 pl. in *-et*, *-at*.

Among phonetic features peculiar to, or characteristic of Y—M may be mentioned the preservation of *xš* and *fš*,<sup>1</sup> the distinction between ancient *-š-* and *\*-šš-*,<sup>2</sup> the development of *θ* into *š*,<sup>3</sup> and of *št* into *škʷ*, *šč*,<sup>4</sup> and the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd* and similar groups of consonants.<sup>5</sup> Also the combination of features found separately in other dialects tend to give Y—M a phonetic structure entirely of its own, thus e.g. the development of *θ* and *rd* > *l*, of *rt* > *r*, *r*, and of *-t* and *-š* > *y*.

On the other hand, we find the usual E.Ir. tendencies prevailing, e.g. the change of *č* > *c*, of *xt* > *γd*, *ft* > *vd*, of *sr* > *š*, of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, the loss of *h*-, the prothesis of *w*- and *y*-, and the frequent reduction of *i* and *u* to a mixed vowel of the *o*-type.

The morphology and the vocabulary are also of a decidedly E.Ir.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 94 sq.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 75.

<sup>3</sup> V. § 65.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 109.

<sup>5</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.



type. Note e.g. typical E.Ir. words such as *miž* day, *pištan* thigh, *pīž* arrow, *šīyo* female, *yādē* blind, *wulo* wife, *wulēyo* span, *zavīy* tongue, *yeršio* barley, *imoyo* moon.<sup>1</sup>

26. Gauthiot<sup>2</sup> has asserted that Y—M ought to be separated from the Pamir languages and ranged among the north-western Ir. dialects. In a review<sup>3</sup> of Zarubin's essay on Munji I have tried to show that this theory cannot be upheld, and that the points of agreement between Y—M and Central Ir. dialects are less significant than is assumed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

There can in fact be no doubt that Y—M is on the whole closely related to the Pamir dialects, although on several points it stands apart from them.

27. Within the range of the Pamir dialects Y—M shows little special affinity to the Shughni group.<sup>5</sup> The connection between Y—M and Wakhi chiefly consists in the occurrence of a few words with  $l < \delta$ —probably loanwords—in Wkh. About the relation between our group and Saraghlami nothing is known, except that one of the three words known from this dialect points to a transition of  $\delta > l$ .<sup>6</sup>

But between Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. there are several points of resemblance.

Thus we find a considerable number of words which are, as far as is known at present, peculiar to these two neighbouring groups of dialects, or which appear here in a form elsewhere unknown. Cf., e.g.: Y *ābūya* moraine: Sgl. *ambol*; Y *uščeno*: Sgl. *uštīn*; Y *āwusp*

<sup>1</sup> Several of them are found in the Avesta. But this only shows that the Av. language is based upon E. Ir., as I hope to be able to prove from a detailed study of its vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296.

<sup>4</sup> Very few, if any, Y—M words are of a decidedly W. Ir. character. *xšīra* 'milk' has its correspondent in Ossetic.

<sup>5</sup> Note, however, Y *niž*, Shgh. *neθ* 'to sit down' < \**niθ*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Zarubin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences, Série B., 1924, p. 79: *woliké* 'water'.

ploughbeam: Sgl. *āwišp*; Y *leso* wild oats: Sgl. *dəsin*; Y *ixō* sister: Sgl. *yoxxōai*; Y *mīryo* meadow: Sgl. *mēry*; Y *niya* sour milk: Sgl. *nīduk*; Y *nov* rain: Sgl. *nav*; Y, Sgl. *pīx* span; Y *icoro* trousers: Sgl. *wāl*; Y *lib* to card wool: Sgl. *dəmb*; Y *as*: *ayoi* to come: Sgl. *is*: *āyad*; Y *is*: *yāi* to carry: Ishk. *uss*: *wud*; Y *tī*: to enter: Sgl. *atiy*; Y—M *vri(r)* to break: Sgl. *vrēl*.

There are also some common morphological features, e.g. in the system of demonstrative pronouns,<sup>1</sup> in the existence of a particle *vo*, *va* denoting the definite object, and in the termination of the 2nd pl. in *-əf* which from Sgl.—Ishk. has also entered Western Wkh.

On the other hand, the two dialect groups present no special similarities as regards their phonetic development. But the correspondences of vocabulary and morphology can hardly have been developed under modern conditions when communication between Munjan and Sanglech appears to be insignificant, and is at any rate carried out by the medium of Persian. We are therefore, perhaps, justified in assuming that Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. were once in much closer contact than in the case at present, probably at a time when the phonetic differences between both groups was not yet strongly accentuated.

28. If we look outside the range of the Pamir dialects Pashto appears to be the nearest relative of Y—M. Not only do we find the change of  $\delta > l$  in both languages, but the Wanetsi dialect of Pashto distinguishes between ancient *-d-* and ancient *-t-* in exactly the same way as Y—M.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we must not forget that the tendency to change  $\delta$  into *l* was probably once widely spread in E.Ir. and that the treatment of  $\delta$  and  $\theta w$  differs in Y—M and in Psht. A few words are characteristic of both languages, cf. e.g. Voc. s.vv. *āyḏ* to dress, *yāl* thief, *la* with, *wāro* summer, *yēyan* liver.

At any rate the special relationship or contact between Y—M

<sup>1</sup> V. § 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS. IV, 160.



and Psht. must go back to an early date, before the period when Saka tribes brought the Ir. dialect from which Psht. is descended into Southern Afghanistan.

The points of resemblance to Sogdian are limited to a few words, cf. Voc. s.vv. *drūv-* to dance, *poršik* lip, *yuxs-* to learn. Also with Parachi, its Ir. neighbour south of the Hindukush, Y—M shares a few words and forms (cf. s.vv. *lišč* saw, *amuno* apple, *yūr* fire) but on the whole this dialect is of a different type, and has developed along other lines.

29. As far as we can see, Y—M has occupied its present position for a very long period. It has probably lost territory in the north,<sup>1</sup> but it has since immemorial times had Kafir dialects as its neighbours south of the Hindukush, and it is quite possible that the linguistic frontier between Ir. and IA. has not always followed exactly the highest mountain ridge.

Now we find a transition of  $d > l$  in Prasun, the most isolated Kafir dialect, which has certainly occupied its present home close to Munjan for a very long time. It is therefore very tempting to follow Gauthiot in his assumption of a connection between the developments in both languages, especially as it seems probable that intervocalic *-t-* disappeared in Prasun, while *d* remains in the shape of *l*. This state of things reminds us strongly of Y—M, while it differs completely from the tendencies prevailing elsewhere in Kafari and IA.<sup>2</sup>

Of more doubtful value is Gauthiot's comparison between the M (but especially Y!) tendency to assimilate  $nd > d$ , etc., and the Kafari development of  $ant > \hat{a}t > at$ . The phonetic processes are not identical, and the change in Y—M is evidently of recent date. But we may perhaps compare the Prasun transition of  $nd > d$  and of  $mb > b$  with the development in Y—M. We must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Kalasha with  $-d > \theta$ , but  $-t > -t$  (V. Rep. II, 67).—In Y—M and Prasun *d* was changed into *l* before any weakening of intervocalic stops took place.

remember that Munjan and Prasun are only separated by a not too difficult pass.

This circumstance also explains the existence of a few words common to Y—M and Kafiri. Cf. M *frayomīy* and Kati *promə*, Prasun *pāmə* kid; Y *\*stuy*: Prasun *štyak* lock of hair; Y—M *šū*: Prasun *šūū* (< *\*ērū*) horn. It is doubtful whether *niya* 'sour milk' is borrowed from, or influenced by Kafiri or IA. Regarding loan-words from Kafiri cf. above § 22.

30. On the whole Y—M, is, in spite of influences from various sides, and in spite of several special phonetic innovations, an Ir. dialect of a highly archaic type, which in its relative isolation has preserved many ancient and interesting forms and words. Its possible connection with the ancient Ir. language of the Tokharians remains, for the time being, a matter of speculation.



# PHONETIC SYSTEM

## Consonants.

31.	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>(t, d)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>k', g'</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>	<i>(č)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>č, j</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>			<i>š</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	<i>⟨x, γ⟩<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, (ž)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(ŋ)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>[ŋ']<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>⟨ŋ⟩<sup>2</sup></i>		
Rolled & Lateral .		<i>r, l</i>	<i>(r)<sup>1</sup></i>				
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

32. The consonant systems of Y and M are in the main the same. Characteristic of both, as compared with those of other Pamir languages is the absence of *đ* (either as a phoneme—as in Wkh. and Shgh.—, or as a variant of *d*—as in Sgl.), and the existence of *š* and of *k', g'*. But M does not possess the retroflex series (with the exception of *š*), and the palatal *ŋ'* (which is hardly a separate phoneme in M) is unknown to Y. In both dialects velar *g* is a mere variant of *n* before *g* and *k*.

The surd plosives are unaspirated in Y, but at any rate to some extent aspirated in M. Some of my informants (e.g. Mti) appeared

<sup>1</sup> Only in Y.

<sup>2</sup> Only in M.

<sup>3</sup> Phoneme variant.

to aspirate  $p^1$  only, while  $M(g)$ —but not  $Mg$ —aspirated strongly all surd stops (and  $\check{c}$ ) in accentuated syllables. Thus, e.g. *phôns'* '5', *khiryâ* 'lien', *qhïo* 'bull', *thi'nek* 'shallow', *chô<sup>m</sup>* 'eye' (and *chôrda* '14' < Prs. *châhârda*).<sup>2</sup>

This tendency towards aspiration is characteristic of several Pamir languages<sup>3</sup> and of Badakhshi Prs., and it occurs also in Turki.<sup>4</sup> It is of course a theoretically possible, but not a very convincing hypothesis that the aspiration in E.Ir. and Turki should be due to the influence of some common, unknown substratum.

The absence of aspiration in Y may be accounted for by the negative influence of Khowar. This language possesses a separate series of aspirates—parallel to that of other IA languages—and Y, in adapting its sound system more or less to that of the dominating language—of Chitral, had to choose between the unaspirated or the strongly aspirated series of surd plosives.

- 32 a. Y  $t$ ,  $q$  and  $\check{c}$  are found only in loan-words, but appear to belong to the phonological system of the language. Also  $q$  is a foreign sound, and with some speakers  $k$  is substituted for it.

$k'$ ,  $g'$  ( $k^v$ ,  $g^v$ ) must probably be considered as separate phonemes both in Y and in M.<sup>5</sup> In M  $k'$  occurs also in the combination  $\check{s}k'$ , which is different from  $\check{s}k$ .<sup>6</sup> Regarding  $\check{c}$  <  $k'$  v. § 41.

$\check{j}$  is to some extent interchangeable with  $\check{z}$ ,<sup>7</sup> but it is at any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the situation in Prs., and in Psht., where  $p$  is more strongly aspirated than  $k$  or  $t$  (v. BSOS. V, 54).

<sup>2</sup> In some words the aspiration has not been noted, but that may be due to inexact notation.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g., in Sgl. About aspiration in Shgh. v. NTS. I, 36 (and Voc.), and Sköld, Materialien, Voc. Reg. Ossetie cf. Munkácsi, Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung, 7.

<sup>4</sup> I thought I heard aspiration in several Turki dialects of W. and E. Turkistan which I had occasion to listen to in Chitral. In Kokand final  $-t$  even results in an affricate: *uts* 'fire', *ots* 'horse'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 60, and v. Voc. s.vv.



rate by way of being a separate phoneme. *j* is a rare variant of *z*, v. Voc. s.vv. *urzuγ*.

In M I heard bilabial *ɸ* before vowels in several words (a.g. Mm *ēqūr* '4', *qīya* 'spade'). But in Y, and partly also in M, it is dento-labial. *v* is a dento-labial fricative, with lips and teeth in rather loose contact, and unrounded, except before *o*, where it was sometimes not easily distinguishable from *w*.

33. There can be no doubt that *š* and *ṣ* are separate phonemes, but it is not always easy to distinguish between them, and it is possible that some speakers of M use a neutral *ṣ* for both through the influence of Prs. phonology. *ṣ̣* is only found in Y and is of rare occurrence. *š*, *ṣ̣* and *ḥ* have usually a very palatal character, and I have sometimes written *ḥʷ*, *ṣʷ* in my notes. In Y *ṣ̣ē*, M *ṣ̣kʷ* and in Y *ḥšir*, *ḥšto*, etc. the acoustic impression was still more palatal, but I do not believe that *ṣ̣* (*ṣ'*) in these positions constitutes a separate phoneme.

Y—M *ṣ̣* is a lisping, palatal sound which could not easily be mistaken for *x*, and which sounded quite different from Wakhi or Shgh. *ṣ̣* (= *ṣ*). It was really a palatal *ḥ*, but I have kept Gauthiot's notation.

Uvular *x* and *γ* were only heard in Yd. *xāo* 'n. of a shrub' and in Y *qīāγ*, M *kucōγ* 'bull' and they are probably variants of *x*, *γ* (conditioned by the influence of *i* and *qʷ*).

Y—M *h* is an unstable sound, cf. Voc. s.vv. But still I believe that it ought to be considered as a phoneme, the forms without *h* being aberrations from the 'standard' pronunciation. But this is by no means certain. Note the existence of final *h* (*loh*, *yuraʰ*).

Similarly there can be no doubt about the existence of a phoneme *w*, but nevertheless we find vacillation before *u*, e.g. in *urw*-, *urzuγ*, *wulo*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the phonological value of initial *y*-cf. § 83.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 81.

The final sound in M *zɪlʷ*, *zɪlʷv*, etc. 'heart' is probably a combination of *l* + *y* and not a separate, simple phoneme.

Cerebral *ɲ* is a phoneme in Y, but *n* is substituted by some speakers, except where *ɲ* is conditioned by a following *d*.

Probably connected with the rounding of *v* before *o* mentioned above is the phenomenon expressed in the occasional notations, e.g. *ay<sup>w</sup>oi* 'came'; *noy<sup>w</sup>or* 'came out'; *k<sup>w</sup>os* 'to search'; *x<sup>w</sup>oi* 'own', etc., especially in Y words.

34. A final voiced consonant usually becomes unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *koh*, *kop* 'little'; *aʒəp* 'wonderful'; *ɣälv*, *ɣölv*, *ɣölɔ* 'dog'; *g<sup>w</sup>ip* 'lost'; *riv*, *rɪf* 'rhubarb'; *oyury<sup>x</sup>*, *əpurx* 'egg'; *yɪʒ*, *yɪʂ* 'snake'; *zɪk*, *zɪŋ* 'knee', etc. On the other hand we may hear *-z* for *-s*, *-d* for *-t* in sandhi: *woz ɣurd* 'now he seized'; *k<sup>w</sup>ed vɪo* 'was doing'. And, in the pronunciation of Ysh, *xoi* 'own' frequently was sonorized into *ɣoi* after a proclitic *vo*, *wo*. Cf. also Mg *nā-moy* 'nobis' with *-y* instead of *-x* before voiced sounds.

Characteristic of Ysh is also the frequent 'cerebralization' of final *r*, chiefly after *ü*. Thus: *pūr* 'son' (also Yg); *axūr* 'manger'; *\*stūr/r* 'big'; *avār* 'bring', but *pürän*, *avre*, etc.

Ysh, and to a lesser degree Yzh, have a tendency to nasalize final vowels. Thus, e.g.: *ux<sup>h</sup>ō̃*, *av<sup>h</sup>dō̃*, *ašcō̃*, *nōū*, *weis<sup>h</sup>tō̃* '6, 7, 8, 9, 20'; *po<sup>h</sup>γō̃* 'hair'; *šə<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n* 'neck'; *rū<sup>h</sup>i̇* 'bowels'; *vizyā* 'arm'; *prškə<sup>h</sup>dri* 'dung', etc., etc. This nasalization has been omitted in the following description of Y.

In M(g), on the other hand, final *-m* was reduced to a sometimes scarcely audible sound in the 1st pers. of verbs, e.g. in *ɣūcu<sup>m</sup>*: *ɣirdu<sup>m</sup>* 'I spin', 'span'; *lōra<sup>m</sup>* 'I have'; *xəša<sup>m</sup>* 'I pull', etc. Cf. also *čhō̃<sup>m</sup>* 'eye' (but *ɣō̃ndəm* 'wheat', etc.).

The 'morphological' changes of consonants are mainly restricted to the variations between present and past stems of the verbs, for which v. §§ 225 sqq



## Vowels.

35. As far as I was able to detect, the vowel-system of Y appears to be quite simple and to consist of the following six phonemes:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

But, as in most other E.Ir. dialects, especially in Psht.<sup>1</sup> and Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> the amplitudes of variation are exceptionally great. First of all there are variations of quantity. I am inclined to believe that these are conditioned by stress, or by the influence of following consonants or groups of consonants, and that vowel-quantity is phonologically irrelevant in Y. And the Vocabulary contains a large number of variations between *o*, *a* and *ô*, *ā* in the same words.

But it is really impossible to settle the question without a profound knowledge of, and a proficiency in speaking the language which I was very far from attaining, and it is quite possible that at any rate *i* and *ū* are true phonemes.

Also the quality of the vowels is strongly influenced by neighbouring consonants, and it varies further according to length and stress.

*a* is usually palatal [a] and easily becomes *ä* through the influence of an *i*, e.g. in Yzh *wāriyo* (Ysh *wa<sup>o</sup>*) 'rain'; *pālāstiko* 'armlet', etc. In unstressed position [A] is heard, but has not been consistently noted.

*o* is wide [ɔ]. In final position it is sometimes slightly diphthongized in Yd. [ɔ.<sup>u</sup>]. Besides *ô* [ɔ:], *ā*, *ä* has been noted, but chiefly in lw.s from Prs.<sup>3</sup> I am not quite certain whether this *ā* is a separate phoneme, or if I may have been influenced in my notation by associations from Badakhshi Prs. in using this symbol.

<sup>1</sup> BSOS, V, 58 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wkh. Phon.

<sup>3</sup> *ā* occurs in 43 lw.s and 9 genuine dialect words; *ä* in 9 lw.s and 38 genuine ones.

*u* has an unstressed variant *ʊ*, and *i* in unstressed position (but also in other cases) is articulated as *ɪ*. A mid-palate *ɪ̃* is heard in some words (in contact with *x*?).

I am not certain whether *ĩ* and *ũ* are true phonemes, separate from *i* and *u*. After *y* we find *ũ* or *ü*. E.g. Yu *yũ*, Ysh *yũ* 'one', Ysh *dārũ(i)* 'medecine'. A diphthongization of *-ĩ* was noted once in Ysh *rə'sēi* = *rə'sĩ* 'arrived'.

*e* and *ɛ* are probably variants of one phoneme, and I even heard *xayo* = *xɛyo* 'bridge'.

In many cases *ə* is simply a reduced form of *a*, *e*, *u*, etc. But it is nevertheless probably a separate phoneme, characteristic of a number of words. Of the two variants *pərs* and *pɪrs* 'ask', the first one is probably the phonologically correct one.

In final position Yzh *-ə̣*, with retracted *e* approaching *ə*, corresponds to *ə* of some other speakers.

36. Diphthongs are rare (cf. *nāilā*, *sāil*, *dau'let*, *mai'lis*) and possibly form no part of the system. In the Vocabulary I have written *-ōi*, *-āi* where Zarubin, possibly phonologically more correct, has *-ōy*, *-āy*.

The overshort vowels, *ɐ*, *ʊ*, *ɪ*, *ə*, are difficult to classify phonologically. Their quality is completely dominated by that of the surrounding full vowels, and they may possibly be considered as variants of *ə*. But it is a question whether they are really always perceived as real vowels, or whether the prothetic and svarabhakti vowels<sup>1</sup> are not as phonologically irrelevant as are the vowels in the Indian pronunciation of *st*-, etc.

37. The influence of surrounding sounds on short vowels may be exemplified by: *yursiligo*, *yursuligo* 'shoe-string'; *nəyūyem* 'I hear'; *nurādem* 'I comb'; *nizim* 'I sit down'; *noyo* : *nəyavd* 'to bite'. Cf. also the variations between *əm*, *um*, etc., conditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *səpl̥i*, *ʔstūy* (v. § 103), *sur<sup>u</sup>u*, *tuɣ<sup>u</sup>um*, etc.



Cf. also Ysh *maf ǎi žāf* 'ye shall not say', but *tu ǎu žūi* 'thou shalt not say'. Note also Y *mai* 'these', but *yāi, woi* 'those' (cf. §§ 206, sqq.).

38. The vowel systems of the various dialects of M appear to vary a great deal, and none of them is sufficiently well known to permit any analysis of them being made.

In Mm we find a long *ā* and a final *-iy* unknown to Y, and also in other cases *Y* appears to be a separate phoneme. The relevance of quantitative differences appears to be better established than in Y, and it is possible, with all due reservations, to construct the following chart of Mm vowels:

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
<i>i</i>	<i>u, ʊ</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ə</i>			
<i>e, ɛ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
( <i>ā?</i> )		<i>ā</i>	<i>ā, ā</i>
<i>a</i>			

### Stress.

39. Word stress is weak, and to some extent dominated by sentence stress.

Thus, e.g.: Y sh *'wulo* 'wife', but *'yū wu'lō* 'one wife'; *'pisto wo zini'ef* 'she asked the daughters-in-law', but *zi'nief pi'stō* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *muz'duro kēn* 'serve'; but *'muzdu, re yū rum* 'I take service'.

Although they describe very closely related variants of M, Gauthiot and Zarubin differ considerably from each other as to the place of the accent—the Frenchman inclining to accentuate the last syllable—. My own notations, rightly or wrongly, often disagree

with those of both of my predecessors, and are not always consistent. Cf. §§ 162 sqq.

Thus, e.g.: G *ayusʰkʷa* 'finger'; *wyʷzēga* 'frog'; *γāwa* 'cow'; *kāwūya* 'pigeon'; *mayūsa* 'fly'; *namolʷa* 'salt'; *xšīra* 'milk', etc. But in some cases Y agrees, completely or partially, with G as against other forms of M. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *agʷmīn* 'honey'; *imoʷo* 'moon'; *iʷxō* 'sister'; *izma* 'fire-wood'; *kiriʷo* 'hen'; *urʷuy*, *urʷiūy* 'straight'. Also in words not recorded by G we often find that Y stresses a later syllable than M. Thus: *oʷyuzo* 'walnut'; *iʷlir* 'belly'; *aʷlarsinē* 'threshold'.

In a few words Z and G are alone in stressing the final syllable: G, Z *aminʷgʷa*, etc. 'apple': Y *āmuno*, Mm *ʷamingʷo*, etc.; G, Z *stōrəy* 'star': Y, M *stārē*, etc.

### Groups of Consonants.

40. Through the loss of unstressed vowels of the first syllable and through borrowing, numerous groups of initial consonants have arisen in Y—M.

Thus we find, e.g.: *pč*, *pk*, *pr*, *ptr*, *ps*, *pš*, *fkʷ*, *fx*, *ft*, *fš*, *fš*, *tf*, *kr*, *kʷ*, *kt*, *xr*, *xš* (or *xʷš*), *čk*, *čš*, *čf*, *čp*, *tr*, *sp*, *sk*, (*ʷst*), *šp*, (*ʷst*), *br*, *bʷ*, *vr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dw*, etc.

But after voiced sibilants, and usually also after voiced fricatives, svarabhakti vowels are developed. Thus, e.g.: *zʷy*, *zʷn*, *zʷv*, *γʷn*, etc.

In internal and final position yet other combinations (with decreasing aperture) have become possible through recent adjustments, e.g. groups beginning with *r*, *l*, nasals, *z* and *ž*, groups consisting of velar fricatives and a nasal, etc.

Through these developments the aspect of Y—M has departed considerably from that of general Ir. and of most other Pamir dialects. And it may perhaps be said that it has in some respects approached the phonetic aspect of the Kafir dialects.



## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

41. Initial *k*- remains in *kōi* 'who', *ken*- 'to dig', *ken*- 'to do', *kap* *k*- 'fish', *kero* 'knife', *krrio* 'hen', etc. V. Voc. s.vv.

In a number of words we find, especially in Y, a palatalized *kʷ*. This development of initial *k*- is in accordance with the general tendency of Y—M towards palatalization, but it seems impossible to determine the exact conditions of the change. A similar change appears in Yazgh., e.g. in *k'an*- 'to dig', *k'aṣabac* 'magpie', and also in Shgh.<sup>1</sup>

A certain number of the words in *kʷ*- are or may be, lw.s from *kʷ*- Prs. Thus, e.g.: *kyof*- 'to groan', *kyahrē* 'anger', *kʷelēu* 'key', etc. (v. Voc.), cf. also *Kʷi'ṭam* Kulum (in Nuristan). From M I have noted *k*- and *kʷ*- (but also Mti *čāliye* 'key'). Other Prs. lw.s have *k* in Y too, cf. *ka'būt* 'blue', etc. *Kʷ* might perhaps be assumed to belong to an earlier stratum of Prs. lw.s, but this is quite uncertain.

Nor is the origin of *kʷ* clear in all genuine Y—M words. In Yd. *kyo'gō* (čō<sup>o</sup>) 'pear' *ky*- is developed regularly from *t*-,<sup>2</sup> and *kʷem* 'who' and *kʷei* 'house' may be derived from *\*kayam*, *\*kayay*.<sup>3</sup> But why *kʷemalyo* 'skull', *kʷifo* 'hump', *kʷunyo* 'magpie', while we find *k*- before *i* in *krrio* 'hen', *kinčika* 'girl', *kišča* 'plough', etc.?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Notes on Shughni, Voc. s. *K*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 82.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. reg. *gʷ* § 53.

42. I heard *q* in *qasam* 'oath', *qissa* 'tale', *qačio*, *kačio* 'scissors', *q* etc. But in several words of foreign origin I heard *k*- instead of the expected *q*-. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *kāk* 'dry', *kəlf* 'lock', *kimat* 'price', *kurūt* 'thick milk'. To some extent this may be due to mis-hearing on my part, but there is probably a certain vacillation in the use of *q* according to the degree of education of the speaker, and in some words *k*- may actually have ousted the foreign sound. The same is the case in other Ir. dialects.

In *qīāy* 'bull' *q*- appears in a genuine Y word.

Regarding the prothetic *a*- in *a'kadē* 'thorn' cf. § 167.

43. Initial *t*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *tu* 'thou', *tuy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain', *tiro* *t*- 'darkness', etc. Cf. also the encl. pron. 2 sg. *-t*, in secondary intervocalic position.

Z. gives *day*, obl. *daf* as facultative pl. forms of *yā* this. In this word *d*- is a weakened form of *t*- (prob. after early loss of *ai*-),<sup>1</sup> cf. Prs. *dā*, *daya* 'this'.

Initial *p*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *po* 'on', *pīo* 'rotten', *pādo* *p*- 'road', *palo* 'foot', *pilf* 'ford', etc.

44. Initial *č* remains unchanged in a number of words. V. Voc. *č*- s.vv. *čam* 'eye', *čəšə* 'pin of a spindle', *čur<sup>m</sup>mō* 'three days ago', Y *čšir*,<sup>2</sup> M *čfūr* 'four', *čə'min* 'how much', *čarxo* 'falling stones' (lw?), *čapē* 'door-frame', *čū(v)*- 'to pick, choose', M *čkyūgo* 'urine', *čiy*- 'to freeze' < \**čāh*-, etc.

There is no certain instance of a genuine Y—M word retaining *č* before ancient *i*. *čirē* 'apricot', *Čitreyo* 'Chitral', *čirūy* 'lamp', and *če* 'what' are lw.s (or *če* < *čahya*?), while Yd. *činuryo* (M *conuryo*, etc.) 'starling' is of unknown origin.

But we find *c*- before ancient *i* in *cē*, *ces*, *cə'min* 'what', etc., and in *cēb*- 'to pinch': Wkh. *čip*-. It is therefore possible that *či*- was differentiated into *ci*-, but the evidence is not strong. In Saka

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 208.

<sup>2</sup> With dissimilation *cšir*.



the development took a different turn, *č* becoming *c* except before *i*.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of *cigyerē* 'mushroom' and *cipō* 'to wink' is unknown, but these words may go back to forms with ancient *či*. *cərox* 'spark' is common to most neighbouring dialects, *calandurē* 'window' is borr. from Khow., and *craū* 'markhor' probably from Kafir. In Y *c'ke'na* (= M *skən*) *c* is of secondary origin. The only word with *c* before ancient *a* is *caroyo* 'bustard', but also this word may be a loan-word.

At any rate there is no regular change of *č* into *c* in Y—M, as in most other Pamir dialects, Psht. etc.

If *'šti* 'something' goes back to *\*čti* < *čit* + ?, the contraction may be earlier than the change of *či* > *ci*.

#### *Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.*

45. In the varieties of M described by Gauthiot, Zarubin, and the LSI, and also in Mm, postvocalic *-k-* results in *g*. In the rest of M territory and in Y it has weakened further to *γ*, thus coalescing with ancient *-g-*.<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that the preservation of *-k-* as a voiced occlusive shows the greater power of resistance of the velar as compared with the dental and the labial surd stops.<sup>3</sup>

Examples are:

- Y *avγuš* 'embrace, lap': M, Z *yivguš* < *\*upa-kaša* ?  
 » *ləyan-*, *nəyan-* 'to throw away': Mm *liyād* (pret.) < *\*ni-kan-*.  
 » *Pruyus*, Mt *Priyus* 'sickle': Mm *Prēgus* < *\*drāti-kusa-*.  
 » *moyuso*, Mt *msyasa* 'fly': Mm *mogusa* < *\*makasā-*.  
 » *noyo-* 'to bite': Mm *nəgō-*, Z *nigōw-* < *\*ni-kap-* (?)  
 » *puyo* 'woman's hair': Mm *pugo* < *\*pūkā-*.  
 » *riyo*, Mt *riya* 'vein': Mm *rūgo* < *\*rākā-*.  
 » *səy<sup>4</sup>o*, Mg *sīyiya* 'sand': Mm *sīg<sup>5</sup>o* < *\*sikatā-*.

<sup>1</sup> V. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 25. Cf. also the parallel development in Marathi.

<sup>2</sup> This change is later than that of *ng* > *g*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the development in Sgl.

Y *'suyiko*, M(g) *šiyikā* 'a tale': Mm *sūyo* < \**saukā*.

\* *vul'yōr*, Mg *wur'yār* 'shoulder-blade': Mm *wur'gar*.

Note Mm *Yīdg* 'a man from *Yīdyān* = Lutkuh': Y *Idəy*. Cf. also Y: \**stūy* 'long hair', *yīyio* 'cow-house', *sūy* 'street', *vedāy* 'to mix' and *šir-yiščē* 'dried apricot' which probably all have ancient *-k*.<sup>1</sup> Y *muyo*, Mm (*stur*)*mugo* 'vetch' is probably borrowed from IA \**mugga*, and not derived from \**mūka*. The origin of *suy* 'leather-strap' is unknown.—Mm *šayur* 'hedgehog' is probably a lw. (cf. Sgl. *šayor*).

Gauthiot, who generally has *g* for *-k*, writes *γ* in *pəya* 'hair', *mayūsa* 'fly', *namāl'ya* 'salt'. This is probably due to mixture of dialects. Mm *pory* 'mouse': Z *porg*, G *pork* may be misheard.

Y—M *-γ/-g* has been absorbed into a preceding *ū* (*o*) in some words, but the exact conditions causing this loss are not apparent.

Examples are: M *zə'vū*: Y *zəvīy* 'tongue' (< \**zəvūg* < *-āka*-); M *qīo*, *quico(γ)*: Y *qīo* 'bull';<sup>2</sup> Y *cəra'ū*: M *cəroug/γ* 'markhor'; Y *šū(u)*: M *šūg* 'hide' (\**šauka*-?); Yd. *Gulyū* 'Gulugh'. But cf. also Y *hūy* 'money'.

In M *šīiko* (Y *šiyiko*) *g* (or *γ*?) has probably been lost through palatalization.

In a large number of words with ancient suffix *-kā* we find Y—M *g/γ*. Thus, e.g.:

*imojo*, *yumago* 'moon', *vrijo*, *vrijo* 'eyebrow', *wulya*, *wul'ga* 'kidney', *šiy* 'hare', *urzuγ*, *urzug* 'straight', *Idəy*, *Yīdg*, etc. Cf. §§ 181, 188, 190.

Regarding the development of *-aka* into Y *-ē*, M *-īy*, cf. § 182. With *-ē/-īy* (e.g. in Y *yādē*, *-ə*, Mm *yōdīy*, *g yāndīy*, *ti -i*, (t) *-īy*, t *-īy*, Z *yā'dəy*, G *yā'dēy* 'blind') cf. the parallel development into *-ai* in Psht.<sup>3</sup>

Postvocalic *k* appears in Y—M in the suffix *-(i)ko*;<sup>4</sup> in lw's (e.g.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Poss. also M *wālu* 'feast': Y *wāly*?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zar. p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 189.



'kāka 'top of the head', *ka'kūk* 'cuckoo', M(g) *čikri* 'rhubarb';<sup>1</sup> through secondary contact with a voiceless sound (e.g. Yd. *yuskən*, M *yūs'kun* 'cow.dung');<sup>2</sup> and in comparatively recent compounds (*nikanā* 'to dig').

46. Intervocalic *-t-* results in Y—M *-y-*, or is lost. This development is common to many Ir. dialects, but only in Y—M and Wanetsi Psht. is it combined with the conservation of *-d-* in the shape of *-l-*. The two series may be illustrated thus:

*-t* > *-d* > *-ḍ* > *-y*  
*-d* (*-ḍ*) > *-l* > *-l*.

The intermediate stage *-ḍ-* (< *-l-*) is perhaps only a theoretical one, *\*-d-* having been weakened direct to *-y-*, because no voiced dental fricative existed in the phonetic system of the language at the time when *\*-b-* (< *-p-*) became *\*-β-* (*-v-*).<sup>3</sup>

Examples of the treatment of intervocalic *-t-* are very numerous. Thus, e.g.:

Y *lii*, M *liy* 'gave'; *vi* 'was', *āyōi*, *ayoy* 'came', and other preterites in postvocalic *-ta*.<sup>4</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Y *astio* 'abuse' (?); *abrūo* 'pear'; *yīyio* 'cowhouse'; *kovio* 'pigeon'; *k<sup>v</sup>ei* 'house'; *k<sup>v</sup>em* 'which'; *lūi* 'smoke'; *Pruyus* 'sickle'; *mayoyo* 'mare'; M *nāmyo* 'felt'; Y *niya* 'sour milk'; *pīo* 'rotten'; *rūi* 'guts'; *sūi* 'slate'; *sēyio* 'sand'; *spī* 'white'; *səziyo* 'jujube-tree'; M *tūi* 'mulberry' (early lw. ?); Y *vrai* 'brother'; *wūi* 'wind'; *wu'lēyo* 'span'; *wiyya* 'willow'; *xīryo* 'watermill'; *yeya* 'bridge'; *zamai* 'son-in-law'; *žā*, M *žāy* 'to say'.

More doubtful cases are M *kaləy* 'soot' (*\*kata-dūta* ?); *wi'en* 'to untie' (*\*wi-tan* ?); *xeyo* 'wall' (*\*xatā* ?); *yūyo* 'one (of several)' (*\*yūtaka* ?); M *yūi* 'husband's brother' (*\*yāta* ?).

Cf. also the 3 sg. Pres. in *-ē*, *-i* < *-ayati*,<sup>4</sup> *Breyeyo* 'Munjan' < *\*Mrgatā* (?).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *kəkyaro* 'dagger', etc. with *k<sup>v</sup>* < *f*. V. § 62.

<sup>2</sup> And in Y *pəkorē* 'mouth' < *\*pat(i)karaka-f*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 235.

<sup>4</sup> § 231.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS. VI, 442.

The Khovar place-names *Četrār* 'Chitral', *Šoyor* 'Shogot' and *Manūr* appear in Y as *Čitrēyo*, *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*, and have probably been borrowed at a time when Khov. had intervocalic -ð- < -t-, not at a still earlier stage. Also Y *g<sup>er</sup>*-, Mj. *giyar*- 'to pass, to forgive' has probably been borrowed from Middle Prs. \**g<sup>o</sup>idar*,<sup>1</sup> and M *kaliyo*, Y *k<sup>e</sup>lēu* 'key' probably goes back to Prs. *kilið*.

*yo* 'this' is derived through \**eyo* < \**aita*-, \**aiša*-. Reg. *day*, *daf* of. above.<sup>2</sup> In *ti(y)*- 'to enter' < *ati-i* the *t* became initial at a very early age.<sup>3</sup>

The unstressed prefix *pati*- has lost its dental completely in *po*, *pusur*, *pčūrma*, etc.<sup>4</sup> In secondary contact with another *t* we find *t* < \**tt*: *potišč*- 'broke' < \**pati-trsta*-, *žūt* 'speaks' < \**jatati*. Cf. also *pəcog*- 'to break', if from \**pati-synda*-.

47. Through early syncope -*t*- was saved in *wīsto*<sup>5</sup> 'twenty' and *mištor* 'mehtar' < \**masyatara*.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly *t* remains in secondary contact with *r*, which became unvoiced and was lost.<sup>7</sup> Thus *zit* 'yellow' < \**zart* < Av. *zairita*-,<sup>8</sup> *xūt* 'eats' < \**xwart* < *x<sup>h</sup>araiti*, and other 3 sg. pres forms of roots in *r*.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly the syncope took place after the change of ancient *rt* > \**rd*, but before the sonorization of intervocalic *t*.

But secondary *nt* developed along with original *nt*. Thus: *ved* 'brought' < \**βant* < *upanīta*-, *vedō* 'to warm' < \**abi-han-tap* (?), *wid* 'sees' (with occasional unvoicing of the final consonant *wit*) < *vaēnaiti*, etc.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But note Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār*- 'to leave behind', which shows the possibility of a local Prs. loss of -ð-.

<sup>2</sup> § 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. reg. *t* § 50.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. *paifar*, *paixō* cf. § 152.

<sup>5</sup> As in all Ir. languages except Oss., Paht. and Wanetsi.

<sup>6</sup> Scarcely *Boyušt* < \**Bayāšita*, cf. Index of Names, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Khov. *ʔt* < *rt*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Par. *zītō*.

<sup>9</sup> V. § 124. Cf. also Konow, *Saka Studies*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. § 115.



If *kədi* 'which' is derived from *\*kənd* < *\*kəmd* < *\*kadm* < *\*katamaka*, *rīmd* 'pleased' and *ptrəmdo* 'seized' must be analogical forms.

48. Intervocalic *-p-* results in *-v-*, just as ancient *-b-*.

-p-

Thus: Y *av'yuš*, M *yivguš* 'embrace' < *\*upa-kaša* (?); *āvāz* 'to bring' < *upa-az*; *kovio*, etc. 'pigeon' < *\*kapauta*; M *nəliv*; *nuvōst* 'to lie down' < *nīpad*; M *nivilo* 'bedding' < *\*nīpadyā*; *nuvāš* 'to comb' < *\*nī-pašš*; *nuviš* 'to write' < *\*nī-pisya* (or. ancient lw.); *p<sup>h</sup>ra*, *prāv* 'to find, obtain' < *\*pari-ap*; *parvāžin* 'round, knee-cap' < *\*pari-paḍanya*; *rov* 'to bark' < *\*rap*; *šuv* 'to suck': Wkh. *šap*; *tuvor* 'axe' < *\*tapara*; *va* particle denoting the acc. < *upa*; *vōro* 'after' < *aparəm*; *vōdō* 'to warm' < *\*upa* (?) *han-tap*; *vəzəzo* 'pregnant' < *\*upa-zadyā*; *xšovo* 'night' < *xšapā*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*; M *yūvərsən* 'upper door-sill' < *\*upari-sayana*.

This *v* has a tendency to lose its friction and be merged into *w*. Thus, e.g., in M *yīw* (Y *yī*) 'to spin', *zī'yīv*, *zəyīw* (Y *zī'yē*) 'to twist' < *\*(uz)gaip*. And in the causatives we find *-āv*, *-āw* (*-ōv*, *-ōw*), but also *-ā* (*-ō*).<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Y *īdou* 'fever', if < *\*hantāpa*; *yāuyo*, etc. 'water' < *\*āpakā*; Y *rūso*, M *raūso*, etc. 'fox' < *\*raupasā*; *woru* 'upper' < *\*u(v)ar* < *upara*, etc.

*nowīsa* 'nephew', *rikau* 'stirrup', Y *ketiu* 'book' are loan-words from Prs. forms in *v/w*.

In Y *fsidro* 'spring', *flō* = *vto* 'thee', and probably in *fxa(w)* 'to shear', *v* < *upa* has become unvoiced before a voiceless consonant. *ag'mīn* etc. 'honey' has been assimilated from *\*angivīn*, etc.

Y *rufo* 'broom' (cf. Sgl. *rēf*); *šifōn* 'clay used for plastering'; *trif* 'to steal'; and prob. Zar. *všōw* 'to put fire to' have got their *f*'s from early forms of the preterial stems: *\*ruft*, *šift* and *\*taft*.<sup>2</sup>

49. Y—M *-p-* is mainly found in lw.s: *pap* 'grandfather'; *pāpəs* 'lung'; *rūpāyo* 'rupie'; *čop* 'left', etc. Also *kap* 'fish' is possibly a lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Av. *huxšvafa*.

from Wkh. or a similar dialect. In *apīr*, *skapīr* 'before' the *p* may be due to recent composition. Possibly the prefix *p(ə)* in some cases goes back to *paiti*.

50. Intervocalic *-č-* results in *-ž-*. Thus:

-č-

*lūž-* 'to milk' < \**dauča-* (Par. *dūč-*, etc.); *lažino* 'pile of firewood' < \**ni-čayanā-*; *namiž-* 'winking' < \**ni-miča-* (v. s.v.); Y *nišāž-* (M *nišāš*) 'to show' < \**ni-časa-*; *paržin* 'enclosure for sheep' < \**pari-čayana-*; *pəriwiž-* 'to sieve' < \**pari-waiča-*; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < *raočana-*; Y *šinjo*, M *šižno*, 'needle' < \**sučani-*; *tiž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*. Probably also *yoži-* 'to stumble', cf. Wkh. *gač-* 'to totter'; *kužke* etc. 'hair' < \**kauči-*; *patsžo* 'she-calf, one year old' < \**pati-tači* + *ā* (?); *Stužun* 'the Ustich Pass' < \**stuč(a)na-* (?). *čužiya* 'chicken' is prob. an early lw. from Badakhshi *čuča*.

After *n* we find *j* in *prenjio* 'young she-goat' and in *sabrān* 'neckrope of the bullock', possibly derived from the fem. suffix *-či*.

Words of uncertain derivation, in which *-ž-* may go back to either *č* or *j* are e.g.:<sup>1</sup> *kižyo* 'dirty'; *mūž-* 'to move in the wind'; *noyužē* 'snipe'; Y *pāži* (Zar. *pōwi*) 'all'; M, G. *rāžan* 'language'; *šiž*, *šuž* 'vulture' (Sgl. *šūž*); *šižo* 'cotton'; *tažia* 'heron'; *Gažan-dorē* 'n. of a Y clan'.

Y *mažoyo* 'female markhor' is a Khov. lw., and *kužo* 'crooked' and *sarf<sup>2</sup>rāže* 'ornaments' are probably borrowed from Prs. *kaž*, *kuž* and *sarf<sup>2</sup>arāzi*.

In *ža* 'from' (cf. *ž<sup>2</sup>kū* 'whence') < \**ha'ča* the *č* was sonorized before the loss of initial (*h*)*a*.<sup>2</sup> But in *tiž-*, *čiž-* 'to fall' (< \**ča'hč-* < \**ha'čahida-*), *čpāč* 'behind', and possibly in *čəyū-* 'to return' the loss of *ha-* occurred earlier, owing to the more complete absence of stress in polysyllabic words.<sup>3</sup>

51. *-č-*, *-č̣-* appear in a number of lws from Khov., e.g. in *bučayi* 'bud'; *hoč* 'boiled fat'; *prč* 'hot'; *m<sup>2</sup>reč* 'mulberry'; *pičili* 'n. of a plant'; *tačingē* 'Kafir boots'. With M *mačio*, Y *ma'cio* 'she-dog'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *və*, *pə* < *upa*.

<sup>3</sup> *špāč* prob. < *čpāč* (cf. *štāhān* 'below'), and not < \**šp<sup>2</sup>*.



cf. Badakhshi *mōča*. Y *vroč* 'to fry' is perhaps derived from an imperative *vroč* < \**vroj* < \**vro/ən*, cf. Khow. *venjē*.<sup>1</sup>

Altogether uncertain is the derivation of Yd. *āričo* 'strawberry', and also of *mṛkič* 'carded wool'; Zar. *ničōd* 'to moisten thoroughly'; *γaričōy* 'to creak'; Y *γuričā* 'to swallow'.

-c- occurs in Y in the lws *plac* 'cheese' (fr. Kati); *blacā* 'to collect' (fr. Khow.); cf. also Y *macio* 'she-dog',<sup>2</sup> and *pelicio* 'fire-tree, torch' which may perhaps have borrowed from an early form of Khow. *pūič*. In Y *pæcg*, etc. 'to cut, cleave' c is probably derived from *t* + *s*.<sup>3</sup>

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

52. The general E.Ir. tendency to change voiced stops into fricatives has prevailed completely in Y—M where we find, at least in initial and intervocalic position, *γ*, *l* (< *ḍ*), *v* (< *β*) and *ž*.

It is possible that this change first affected intervocalic voiced stops,<sup>4</sup> it being in fact the first stage of the Ir. weakening of intervocalic consonants. And it might perhaps be assumed that the initial *d*- in *dāl* 'to give' is due to a preventive dissimilation dating from a time when *dadā*- should regularly have become \**ḍadā*-. But the preservation of *d*- in a single, or at the utmost a small number of words, is not very likely. The dissimilation has probably taken place at a later period, \**ḍadā* becoming again \**dadā*-. In *liṛden* 'fire-place' < \**ḍēγḍān* the dissimilation went the other way, just as in Psht. *lid* 'saw' < \**ḍid* < \**ḍiḍ* < \**ḍid* < \**ḍita*-, and in Sogd. *ḍwādas* 'twelve'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Yd.? Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

<sup>2</sup> V. above § 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> And initial ones in sandhi after a word ending in a vowel.

<sup>5</sup> I do not understand Benveniste's remark, *Gramm. Sogd.* II, 146. Oss. *duwadās*, *dīwa* (not *duwā*!) can without difficulty be traced back to \**duwādas* and correspond to Psht. *ḍwālas*, *ḍwēlas*.

53. Initial *g-* appears as *γ-* in *yū* 'ear'; *yāl* 'thief'; *yādēm* 'wheat', *g-* etc.<sup>1</sup> Also *Gharmai* 'n. of a village in Yamgān' is probably of Munji-origin. Most words in *γ-* are of genuine Y—M origin. But there are also some lw.s (e.g. *yūlak* 'pelletbow', *γar* 'adulterer', etc.) and a few words of unknown derivation (e.g. *γanigo*, etc. 'sneezing'; *γaza* 'a room'; *γuzγap* 'dirty'; *γus-* 'to feel troubled'). *g<sup>er</sup>-* 'to walk, pass' and *g<sup>ib</sup>-* 'lost' are early lw.s from Prs.
54. Ancient *-g-* results in *-γ-* in *ayoi* 'came'; <sup>2</sup> *āγ(u)d-* 'to dress' < *-g-* *\*ā-gunda-*; *o'yuzo* 'walnut' < *\*āgauzā-*; Y *a'zuzγo*, M *wuγzaga*, etc. 'frog' < *\*wazaga-kā-*; *brāyiko* 'sparrow' < *\*mγgi + kā-*; *frāiγo* 'yoke-rope' < *\*fra-yugā-*; Y *ferγāma*, etc. 'he-goat' < *\*fragāmaka-*; *mēγ* 'cloud' < *maēya*; *nēyuy-* 'to hear' < *ni-gauš-*; *mγōz-* 'to swallow' < *\*ni-gāz-*; *poruy* 'bolt of a door' < *\*pati-ruga-*; *yūγ* 'yoke'. Probably also *Pārāyo* 'Nuristan', and *Pōruy* 'n. of a village in Sanglech' go back to forms in *-g-*, cf. Sgl. *Pa'rōγ*, *Pōrōγ*.
- Words of uncertain origin are: *loγn-* 'to lie down'; *ēγū(w)-* 'to return' (< *\*hača-gaub-??*); *loyoi* 'entered' (v. s.v. *ti-*), *wōγo* 'above', and *zuy-* 'to pour out'.
- The development of *-g/-γ-* in *līvden* 'fireplace' < *δēγdān* is quite irregular.
55. Y—M shares with Psht. and some dialects of Sogd. the change of *d* through *δ* into *l* in most positions. It is perhaps also characteristic of Saraghlāmī.<sup>3</sup> Sporadically we find *l* < *δ*, *d* also in Wkh., and in Prs., probably in words of E.Ir. origin. But cf. also Kurd. *Xulā* 'God' and Bakht. *leva* 'mad'. In the main the tendency appears to be centred in north-eastern Iran, perhaps especially in *Badaxšān*, *Balaxšān*. It is impossible to decide whether the *l* was developed separately in Y—M and in Psht.—Wanetsi, or if it belongs to a common ancestor of both dialect groups. Regarding the parallel change of *d* < *l* in Prasun cf. 29.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.<sup>2</sup> And in other preterites in postvocalic *-ta-*, v. § 235.<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 27.



56. Initial *l* < *d* occurs in a large number of words. Thus, e.g.: *d-lūi* 'smoke'; *lad* 'tooth'; *luydo* 'daughter'; *lio* 'gave'; *los* 'ten'; *lūž* 'to milk', etc.<sup>1</sup>

Y Bidd. *lānawo* 'wise' must, if correct, be an early lw., but *last* 'hand' may be a genuine dialect form.<sup>2</sup>

*lyoxē* 'itching' is of unknown origin, and the *l* of Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*) is unexplained.

Regarding *dāl* 'to give' and *lūr* 'to flee' v. §§ 136, 137.

57. Y—M *l* from intervoc. *-d-* (and *-dy-*) occurs in: *olo* 'there' < *-d-avada*; *ilir* 'belly' < *\*udarya*; *alarsinē* 'threshold' < *\*adara-sayanaka*; *alāno* 'pomegranate' < *hadanaē(patā)*; *aspəlan* 'stable' < *\*aspadāna*; *avəli* 'both' < *\*ubā-ducəi* (?); *avlasto* 'sleeve' < *\*abi-dastā*; *avelān* 'bridle' < *\*aiwi-ḍāna*; *dāl* 'to give' < *dadā*; *yal* 'thief' < *gada*; *kəla* 'when' < *kaḍa*; *la* 'with' < *hada*; *lūr* 'to flee' < *raod* (?); *məlo* 'here' < *\*imadā*; *malen* 'half-full' < *madəma*; *Miliyeg* < *\*Madya*<sup>3</sup>; *məlān* 'waist' < *maidyāna*; *malax* 'locust' < *madaxa* (or lw. ?); *nəl* 'reed' < *\*nada*; *nāilō* 'to circumcise' < *\*niž-dab* (?); *nəliv*, etc. 'to lie down' < *ni-paidya*; *nəmālyo* 'salt' < *\*numad(a)kā*; *palo* 'foot' < *pād*; *pol* 'footprint' < *paḍa*; *plār* 'to sell' < *\*parā-dā*; *pəlarz* 'to wrap' < *\*pati-darza*; *pālāstiko* 'armlet' < *\*pati-dasta*; *poruylan* 'hole for the door-bolt' < *\*dāna*; *šilē* 'neck' < *\*uṣadaka* (?); *šəlo* 'near': Soyd. *šə* (?); *wul* 'to throw' < *\*wid*; *wolo* 'irrigation channel' < *vaiḍi*; *wulo* 'wife' < *vaḍū*; *wuləyo* 'span' < *\*widāti*; *xul* 'perspiration' < *x<sup>a</sup>aḍa*; *xulo* 'embroidered cap' < *xəḍa*; *z<sup>2</sup>yal* 'to run away' < *z<sup>2</sup>gad*.

Of uncertain or unknown etymology are: *fyēli* 'a lie'; *yūelo* 'yoke-rope'; *kulyā* 'a wild growing vegetable'; *pelicio* 'fir-tree';<sup>2</sup> *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *veliwə* 'lightning'; *vul'yōr*, *wur'gar* 'shoulder-blade'; *wulid* 'foot-print'; *wulai* 'open'; *waly* 'feast' (< *\*wadu-ka* ?); *wulyeyo*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. Voc. Psht., s.v. *lās*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 51.

'a small shrub'; *yelu* 'stack of grain'; *yīla* 'a little'; M *yālko* (Y *yežko*) 'duck'.

*pa'lan* 'saddle' and *xāl* 'taste' are probably lw.s. Regarding *pēlēk* and *poləm* v. Voc. s.vv.

In *niž-* 'to sit down', *tiž-*, *čiž-* 'to fall', and possibly in *yēžio* 'nest', an early contraction has resulted in  $*h\delta > *θ > \dot{x}$ .<sup>1</sup> Note also *uščeno* 'hay-stack'  $< *wāštānā < *wāstra-dānā$ .

Ancient  $\delta$  (*d*) in secondary contact with  $d < t$  resulted in  $*\delta > l$ . Cf., e.g., *drl* 'he gives'  $< dadati$ .<sup>2</sup> Regarding  $t + t$  cf. § 47.

58.  $b > \beta$ , *v* occurs e.g. in *vio* 'was'  $< būta$ ; *vad-* 'to tie'  $< band$ ; *b-rən* 'root, bottom'  $< buna$ ; *vān* 'long'  $< barāšna$ , etc., cf. Voc. s.vv.

Words of uncertain origin are M, Z *vaynew* 'yield of grain'; *viščo* 'steep hillside'. It is possible that *vār*, *vēr* 'time' was borrowed from Prs. at a time when this language has still  $\beta$  from *w*. In that case *pūžē* 'falcon' may be a later lw., borrowed from Prs. *bāz*, while Y—M had as yet no initial *b*.

At present *b-* is quite common, chiefly in lw.s, but also in native words with original  $*ham-b$ .

59. Examples of  $-v < -b$  are: *āvr-* 'to bring'  $< ā-bar$ ; *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak'  $< *abi-dāmantā$ ; *avlasto* 'sleeve'  $< abidastā$ ; *avelān* 'bridle' (note *wl*)  $< *aiwidāna$ ; *yurv-* 'to seize'  $< *grb$ ; *drūv-* 'to dance'; Sogd. *dr'wβ*; *lō-* 'to graze'  $< *law < *dab$ ; *nov-* 'to rain', *niv* 'rain'  $< nab$ ; *nəvyo* 'beak'  $< *nabakū$ ; *nəvor* 'to take out'  $< niš-bar$ ; *rīv* 'rhubarb'  $< *rāba$ .

In secondary contact with a voiceless sound we find *f*: *afseno* 'whet-stone'; *afsiŋyo* 'ladder'; *afsirnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi$ . Cf. also the unvoicing of  $-v < *biš$  in the obl. pl. in *af* and in *maj* 'you'.<sup>3</sup>

Note Yzh *avslī*, M, Z *avel'yi* 'both', but Y sh *abelī*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shgh. *neθ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 199, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 88.



In loan-words we often find *v* (or *w*) for Standard Prs. *-b-*, but in most cases the fricative probably belongs already to Bad. Prs. Examples are, e.g.: Y *ketiu* 'book'; (M *ktōb*); *dūcūne* 'torch'; *dūōva* 'second watering'; Y *rikau* (M *rikib*) 'stirrup', etc. Note also *Parauko* = Khov. *Parabek*, n. of a village in Lutkuh.

60. Initial *ž-* < *j-* occurs in *ž-* 'to speak' < \**jat-*; Y *žio* (M *jūiko*) *j-* 'bowstring' < *jyā-*; *žilo* 'hail' < \**jārdā-* (or lw. ?); *žinko*, *žin(k)a* 'woman' < *jaini-*. Y *žaro* 'poison' is probably a lw. from Khov. *žū(u)*, *žūg* 'leather' seems to go back to \**jauka-*, but, in spite of Skr. *gav-* (Kalasha *gao*) 'leather', it is perhaps doubtful whether it is permissible to assume a form with *e*-vowel of this root.

*žib-* 'to rise'; *žaf-* 'to chew'; *žinggo* 'n. of a bird' and *žunayē*, etc. 'boy' are of uncertain origin.

In Y—M, and also in Psht and Sgl., we find *ž-* < *j-*, but *c-* < *č-*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently the dentalization of palatals in these dialects is later than the loss of occlusion in voiced stops (and *j*). In Saka, on the other hand, *j-* results in *j-* (written *js* and *dz*),<sup>2</sup> in Wakhi probably in *j-*,<sup>3</sup> and in Shgh. etc. in *z-* < *j-*.<sup>4</sup> Also Ossetic probably has *j-*, but the examples are few.

The indigenous sound *ž-* and Prs. *j-* appear to be more or less interchangeable, and ought probably to be regarded as being variants of one and the same phoneme. Cf., e.g., s.vv. *ji'gar*, *žiga'rēn*; *ža'hānd*; *ju'āna*, *žū'wān*; *žirabē*.

61. Examples of *-ž-* are: *iž* 'snake' < *aži-*; *mižāyiko* 'mist' < \**mižā-*; *mūž-* *j-* 'to move' < \**ham-auž-* (?); *užer-* 'to look' < \**awa-žaraya-*. *pižām-* 'to entrust' is possibly borrowed from Khov. *pežem-*, in its turn of Ir. origin.<sup>5</sup> The derivation of *raža* 'platform' is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> In many, if not in all cases. Cf. above § 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 25; *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> In *jei* 'bow-string'.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. in *zin-* 'to beat'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663. But notice Yr *pečām-* < \**pati-jam-*?

## Cerebrals.

62. In words of Ir. origin cerebral sounds have been developed from *rt* > Y *r* (M *r*); *rn* > Y *ŋ* (M *ŋgʷ*); *s(t)r*, *rš* > *š*.

In lws from IA, especially from Khow., all types of cerebrals occur in Y. Thus, with *t*: *tok* 'wild pear' < Khow. *tōng*; *tʃo* 'n. of a bird' < *tʃif*; *parəpaʃi* 'boil, sore' < Khow. *parpaʃ*; *čōʃə* 'knuckle' < Khow. *čot*; *koʃinē* 'hammer' < Khow. *koʃini*; *kiʃoʀi* 'dried mulberries' < Khow. *kiʃōri*; *būto* 'boot', *kūʃ* 'coat' < IA. < Eng. Cf. also *škūt* 'tasteless'; *ʃakye* 'n. of a part of the plough'; *pāt* 'bent, crooked'; *piʃio* 'necklace'; *aʃilē* 'porridge'; *gaʃ* 'roof-beam'; *yoʃ* 'dumb'.<sup>1</sup> In *latrək* 'chive' < Khow. *laʃruk* the *t* has been dissimilated by the following *r*.—*d* occurs in *diʃamco* 'cotton thread' < Khow. *diʃōnu*; *bāʃir* 'sledge hammer' < Khow. *beʃir*, and *ŋ* in *čuna* 'lime' < IA, *ŋd* in *bakiŋda*, *bakōnda* 'male calf'; *baŋdux* 'a kind of handmill'; *kuŋdūk* 'wooden bowl' < Khow.; *laŋdik*, *laŋdūk* 'fat'; *siŋd* 'two-storied house' < Khow.; *miŋkoŋdi* 'n. of a flower' < Khow. *miŋkōn*.

We find *ž* in *žāžiro* 'chain' < Khow. *jaŋʃer*; *Iž* 'n. of a village' < Khow., but also in *žoržo*, *žoržo* 'partridge', and *žimmež*, *žimež* 'to pull up weeds'. Reg. *č*, *r* and *ʃ* v. §§ 79.

In a few, probably relatively old, lws from IA *kʷ* has been substituted for *t* in Y: *kyo'gō*, *čō'gōo* 'wild pear' < Khow. *tōng* (cf. *tok* above); *kə'kyaro* 'Kafir dagger' < IA. *kaʃāro*, etc.; Y *pokʷ* 'husks' < Khow. *phōʃ*; Y *kūkʷa*, M *kuʃyo* 'short': Wkh. *kəʃ*, etc. < IA; *kākʷ*, etc. 'to boil' < \**kaʃ* (?); *rešk* 'avalanche' < Khow. *reʃt*. *ŋd* probably became \*(*ŋ*)*gʷ* in *magʷ* 'to rub'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the change of *rt* through \**d* to Sar. *g*, and the transition of a cerebral into a velar in the childish pronunciation of E. Norw. *onʔli* (written *ordentlig*) as *onkli*.

<sup>1</sup> With Ir. *γ* and IA *t* in the same word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 121.

<sup>4</sup> — Kulturforskning.



## Surd Fricatives.

63. Ancient *x*- remains in *xo'd* 'to laugh'; *xūyo* 'a spring'; *xoro* *x*- 'donkey', etc.<sup>1</sup> *xof* 'scum, foam' and *xoš* 'to pull' have *x* < *k*- in other Pamir dialects, too.<sup>2</sup> Reg. *x* < *xw*- v. § 98.
64. Intervocalic *x*- remains unchanged. Thus: *max* 'we'; *max* 'peg' *x*- < \**maiza*; *anaxno* 'nail' < \**ā-nāxanā*; *pīx* 'span': Sgl. *pēx*; *woxo* 'root-fibre' < \**waixā*, etc. Reg. other words with suffix *-xā* v. § 98.

Words of uncertain origin are: *pərxāw*- 'to eat with a spoon'; *fxaw*- 'to shear'; *fxot*- 'to seize'; *vox*- 'to itch'; *poxyak* 'temples'; *forx* 'to stool' < \**fra-rix* (?); *šūrox*- 'to shy'.

*šāxo* 'branch' and *rōx* 'cheek' are borrr. from Prs., and *gax* 'hole'; *muxan* 'veranda'; *tux* 'steam'; *braxā* 'to knock'; *krox* 'scab'; *nax* 'floor'; *orox* 'spark' are borrowed from Khow., or resemble Khow. forms.

In sandhi we find a sonorization of *x*- in *Y vo yoi* < *vo xoi* 'own'.

65. Characteristic of Y—M is the palatalization of *θ* into *ṣ*, a sound *θ*- which is probably also designed by Saka *ṭhṭh* in *haṭṭha* 'true' < \**hadya*.<sup>3</sup> In initial, antevocalic position the only example of *ṣ*- are *šūmānē* 'male ibex', a word of uncertain etymology, and the place-name *Šulī* 'T(h)ili'.
66. Postvocalic *θ* occurs in *yw'reṣ* 'knot' < \**graṭha*; *miṣ* 'day' < *θ*- \**māṭhya*; *mōṣṣē* 'stick' < \**māṭhaka*; *pīṣ* 'arrow' < \**pāṭha*; M *paṣoy* 'wide' < \**paṭhaka*; *parvaṣin* 'knee-cap' < \**pari-paṭhanya*; *peṣiko* 'snare' < \**pāṭhyā* + *iko* (?). It is uncertain whether *pəzeṣi* 'young male sheep', *vəzāṣo* 'womb', and *zāṣko* 'child-bearing' contain ancient *-zaṭha* or \**zaṭhya*.<sup>4</sup>

Reg. *niṣ*- 'to sit down', *t/čiṣ*- 'to fall', and *yēṣio* 'nest' < \**ni-hid*, *haṭa-hid*, *ā-hadya*, with *hḍ* > *θ*, v. § 57.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *ru'gor* 'sword' v. BSOS, VIII, 668.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anc. Prs. *haṣiya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 155.

The derivation of *yežio* 'handmill' and of *pěiž-* 'to break' is uncertain. *pižoyo*, *pižyo* 'saliva' (< \**pðu*?) shows the affinity between *ž* and *š*.

*yoh* 'excrements'<sup>1</sup> is probably borrowed from some other dialect. *ləmi-*, pret. of *lmōn-* 'to rub' is scarcely the regular phonetic outcome of \**nimađita-*, from which we should expect \**lməži-*, but an analogical formation.

67. Also initial *f-* is of rare occurrence. Examples are: *fia* 'wooden spade'; *fār-* 'to catch': Prs. *fārīdan* 'to want'; *f'sko* 'nose': Sgl. *fusek*; *fiz* 'breast': Wkh. *pūz*.

*fāru* 'mill-broom' is dissimilated from \**frāruv*. *fusfestiya* 'small locust' looks like an onomatopoeical formation, and *fagyikə* 'song' is of uncertain derivation.

68. Intervocalic *-f-* remains in: *kʷifo* 'hump' < \**kaufā*; *nif* 'navel'; *-f-xof* 'scum'; *wāf-* 'to weave'; *kʷof-* 'to groan': Prs. *kafīdan* 'to crack'; *puf-* 'to blow'; *xof-* 'to cough'; *təfōv-* 'to put fire to' < \**tafya-* (?), etc.

Cf. also *vrōf-* 'to fly'; *žof-* 'to chew'; *jōf-* 'to send, command'. In *šift-* 'to plaster', etc. the *f* is of secondary origin, cf. § 228.

Other words with *-f-* are: *paifar* 'steep hillside'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *zifkyün* 'rolling pin' (*v* + *k*?); *šafšiyān* 'armpit'; *Fʳrastufi* 'n. of a lake'; *šefloč* 'hoof'.

#### Sibilants.

69. Ir. *s-* remains in *sayo* 'shade'; *siy* 'hare'; *sāl* 'year' (lw. ?); *s-šēyi'o* 'sand'; *surv* 'hole', etc.<sup>2</sup>

A number of words in *s-* are of uncertain etymology. Thus, e.g.: *səbrim* 'boiled fat'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *svy* 'strap'; *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *suniko* 'wooden shovel'; *siniya* 'sole'; *sāro* 'below'; *sosē* 'heap of sheaves'; *sasto* 'hillside'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'.

Reg. *s-* < *š-* in *šinjo* cf. § 135.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *yumino* 'anus'.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.



70. Also *-s* remains unchanged. E.g.: *as* 'to come' < \**ā-isa-*; *is-*, *yīs* 'to carry' < *yās*; *yīs* 'thread made of goat's hair' < *gaēsa-*; *yuskən* 'cow-dung' < \**gau-sakana-*; *kōs* 'to search for' < *kaṣ* (?); *los* '10' < *dasa*; *lēso* 'oats': Sgl. *dēsīn*; *nusiṣ* 'the shady side of a valley' < \**nisāya-*; *pusur* 'head' < \**pātisārah-* (?); *ros* 'to arrive' (lw. ?); *rūso* 'fox' < \**raupasā-*; *wos* 'now, then': Psht. (*w*)*ōs*, etc.

Of uncertain origin are: *loso* 'rope' (Prs. *dasa* 'fringe' ?); *ces* 'what'; *yus* 'to worry'; *kuso* 'maize-stalk'; *sosē*, *sors* 'heap of sheaves'; *wosa* 'wide', etc.

In *nezyo*, *niyzo* 'mucus of the nose' *s* has been sonorized before *γ*. *Y karyōz* (M *kargas*) 'a kind of eagle' corresponds to Prs. *kargas*, but *z* appears in other dialects, too (v. Voc.). Cf. also *yuwiz* 'double bridle': Khw. *iwis* (with *-s* < *-z* ?); *bayaz* 'bellowing': Sgl. *bayas*; *ramūz* M. LSI. 'deer': Psht. *rāmūsai*. It is impossible to determine the special causes of the sonorization of *s* in these words.

71. Initial *z* remains. Thus. e.g.; *zīk* 'knee' < *zānuka-*; *zīl* 'heart' *z-* < \**zydya-*; *zamai* 'son-in-law' < *zāmātar-*; *zōmbā* 'jaw' < \**zambā*; *zōyno* 'chin' < \**zanaxā-*; *zōmargirē* 'lizard' < *zamarā-guz-* (or lw. ?); *zīt* 'yellow' < *zairita-*; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamaxā-*; *zūčko* 'child-bearing' < \**zaḍā + ko*; *zīy* 'to bear' < *zaya-*.

*zāyo* 'crow' is probably a lw. from Prs., and *zōm-* 'to yawn' from Khw.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *last* 'hand' < \**ḍasta-* < *zasta-*, cf. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v. *lās*.

72. Words with intervocalic *-z-* are too numerous to be given in full *-z-* here. Examples are: *a'vāz-* 'to bring' < *upa-az-*; *iziko* 'yester-eve'; *azīto* 'barberry' < \**ā-zarītā-*; *azusyo*, *wuyzəga* 'frog' < *vazayā- + kā*; *diz-* 'to bury' < \**han-daiz-*; *lizo* 'fort': Prs. *diz*; *nuyōz-* 'to swallow': Wanetsi *yōz-* 'to drink'; *mīz-* 'to urinate' < *maēz-*; *ne'rīz-* 'to lick' < *ni-raiz-*; *pəzēzr* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**pātī-zaḍyaka-*; *vuza* 'he-goat' < *būza-*; *vēzb-* 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb-*; *vīzyā* 'arm above elbow' < *bāzu- + ka-*; *vəzān-* 'to know' < \**upa-(?)zan-*; *vəzāčo* 'pregnant' < \**upa-zaḍā*; *wuzā-* 'to be tired' < \**wi-zāya-*; *wuziā(w)*.

<sup>1</sup> BSOS. VIII, 662.

'to extinguish' < \*uz-aya- (caus.); *wuzir* 'yesterday' < *uzayara*; *čirizen* 'the day before yesterday' < \*črila-azana; *zo* 'I' < *azəm*.

Of uncertain origin are: *yaza* 'room'; *niaskē*, *niāzyla* 'yawn'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'; *wizinga* M Z cotton thread. Reg. *pūzē* 'falcon' cf. § 58. Reg. the suffix -yuz v. § 193.

73. In the following words Y—M *š*- corresponds to Av. *š*- (< \*qy-, *š*- \*ks-), or to *š*- of other Ir. dialects: *šūi* 'went, became' < *šuta*; *šam*- 'to drink' < *šam*-; *šifč(ik)o* 'waterfall': Prs. *šiflan* 'to trickle'; *š'fōn* 'clay for plastering', *šift*- 'to plaster': Bal. *šēfay* 'rod for applying collyrium', etc. (but v. s.v.); *šām* 'ripe': Bal. *šam* 'moist'(?); *šuv*- 'to suck': Wkh. *šap*-; *šūš* 'vulture': Sgl. *šūš*. Cf. also *šilē* 'neck': Av. *ušadā*(?).

A number of words with *š*- are lw.s, or of unknown origin.<sup>1</sup>

74. In E.Ir., and among W.Ir. languages in Kurdish, there is a *š*- tendency to sonorize intervocalic *š*, and the resulting \**š̌* is subject to further changes. There is evidently some connection between this development and the sonorization of intervocalic surd stops. We find that Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., which preserve intervocalic tenues, do also retain *š*- as an unvoiced sound.<sup>2</sup> But the problem remains why Ir. *š* was more exposed to assimilation than *s*-, while in European languages the opposite seems to be the case.<sup>3</sup> Probably the back articulation of Ir. *š*- weakened its resistance against the influence of the surrounding vowels. The resulting *š̌* has been preserved in earlier Saka, in S.Psht. and in Shgh. (*š̌*). But it was an unstable sound, which in N.Psht. changed into *g* (Ghilzai also *ɣ*), in Roshani into *u*, and in Sgl. and Sar. into *l*, *l*. In later Saka and in Par. it tends to disappear completely, while in Orm. and Y—M it developed probably through a sound resembling the

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Oss. retains unvoiced *š* < *š*-, but sonorizes *t* > *d*-, etc., thus developing on parallel lines with most W.Ir. dialects in this respect.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chuwash (Turkish) *š* > *t*-, v. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 206<sup>1</sup>.



'cerebral *y*' of Burushaski,<sup>1</sup> into *y*, which has in many cases disappeared in Y—M. It may be noted that \**y* < *š* has no palatalizing effect on the preceding vowel, cf. *ābrūo* 'pear' < \**hamrautā*, but *špūo* 'louse' < *spiš*. The intermediate stage *ž* has been preserved through early metathesis in *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižā* (< \**raišā*), from which also Psht. \**žairā* > *žira*.

Examples of *y*, *o* < -*š*- are: *ābūya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol* < \**hampiša(ka)*(?); *frīyo* 'flea' < \**frušikā*; *fərmō* 'to forget' < \**framuš-* (v. Voc. s.v.); *γū(i)*, etc. (Mm *γūl*?)<sup>2</sup> 'ear' < *gaoša*; *mūo*, *mīyo*, etc. 'sheep' < Av. *maēši*; *ni-* 'to go out' < \**niš-i*; *nəyuy-* 'to hear' (G. *nuyūš*?) < \**ni-gauš*; *niäst* (*niš*) 'sat down' < \**ni-šasta* (or \**ni-hasta*?) ; *nāilā*, *nīyalōv* 'to make to sit down' < *ni-šādāya*; *nəro'u*, *n'rowīy* 'black' < \**an-arušaka* (?); *spūo*, *spuyā*<sup>3</sup> 'louse' < *spiš*; *vri-* 'to break' < \**braiš*; *yo* 'that' < *aēša*; *ywg* 'arrow' < *išu* + *ka*; *yūga* 'ear of wheat' < \**aušaka*; *zrno* 'daughter-in-law' < \**snušā*.

Words of more uncertain or unknown origin are: *gūy-* 'to knead' (v. Voc.); *γəniγo*, *xniγa* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)niša*; *šūiko* 'collar-bone': Bal. *srōš* 'elbow' (?); *kiō* 'labour, ploughing'; *qīāy*, etc. 'bull'.

*uxšo*, etc. '6' is probably derived from *xšvaš*, not from \**xšveša*,<sup>4</sup> note the different accent in *avdo*, *aššo* in some forms of Y.

Reg. *šilē* (< *ušaḍā*), cf. §§ 164, 109.

75. In a great number of words we find Y—M -*š*-. Most of these words are borrowed from Prs. or Khow., others contain an original group *sr* (> *š*, *s*).

But in some cases -*š*- appears to go back to Ir. \*-*šš*- (< *kš*, *qy*), which in Av. is written *š*, thus coalescing with *š* < *s* (after *i*, *u*, *r*).

Thus *diš* 'to think' could be derived from \**han-dišša* (< \**dik-s(k)e*), but \**han-disya* is also possible; *nuvāš* 'to comb' points to \**ni-pašša*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, 6.

<sup>2</sup> G.'s *γūš* can scarcely be a correct dialect form.

<sup>3</sup> Y *sh*, r *špūo* with early assimilation of *spiš* > \**špiš*??

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, JA. 1916, 244.

< \**ni-pekse-*, and *nišāš-*, *niḡāš-* 'to show' to \**ni-čašša-*, Av. *čaš-*, *nuviš-* 'to write' is probably a lw.; but *koša* 'valley' can scarcely be borrowed from Prs. *kaš*, and ought to be derived from \**kaššaka-* (v. Voc. s.v.). Also *avyuš*, *yivguš* 'lap' possibly contains \**kašša-*. Cf. also *firšōn-* 'to shake' < \**fra-ššan-*.

Words which possibly contain ancient *šš* < *qy* are: *frušē* 'muzzle':<sup>1</sup> Av. *fraša-*; *pšāi* 'ripe' < \**paššaka-* < \**pačya-*. Also *xašəy* 'friend'; *kaš* 'piebald' (Shgh. *čūž*, etc.); *yašē* 'good' (Prs. *gaš*) may have original *-šš-*, but the origin of these words is unknown. Nor is it possible to determine the original form of *yūš* 'meat'. Regarding *češ* 'not', which Gauthiot would connect with Av. *aēša*, v. Voc. s.v.

Other words of unknown origin containing *-š-* are: *nišōk* 'jaw'; *kurušo* 'Angelica'; *ašasto* 'a kind of small berries'; *ušun-* 'to neigh'. In some of these words *š* may be incorrect for *š̌*.

#### Nasals.

76. Initial and intervocalic nasals remain, except in the cases when *n* is dissimilated into *l* (v. § 136).<sup>2</sup>

Examples of *n-* are: *no* 'not'; *nōn* '9'; *nəb* 'dew'; *nif* 'navel', *n-* etc. *anaxno* 'nail' has a 'prothetic' *a-*. The nature of the relation between *dūr* 'to-day' and Sgl. *nēr*, etc. is unknown.

Intervocalic *-n-* remains in *ken-* 'to do', 'to dig'; *mən* 'my'; *n-yunia* 'hair'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \**dānakā-*; *stīnoyo* 'supine' < \**ustānakā-*; *wīn-* 'to see', etc. Note M *stun(ek)* 'throat': Psht. *stūnai*, but Y \**stūya* with apparent loss of *n*.

Initial *m-* in: *mā-* 'to measure'; *moyuso* 'fly'; *məlān* 'waist'; *mər-* *m-* 'to die', etc.

Intervocalic *-m-* occurs in *frayāmə*, etc. 'he-goat'; *lāmo* 'village'; *m-lamdo* 'hem'; *lōmago* 'snare'; *nəmālʔo* 'salt'; *rīm-* 'to please'; *sām* 'yoke-peg'; *šam-* 'to drink'; *zamai* 'son-in-law', and also in *mo* 'this' < *ima-*; *max* 'we' < *a(h)māxam*.

<sup>1</sup> From which Khw. *froš*.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *mr-* > *br-* *y-* § 120.



In *ind* 'so much' (\**imanta-*); *avlünd* 'hem of a cloak' (\**abidāmāntā-?*); *frayingo* 'she-goat' (cf. *frayāmə*) *m* has been subject to assimilation. The etymology of *s'mts* 'blunt' is unknown.

### Liquids.

77. Initial *r* remains. E.g.: *rūi* 'bowels'; *riyo* 'vein'; *rūy'n* 'clarified butter'; *rok* 'colour', etc.

If *rin'g'a* 'slippery' is derived from \**rixšnaka-* or a similar form, *r-* corresponds to *l-* in Prs. *lašn*. Note also *ne-riz* 'to lick'. *lūr* 'to flee' is transposed from \**rūl*.<sup>1</sup>

The *r-* in Y *rispən* 'iron' (M *yuspən*) is unexplained.

Intervocalic *-r-* occurs in *imār* 'to count'; *yar* 'stone'; *yary -r-* 'heavy' < *gouru-*; *lār* 'to have'; *āvər* 'to bring'; *čšir*, *čfür* '4'; *parguščč* 'finger-ring', etc.

Reg. *t* < *rt* in secondary contact cf. § 125. In *fro-* 'to melt', and possibly in *fərx* 'to stool', *-r-* has been lost through dissimilation (< \**fra-ri*, \**fra-riz*).

*da* 'in, into' may be a lw. from Bad. Prs., but Y—M loss of *-r* in an unstressed word is equally possible.

*zūl* 'difficult' may have got its *l* from *zulūwar* < *zōrūwar*.

78. Y—M *l* is found chiefly in words beginning with ancient *d*.<sup>2</sup> *l-* and in lw.s. There are a few words of unknown origin, such as: *lingōn* 'handmill'; *langau* 'bucket'; and we find an unexplained prothetic *l-* in Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*), and, according to Gauthiot, in *lišk'ūn* 'female breast' (M *yīšk'una*, Y *išč'in*, etc.). But there is no instance of IE *l* > Y—M *l*.

79. Y *l* renders Kati *r'* in the lw. *plac* 'cheese'. But we usually find Y *r* (or the variant *l̥*) for Khaw. *l* (*ḍ*). Thus, e.g.: *blacā-* 'to collect', *bambol̥i* 'beard of a maize cob'; *brok*, *blək* 'knuckle'; *keṛē* 'shield'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'; *kṛīnsar* 'walking stick'; *kalakəri* 'wrinkles';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 56.

*krabərē* 'lamb's wool'. Cf. also *loh-rīn* 'double': Khov. *jurin*; *pa'koro* (*pa'kōl*) 'woollen cap'; *kəox* 'scab, incrustation'; *luā, lū* 'pine-marten' < Khov.??

## Glottal.

80. Initial *h-* has been dropped, as in most E.Ir. dialects.

*h-*

Thus, e.g. in *avdo* '7'; *ušk* 'dry'; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; probably also in *idou* 'fever' < *\*han-tāpa* (?); *ābrūo* 'pear' < *\*hamrautā*; *ābūya* 'moraine' < *\*hampišaka*; *ida* 'slave' < *\*hantaka* (?); *yürzun* 'millet' < *\*(h)ürzana* (?); Y *Idəγ*, M *Yidg* < *\*Hinduka*.

With loss of the initial vowel we find: *ša* 'from' < *hača*; *ēiṣ-* 'to fall' < *\*hača-hida*; *baxš-* 'to divide' < *\*ham-baxš-* (or. lw.); *diz-* 'to bury' < *\*han-daiz-* (and some other verbs in *d-*); *gūy-* 'to knead' < *\*han-gauš-* (?), cf. *āgunḡ* 'dough'.

*h-* has been dropped also in some lw.s. Thus: *avda, abda* '17'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *ālq* 'throat'. But note also *(h)ə* 'melted fat' (from Khov.); *hasā'ine, osā'inē* 'handkerchief' (from Khov.), *hazār, azōr* '1000', etc.

The result of this recent introduction of *h-* has been that, just as in some Psht. dialects, a 'Cockney' *h-* has been introduced in some words where it is devoid of any etymological signification. In fact Yd. *h-* is probably phonologically insignificant. Cf. e.g. *hūy* 'money'; *(h)adamə* 'limb'; *hadē* 'slave'; *hənadiy* 'out of breath'; *(h)ory* 'work'; *harko* 'back'; *huro, wuro* 'there'.

Intervocalic *-h-* likewise is lost: *siy* 'hare' < *\*sahaka*; *mux* 'month' *-h-* < *\*māhaxa*; *wāro* 'summer' < *\*wāhytā*; *xā-* 'to thresh' < *\*xah-*; *ino* 'blood' < *\*vohuni-*; *hūy* 'price' < *\*wahāka* (or lw.?).

Reg. *h + δ > θ > š*, v. § 57.



## Semivowels.

81. Antevocalic *w-* is preserved as a semivowel in a great number of words. Thus, e.g.: *wūi* 'wind'; *wāf* 'to weave'; *wofšio* 'wasp'; *wulya* 'kidney'; *wīn* 'to see', etc.

Before *u* there is a sporadic loss of *w-*, frequently in Y.—especially in Yg, r and B—more seldom in M. We find, however, that forms with and without *w-* may be used by the same person, and it looks as if *w-* had no phonological significance before *u*.<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. *wulai*, *wulo*, *wurw-*, *wurž*, *wuš*, (*w*)*ušiyo*, *wuzā*, *uščeno*. In *wūi*, *wulya*, *wulēyo* and *wury* I always heard *w-*. Reg. *hūy* < (*w*)*ūy*, cf. Voc. s.v.

*wisto* '20', *wul* 'to throw', *wulēyo* 'span', etc., prove that *w-* was preserved before original *i*. *yiston* 'felt' can therefore, even apart from other reasons, scarcely be derived from *\*wi-star(a)na-*. (*y*)*ino* 'blood' presents special problems in Y—M, just as in most other Ir. dialects.

*vzān*, *v/wzōn* 'to know' < *\*wi-zan-* (? v. Voc.) possibly has *vz-* < *wz-*.

82. Initial *y-* remains in *yōn* 'grain'; *yūy* 'yoke'; *yēyən* 'liver'; *yuxs-* *y* 'to learn'. Cf. also *yūi* 'husband's brother' < *\*yāta-* (?); *yežio* 'handmill' < *\*yaθra-* (?); *yūy(-yāmo)* 'three days hence' < *\*yuta-* (?). But the function of *y-* has changed its character through the development of prothetic *y-*.

*yāmo* 'the day after to-morrow' and *yōba* 'dance', etc. are of unknown origin. Note *axlən* besides *yaxlən* 'cold'.<sup>2</sup>

Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

83. Common to the Pamir dialects is the tendency, to some extent Proth. *w-* also shared by Psht., towards the development of *w-* or *y-* before initial vowels. This tendency, which betrays a weakness of phono-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below § 83.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *laxsərə* 'ice' v. § 78.

logical, if not of a phonetic nature of original *w-* and *y-*,<sup>1</sup> had not been fully developed before the period of complete separation between the various dialects. Therefore the results of the common tendency vary from dialect to dialect, and also within Y—M itself.

Thus we find, e.g.: Y *yasto* 'bone'; *yürzən* 'millet'; *yäre* 'flour'; *yašk* 'tear'; Wkh. *yašč*, *yürzn*, (*yüm*), *yašk*, but Sgl. *wastuk*, *wužďän*, *wulök*, *äšik*.

Prothetic *w-* is rare in Y—M. It occurs before *u*, and in a few words only, chiefly in M:

*wurzey* Mm, Z, G 'straight': (*h*)*urzey*, Mm, g, Y.

*wušš* Mm, g, Z, G, Ysh, r 'dry': *ušš* Yzh, g, B.

*wušš'* M(g) Z 'to rise'.

*wuzir* Mm, etc. Z, Yzh, etc. 'yestereve': *uzir* B.

*wušōu* Mg, (g), Z 'to call': *ušā(w)* Mm, G, Y.

But the unstressed initials in *ustušč* 'to jump', *usxūbun* 'sleepless', etc. are always without *w-*.

84. Prothetic *y-* plays a more important part in Y—M than *w-*, Proth. *y-* probably owing to the general palatalizing drift of this dialect-group.<sup>2</sup> It is universal before accentuated *ā*. Thus, e.g.: *yādē* 'blind' < *anda*-(*ka*-); *yasto* 'bone' < *ast*-; *yārmē* 'arm above elbow' < *arēmō*; *yūšk* 'tear' < \**asruka*-; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*-; *yān* 'to grind' < \**arna*-; *yāuŷo* 'water' < \**āpakā*-; *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārta*-; *yürzun* 'millet' < \*(*h*)*ärzana*-; M *yūspən* 'iron' < \**āspana*-, etc. Before ancient *ai*, *au* and *ɣ*: *yeyä* 'bridge' < *haētū*-; *yūya* 'ear of corn' < \**aušaka*-; *yarš* 'bear' < *arəša*-.

In *yū* < *ā*-, *au*- the prothesis must have taken place before the vowel had reached the stage *ū*. *yūtərsən* 'upper door-sill' is perhaps derived from \**ūpari*- not from *upari*-.

*yurə* 'mouth' and *yūmenä* 'n. of a plant' are of unknown derivation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar phenomena in the Slavonic languages. V. e.g. Meillet, *Le Slave commun*<sup>2</sup>, § 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot *MSL*, XIX, 140.



The prothesis does not occur in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find *yers̄io* 'barley', but *ars̄ə'min* 'barley bread'; and similarly *yürzun* 'millet', but *arzə'min*; *yasp* 'horse', but *aspəlan*.<sup>1</sup> Other examples are: *ābūya* 'moraine'; *ābrūo* 'pear'; *agidro* 'grape'; *agim̄in* 'honey'; *oguščo* 'finger'; *oγuzo* 'walnut', *oγoi* 'came', etc. Cf. also *avdō* '7', *aščō* '8' (Skr. *saptā*, *aṣṭau*?).

Y *afseno*, M *yufse'no*, *fšēune* 'whetstone' is a special and difficult case.

While Y on the whole has an aversion to initial *yi-*, this combination is quite frequent in M, especially in Mm and G, and in some words M *yu-*, with differentiation, corresponds to Y *i-*, irrespective of the original nature of the initial.

Thus, with ancient *(h)i-*: Y *imar*: M *yumar* 'to count' (but also B *yūmra*) < *hišmar*; Y, Mg, Z *izē*: Mm, ti *yijya* 'goat skin bag' < *\*izyaka*; Y, Mti *Idəγ*, etc.: Mm *Yidg* 'member of the Yd. speaking tribe'. A differentiation may have taken place in M *yī-*. In *Yed'γā*—with *e* through umlaut?—*y-* has been retained in Y.

With ancient *u-*: Y, Mt, g *ilir*: Mm *yilar*, etc. 'belly' < *\*udarya*; Y, Mt *imoyo*: Mm *yumago* < *\*uxsmah* + *kā*.

With ancient *a-*: *iž*: *yīž* 'snake' < *āzi*; *dir*, *idūr*: *yudūr* 'other' < *\*antūra*; *ida*: *yuda* 'slave' < *\*han-taka*. Note *Yucim*: *Iwim* 'n. of a village in Munjan'; *yuciz* 'double bridle' (Y!): Khov. *iwis*.

Cf. also s.vv. *imoyō*, *ino*, *iryoγo*, *is-*, *iščiy*, *iščin*, *ixo*, *ixiko*, *ixčogo*, *izma*, *Iydek*, and *ken-* (*iken*: *yiken*).

85. Intervocalic *-w-* has been retained in: *γawo* (and *γavo*) 'cow'; *-w-* *nawoγo* 'new'; *nawoγo* 'mill-race'; *pəriwiž-* 'to sieve'; *tēw-* 'to stir' < *\*tāwaya-* (?); *ušā(w)* 'to call' < *\*us-srāwaya-*; with loss of initial vowel in *wo* 'that' < *awa-*; *wāst-* 'to place' < *\*awa-stā-*; cf. also *huro*, *wūro* 'there' < *awaθra* (in unstressed position).

Final *-w-* becomes vocalized, or forms part of a diphthong in *liu* 'bad'; *yōu* 'grain'; *nōu* '9'.

<sup>1</sup> With recent change of accent. Cf. *āγd-* 'to dress' < *\*ā'γnd-*.

In *lǝrǝrǝ* 'illness', *lurvǝ* 'ill' < \**a-druwaka-*; *lǝrǝvǝ*, *lǝrǝncǝ* 'reaping': Prs. *dirau*; *yurvo*, *yǝrǝcǝ* 'throat'; *yavo*, *yǝwǝ* 'cow' the semivowel shows a tendency to change into a fricative. This explains the *f* of the enclitic pron. 2 pl.<sup>1</sup> and of *fkyiyiko* 'alone' < \**ēfk-* < \**ēwk*. The development of \**aica* > *yū* 'one' has parallels in other Ir. dialects. Cf. § 152.

Intervocalic *-y-* occurs in *pōya* 'sour milk'; *oyim* 'I go' (3 sg. *yī*) *-y-* < \**ayayami*; *ǝroi*, etc., '3' < *ǝrǝyō*; *frǝiyo*, *fǝrǝyo* 'yoke-rope' < \**fra-yugā*. But *sāyo* 'shade' < \**sāyakā*. In unstressed position, or in compounds, *aya* coalesced with *ai*: *pistan* 'udder' < \**payah-stāna*; *lažino* 'pile of wood' and *paržin* 'hedge' (< \**čayand*); *a'larsino*, *yūvǝrsin* 'threshold', 'upper door-sill' (< \**sayand*).

### Groups of Consonants.

86. Groups of consonants have been subject to changes and modifications through the usual factors: assimilation, differentiation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. In most cases it will be quite clear which principle has been at work, and it will be more convenient for the purpose of presenting a general survey of the phonetic development in Y—M to arrange the material according to the nature of the ancient Ir. groups of consonants. I have chosen the first consonant of the group as a basis for the classification.

No groups of consonants beginning with a surd occlusive existed in Anc. Ir., and the only example of a group beginning with the surd palatal affricate is Av. *ǝvant*, represented by the possibly genuine M *ǝad* 'how many' (Y *ǝand* is borrowed from Prs.).

Reg. recent combinations of surd occlusives with other consonants cf. § 40.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 231.



*First Component a Voiced (Stop or) Fricative.*

87. We have no means of deciding whether *luydo* 'daughter' is *gd* derived direct from a *dugədā*, *duyda*, or from *\*duxtā*, with regular change of *xt* > *γd*.<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to some of the preterites in *γd*.<sup>2</sup>

There is no certain instance of ancient *gz*. *mayz* 'marrow' is *gz* prob. a lw. *royz* 'woman's cloak' is of unknown origin.

Original *gn* (*yn*) is retained, but with development of a svarabhakti *gn* vowel, in *rūyən* 'clarified butter'; *na'γen*, *ən* 'bread' < *\*nayna*; *xu'yēyənə* 'sister-in-law' < *\*xwahā-gnā*. The placename *Maynawul* may possibly contain Av. *mayna* 'naked'; but ancient *xn* is also possible in this word and in *yənīl* 'to bleat'. Reg. *γ'nigo* 'sneezing', v. § 96.

In *gr*, too, a svarabhakti vowel is developed: *γurēx*, *γ'rōx* 'knot' *gr* < *\*graθa*; M *γruwd*, *γ'rīwd* 'seized' prob. < *\*grifta*; <sup>3</sup> *γurvo*, *γirwa* 'throat' < *\*γrincā* < *grivā*; *γuroi*, *γ'rūi* 'earth'; Yaghn. *γ'rik*, etc. Reg. *γoričōy* 'to creak' v. Zar. p. 145 f.

Just as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, internal groups *-gr-* with *r* as the second component are transposed. In this manner it is possible to avoid a hard group without adding a vowel, as is necessary in initial position. The only example of *-gr-* is *tiry* 'sharp'.

Ancient *gw* is possibly contained in *Prowə* 'illness', *lur'və* 'ill', *-gw-* if < *drigu-*. But v. Voc. s.vv.

88. Ancient *-dn-* possibly in *k'al-γereno* 'bald-headed eagle' if < *dn* *\*gɣdnā* (??). Reg. *qfsirnē* 'summer-wheat', v. s.v.

The epenthesis in *\*δr-* must be older than the change of *δ* into *l*, *dr-* since we find *lər* < *\*dr-*, and we can scarcely assume a development *\*δr* > *\*lr*.

Examples are: *ləri* 'to reap' < *\*drūy* (?); *Provo* 'reaping' < *\*draucā*; *l'ərafšo* 'awl': Prs. *dirafš*; *Pruyus* 'sickle' < *\*drāta*<sup>o</sup>; M *Prīva* 'shrub, bush' < *\*drū*<sup>o</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 90.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 232.

<sup>3</sup> Y *yurd* is a back-formation from the present *γur-*.

Words with Y—M *dr* are either lw.s (e.g. *dril* 'inflated skin'; *dracum* 'silver' from Khov.; *drušč*, etc. 'rough'; *d(ł)raxt* 'tree' from Prs.), or contain ancient *-ndr-*. Thus *drūv-* 'to dance' (if not a lw.); *dʹro-* 'to fear'; *dri-* 'to pour out' < \**han-d-*; *dram* 'inside' < \**antarahmi*.

In *ʹroyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā*, and *ʹrovə* 'illness' < \**a-drucaka*.<sup>1</sup> *-dr-* the initial vowel has been dropped at an early date. On the analogy of *-gr* > *γr* and *-br* > *rv* we might expect Y—M \**rl* < *-dr-*, but this supposition is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, we find Y *mə(n)drayč*, M *mulrāgi* 'silver neck-ring' < \**mudraka(ka)* (v. Voc. s.v.), which, if not borrowed, points to a different development of *-dr-*. It is, of course, not surprising that *-dr-* should be treated in a special manner. Cf. also Y *pʹškedrī* (*pəšgirdio*) 'dung of goats and sheep', which may contain a form \**driy* < \**drti*, cf. Wkh. *dart*, etc.

Initial *dw-* (*dw-*) in the first instance became *dv-*, with assimilation of *w* to a preceding fricative,<sup>2</sup> and was then changed into *l(ə)v-*. Examples are: *ʹvor* 'door' (cf. *ʹvoro* 'rafter' < 'doorplank'?); M *ʹvōn-* 'to winnow' < *dvān-*. Y *lavaza* 'dough' and *lavaxčē*, *layafči* 'torch' are of unknown origin. *loʰ*, etc. '2' is probably derived from \**duwč*.

In Y *ʹbān-* 'to winnow' the fricative has been changed into the occlusive in accordance with a tendency prevailing in this dialect under certain favorable conditions. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *xūvun* 'sleep', *zeviryo* 'birch'.

Intervocalic *-dw-* occurs in *yalv* 'dog' < *gaḍva*, where there is no phonetic necessity for the development of a svarabhakti-vowel.

89. Initial *br-* becomes *v(ə)r-*.<sup>3</sup> Thus: *vrai*, *ʹrāi* 'brother'; *vri-* 'to break' < \**braiṣ*; *vriyo* 'eyebrow'; *vroč-* 'to fry' (v. Voc.). M *vrišum* 'silk' and Y *ʹrut* 'mustache' are ancient lw.s from Prs.; *erazidinē* 'pillow' is probably borrowed from Khov.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Gauthiot, < \**driyčā* (cf. *lur'vč* 'ill')?

<sup>2</sup> V. § 102, and cf. Av. *db-*, *b-* < *dv-*.

<sup>3</sup> The svarabhakti-vowel is not constant in this group.



In intervocalic position we find metathesis (cf. *-ry-* < *-gr-*): *surv* 'hole' < *\*subra-*.

An uncertain instance of *bd* is M *ōvd* 'ford', if < *\*ā-bda-*. *bd*

### First Component a Surd Fricative.

#### First Component *x* or *f*.

90. Ir. *xt* results in Y—M *γd*. Thus: *bayd* 'divided' < *\*ham-baxta-*; *xt* *pərwōγd* 'sifted' < *\*pari-wixta-*; *təγd* 'cut' < *\*taxta-*; <sup>1</sup> *vədayd* 'mixed' < *\*abi-han-taxta-*; cf. *wuyd* 'found place': *wuj-*. Regarding *luydo* 'daughter' cf. § 87. It is quite possible that this word is derived from a form in *xt*, and the same remark applies to preterites of roots in *ž* < *\*gh*: *awayd* 'hung up'; *mūγd* 'moved'; *lūγd* 'milked', and *trayd* 'bound'.

Of unknown origin are: *zuyd* 'poured out'; *məlōn-žəmuydəy* 'hunch-backed', and the place-name *Yuydūk* (< *\*yuxta-*?).

Regarding the later formations *yuxt* 'learnt' (*yuxs-*) and *nu(v)ūxt* 'wrote' (*nuviš-*) cf. § 232. *čaxt* (v. Voc.) is probably borrr. from Prs.

91. Ancient *ft* > *vd*. Thus: *avdo* '7'; *suvo* 'shoulder'; *x<sup>s</sup>šuvd* 'sweet' *ft* < *xšvipta-*; cf. also a number of preterites in *vd* < *ft*, § 231. In roots in *-f*, however, *ft* has been reintroduced in the preterite; thus e.g. *waft* 'wove', v. § 231.

*tavdoyō* 'n. of a tree' is of unknown origin; *živde-raus* 'bat' ('flying-fox'?) possibly contains the original past stem of *žib-* 'to rise'.

In the ancient lw. *sāvdē* 'basket', and in the Pres. 3 sg. forms of the type *aydūvd* 'he dresses (somebody else)' *vd* goes back to *\*v(a)t-*, cf. § 47.

This tendency towards the sonorization of the ancient groups *xt*

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.v. *tiš-*.

and *ft* is common to all E.Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup> We find *γd*, *vd*<sup>2</sup> in Y—M, Sgl.-Ishk., Wkh., Yazgh., Yaghn.<sup>3</sup> and Oss. The Shgh. group has *vd* (*vδ*), but *γd* has developed further into *id*, *ud* (*wδ*). Also Sogd. probably had *γd*, *vd* (*βd*),<sup>4</sup> although it is possible that the intermediate stage *γt*, *βt*, was still preserved.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the development of these groups in Saka cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 17, 27, etc., and *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 17. The further weakening of *vd*, *γd*, which is characteristic of Saka, takes place also in Psht. with regard to *ft*,<sup>6</sup> and possibly with regard to *xt*.<sup>7</sup>

Also in Wanetsi<sup>8</sup> and Ormuri<sup>9</sup> we find further reduction of *xt* and *ft*.

Probably in E.Ir. *x* and *f* were first sonorized before *t*, and at a later stage *t* was assimilated into *d*.<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that this sonorization has taken place even in such dialects as Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., where intervocalic *-t-* remains. The groups *xš*, *fš* are not affected by this tendency,<sup>11</sup> and Chr. Sogd. even preserves *x* before the voiced consonant *m*, while sonorizing it before *t*.<sup>12</sup> Partial

<sup>1</sup> Including Orm., but not Par., which has *xt*, *ft* > *t*.

<sup>2</sup> In some cases *γδ*, *vδ*.

<sup>3</sup> Only *vd* occurs in the material available to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 23, 113; Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr. II, 2. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd. I, 127 sq., 147 sq. *βt* but *xt*; Benveniste II, 17, 21 sq. *βt* : *xt* (but 144 \**aed* '7').

<sup>5</sup> The forms *δixth*, *βatk* occur, together with *wytw*, in Letter No. I which does not clearly distinguish between *γ* and *x* (cf. Reichelt, l.c.).

<sup>6</sup> Thus: *šwə* '7'; *tə* 'heat', but *tδd*, f. *tauda* 'hot', *ūd*, *wδd* 'asleep'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *sə* 'burnt' < \**suxta*; *tə* 'went' < \**taxta*; *tər-lə* 'female cousin' < \**trəya-duxta*. But note *sātəl* 'to protect', *erit* 'fried' (cf. Saka *brijs* 'to fry') with *t* < *xt*. It is, however, possible that in these words the past stem was secondary and based upon the present.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NTS, IV, 160: *tān* 'hot'; *wā* 'washed' < \**wixtaka*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, 333: *tək* 'hot'; *hə* 'seven'; *dū(w)a* 'daughter'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Zaza *aut* < *aft* (but *at* < *axf*).

<sup>11</sup> But in Badakhshi, etc. *kawš* = *kafš*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Also Buddh. Sogd. *ym* ought probably to be interpreted as *xm*.

5 - Kulturforskning.



parallels may be adduced e.g. from French,<sup>1</sup> but the E.Ir. phenomenon is difficult to explain.<sup>2</sup>

93. No certain examples of ancient *xč*, *fč* occur. *naxčir* 'male ibex' *xč*, *fč* is a lw.; *laxčio* 'small goatskin bag' is possibly derived from \**lačk*; it is uncertain whether *loxaxčē* or *layafčē* 'large conifer' has preserved the original sequence of consonants; and also in *naxčē* 'it drips'; *ixčogo* 'husband's brother's wife', and *vrexč* (?) 'roasted' *xč* is probably of secondary origin.

In *šifč(ik)o*, *šivčā* 'waterfall', etc. *č* belongs to a suffix; *kafčio* 'spoon' is a lw., and the derivation of *kufčliy* 'stockings' is unknown.

94. But *xš* and *fš* have been preserved better than in any other *xš*-modern Ir. dialect.<sup>3</sup>

Examples of *xš*- are: *xšira* 'milk'; *xšuvd* 'sweet'; *xšovo* 'night'; *xšēma* 'supper'; *xši-* 'to weep', and *xšileniyo* 'reed' (of unknown origin). Reg. *xusto* 'wet', v. s.v.

Intervocalic *-xš-* occurs in *axšin* 'blue'; *axšōw-* 'to chew'; *baxš-* 'to divide' (lw.?). *mazšē* 'mosquito'; *parwaxšē* 'broom' (< *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle?'); *waxš-* 'to grow'. *bilaxša* 'a kind of vegetable' and *naxš* 'song' are of unknown origin (lw.s?). M *paxškvo* 'wooden tray' is probably an older form of Y *poško*. Note Y *Baxšir* 'n. of a village' ~ Khw. *Başker*.

Ancient *xšw-* has resulted in *uxš-*, etc. in *uxšo* '6'. In the *xšw*-heavy groups *xšm*, *xšn* the *x* was dropped at an early date,<sup>4</sup> and *xšm*, *xšn*

<sup>1</sup> V. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 203 sq. regarding *ait* < *act*.

<sup>2</sup> In Bakhtiari *xl*, *ft* become *d/š*, e.g. *dōdan* 'to milk'; *sōdan* 'to burn', *rā<sup>o</sup>d/šan*, *rahdan* 'to go', *gud/šan* 'to tell', etc. (Lorimer). The corresponding forms given by Zbukovsky are *duhd*, *sōhd*, *raft* (lw.?), *gu(h)d*, and Mann gives Mamāssāni *duhd/šār*, *dōdār* 'daughter'; *sōht*, *rā/ūht*, *got*. The development here probably went through *ht* > (*h*)*d/š*.

<sup>3</sup> With the possible exception of Yaghn., which preserves *xš*- (*x'š*), and quite possibly also *fš*-.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Benveniste, BSL 29, 104.

the resulting groups *sm*, *sn* were further reduced to *m*, *n*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *imoyo* 'moon' < \*uxš-māh-kā; *arunyo* 'light' < \*ā-rauxšnakā; possibly *rin'g'a* 'slippery' < \*rixšnakā.

95. Ir. *fš-* is preserved in Y *fšarm* 'shame', but M has *šfor'm*, etc.<sup>2</sup> *fš-* In *š'fē* 'husband'; *šfin* etc. 'comb' all dialects have metathesis. In *fšūv-* 'to suck' *f-* is an ancient prefix, which may also be contained in *fšai* 'short-breathed'; *fšū* 'very soft'. In Y *išcān*, M *yīšk'una* 'female breast' the original initial *fšt-* was reduced to *št-*.<sup>3</sup> *xəš(u)icān* 'shepherd' is probably a lw., cf. Voc. s.v.

Intervocalic *fš-* remains in *wafšio* 'wasp'; *lerafšo*, *lorauso* 'awl'.— *fš-* *kofšē* 'shoe' is probably a lw. from Prs., and the etymology of *šafšiyān*, etc., 'armpit' is unknown. If. *trīšp* 'acid' is derived from \**trfša-*, the metathesis into \**tršpa-* must be common Ir.

*yuxs-* 'to learn' contains ancient *xs*. But *laxsərə*, *yaxsəriy* 'ice' *xs* is an ancient compound, *maxs* 'brain' is a late variant of *mayz*, and *raxs* 'dance', *ruxsat* 'leave', etc., are lws.

In *xafs-* 'to descend' *fs* is ancient, but *yafs* 'fat' is borrowed, *fs* and *fsāy-* 'to stand', *fsidro* 'spring' contain a prefix *f-* < *upa*.<sup>4</sup>

96. Before nasals *x* and *f* become voiced as in most other E.Ir. *xm*, *xn* dialects. Thus: *tūy'm* 'grain'; *yēṛən* 'liver'; *γ'nigo* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)nišakā*. Reg. *vaynəw* v. Voc. s.v.

M *zoyno* (M G *zāx'na*!?) 'jaw' < \**zanaxā-* seems to indicate that also a secondary group *xn* was sonorized, but in *anaxno* 'nail' < \**nāxanā-*; *saxmo* 'earth' < \**zamaxā-*; *amaxno* 'sloe' < \**āmarnaxā-* (?) *x* has been preserved, owing, perhaps, to a more recent origin of the group in these words.

M, and some speakers of Y, have *xūcən*, *xōvun* 'sleep', but also *fn* *xūbun* is heard in Y.<sup>5</sup> In M *xšēma* 'supper' < *xšāfnya-* we find a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ysh *šfarm* is prob. a M form.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 88, 107.



different treatment after a long vowel, if the word is not an ancient lw.<sup>1</sup>

97. Initial *xr-* occurs in *xred-* (with metathesis *xird-*) 'to scratch' < *xr* \**xrind-*; *xurūso* 'Cyon alpinus': Sgl. *xrēsag*, and, possibly, in *xurom* 'threshing-ground', *xerīščē* 'n. of a small tree'.

Postvocalic *xr* is transposed, as in Prs., etc. Thus: *surx* 'red'; *čarx* 'spinning wheel' (lw.?). The etymology of *awarxo* 'flame' is uncertain (< *urwāxra*-?).

*Fr-*, too, remains, with or without svarabhakti. V. Voc. s.vv. *fr* *friyo* 'flea'; *frayomiy* 'he-goat', etc. Intervocalic *fr* occurs in *warfo* 'snow'.<sup>2</sup> The metathesis of *-xr-* and *-fr-* is probably previous to the sonorization of *x* and *f* before nasals.

98. Initial *xw* (*hw*) has lost its labial element, as in most Pamir *xw* (*hw*) dialects. But in some words the following vowel has been labialized: *xo<sup>o</sup>r-*, *xur-* 'to eat'; Y *xūl*, M G *xala* 'perspiration'; *xurī* 'sister's son'; *xūbən*, etc. 'sleep'; *xoy* 'self', etc. In several cases it is impossible to decide whether the ancient form of the word had *xw*, or *x-*. Cf. e.g. s.v. *xafs-*.

The word for 'sister' is irregular as well in Y—M (*i'xō*, *yɪxa*, etc.), as in Sgl. (*yəxōai*) and Shgh. (*yax*). \**hwahā* > \**hahwā* > \*(y)*ahwā*, etc.?

Intervocalic *xw* occurs in *pxuf-* 'to get tired' < \**pati-hwafta-* (v. Voc. s.v.); *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' < \**pati-hwahā-* (?). Reg. *yū-saxo*, *loh-saxo*, v. Voc. s.v.

#### First Component *θ*.

99. There is no certain example of *θ* + nasal. The etymology of *θm* *čūmānē* 'male ibex' is unknown, and the original initial may have been either \*(a)*θm-* or \*(a)*θi/um-*. *poləm* 'soft' is probably a lw.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Turki *axšām*.

<sup>2</sup> In Prs., Par., etc. *xr* and *fr* develop along parallel lines, as in Y—M. But in Psht. and Saka *xr* and *θr* go together.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

in spite of the apparent possibility of connecting it direct with Sar. *pādm*, *pādm*.

100. Initial *θr*- developed on the same lines as *xr*- and *fr*-, i.e. a short *θr*-vowel was inserted between *ǰ* (< *θ*) and *r*. The only certain examples available are *ǰroi* '3' and its derivatives (e.g. *ǰirizen* 'the day before yesterday'), but possibly also *ǰürox*- 'to shy' (< \**ǰroǰ* < \**θraθ* < *θrah*?) belongs here.

Reg. *Prif*- 'to steal', *trǰz*- 'to bind' (\**tǰp*-, \**tǰnj*?) and other words with *tr*- v. Voc. s.vv.

101. Ir. *θ* was a less resistant sound than *x* and *f*—in fact it has survived unchanged mainly in the Shughni group—and *θr* was more exposed to assimilation than *xr* and *fr*. In some languages this applies to the initial as well as to postvocalic position, in another group, to which Y—M belongs, postvocalic *-θr*- has been subject to more profound changes than initial *θr*-<sup>1</sup> on account of the influence of the surrounding vowels.

In Y—M, and also e.g. in Sgl., Psht. and Saka, *-θr*- was reduced to *-hr*- which resulted in *-r*- with lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Thus: *mira* 'sun' < *Miθra*-; *pūr* 'son' < *puθra*-; *vērē* 'brother's son' < *brātruya*-; *tīro* 'dark' < *taθrya*-; *tūr* 'trap' < \**taθra*-; *huro*, *ūra* 'there' < *avaθra*-; *yūriko* 'handmill' < \**yaθra*- (?); *pčūrma* 'four days ago' < \**pati-čāθruma*-. With secondary shortening of the vowel: *čoromi* 'fourth' (lw.?) and *žaro* 'poison'.

A derivation of *yežio* 'small hand-mill' from \**yaθryā*- is improbable (cf. *tīro* above), and the connection between *yaxio*, etc. (Z *yēx/ǰya*) 'ashes' and the words of other Pamir dialects derived from *ātrya*-, \**āθrya*- is difficult to explain.—Y *yūr*, M *yūr* 'fire' goes back to \**ārt*-, with early metathesis of an unusual group < < *ātr*- which had got its *t* from the strong stem.

<sup>1</sup> This group includes Saka and Psht. (*dr*-, but *-r*-); Sangsari (*ǰ*-, but *-r*-); Yaghn. (*θr*-, but *-l*-) and various NWIr. dialects (*h<sup>a</sup>r*-, etc., but *-r*-). In Shgh. we find, unexpectedly, *ar*- < \**h<sup>a</sup>r*- (but only in the numeral '3', which might be a lw.): *-č*.



102. Av. *čaθwāro*<sup>1</sup> developed into \*č(ə)ʔfūr, from which Y \*čžir > θw čžir, M čfür (čfür), etc.

*polf*, *pīlf* 'ford' is probably derived through \*pərðf- < \*pərðf- < \*pərðwō (acc. pl.).<sup>2</sup>

Reg. *Wulf* 'n. of a village in Munjan' (< *waθwa* ?), v. List of Proper Names, s.v.

Original Y—M thus preserved θw as two separate phonemes,<sup>3</sup> while the Northern and Central dialects compared by Gauthiot, have *f*.

Ancient -θy- is possibly contained in *pəzežir* 'young ram'; *vəžžō* -θy- 'womb'; *žžžko* 'childbearing'.<sup>4</sup> Reg. Y *yežko* 'duck' v. Voc. s.v.

### First Component a Sibilant.

103. Ancient *sk*-, *st*-, *sp*- remain, with a tendency towards the *sk*-, *st*-, *sp*- development of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel.

Thus, e.g. *skəd*- 'to cut' < *skand*-; *skāvrio* 'coal': Psht. *skör*; M *s(ə)kən* 'puppy': Wkh. *s(ə)ken*, etc., but Y *čkən*, etc. Cf. also the names of villages: (*I*)*skutul*, *Skarzer*, *Skəwo* (*Səko*). With secondary *sk*-. *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Ancient *st* is preserved in M *stōriy* 'star'; *stuno* 'post'; *stur* 'big'; *stun(ek)* 'throat', cf. Yr, *g stāra*, *stəno*, *stur*, *stūyo*, etc. But in Yzh, sh I usually heard a very short, prothetic *i* or *u*: 'stāra, "stuno, "stur, "stuya, 'stör- 'to sweep', etc. Z writes *stōray*, but *s'tər*; *s'tūr* 'horned cattle'.

Ir. *sp*- occurs in *spi* 'white'; *sporo* 'plough'; *spərza* 'spleen'; *spūo* 'louse'. But Z has *s'pi*, etc., cf. Ysh *s'pi*, *s'pūo*.<sup>5</sup>

I am unable to explain the irregularities in the pronunciation of these groups. Probably the variation between *st*/'*st*/'*s't* is phonologi-

<sup>1</sup> With fricative "w"!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Yaghn. *tifūr*, Afridi Psht. *calwōr* '4'.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, XIX, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 155.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. s. cf. § 74.

cally irrelevant. It is possible that *s<sup>st</sup>*, etc. is due to Prs. influence on M, just as we find e.g. *\*spəl* in Sgh., but *s<sup>st</sup>pul* in Ishk.

104. No certain example of ancient *-sk-* is available.<sup>1</sup> Y *iščiy*, M *yeskiy* *-sk-* 'roof' is evidently related to Wkh. *iskakut*, Sgl. *kiskūd* < *\*uska-kata-*, but the phonetic details are unclear.—*kosk* 'barley' corresponds to Yazgh. *kāsk*, but Prs. *kašk*, Shgh. *čūšč*. Cf. also s.vv. *f<sup>st</sup>sko*, *γuskən* and *niaskē*, all of which probably have secondary *sk*.

A more common group is *-st-* which occurs in a number of *-st-* preterites,<sup>2</sup> e.g. *vāst* 'bound', and also in *last* 'hand'; *weistō* '20'; *yastē* 'bone'; *stīnyō* 'supine'; *pīstən* 'udder'.

Ancient *-sp-* is found in *yasp* 'horse'; *rispēn*, etc. 'iron', *frāspūy* *-sp-* 'rafter', etc.

Original *-sč-* results in *č*.<sup>3</sup> Thus *špāč*, '*spāč* 'behind'; *čpāč* 'after, *sč* back' < *\*pasča-*. Possibly also M (?) *šti-va* 'something' < *\*č(i)stī* < *čisčit*.<sup>4</sup>

The etymology of *s<sup>st</sup>xuy*, *sxaw* 'to slip, slide' is unknown (cf. *sx* Prs. *šaxidan*). *usxūbun* 'awake' is an ancient compound.

105. Ancient *sr* was assimilated into *š* (*š*), as in several other Ir. *sr* dialects. Thus: *šū* 'horn' < *srū*; *šina*, *šino*, etc. 'podex' < *sraoni*; *šūiko* 'collar-bone' < *\*srauša-* (?); *uša(w)* 'to call' < *\*us-srāv*; *xušō* 'mother-in-law'; *yāšk*, *yošk* 'tear'; possibly also *ušan* 'to churn'. This change appears to have taken place before the syncopation of *u* in the suffix *-uka*.<sup>5</sup> The reason why *sr* is assimilated while *rs* remains may be that *s* in *sr* is implosive.

In the recent lw. *s<sup>st</sup>rišəm* 'glue' Prs. *sr* is rendered by *s<sup>st</sup>tr*.

As is the case in several other Ir. dialects, *str* (*s<sup>st</sup>tr*?) lost its *str* dental and shared the fate of original *sr*. Thus: *čēšo* 'pin of a spindle' < *\*častrī*; *šīyo* 'female' < *strī*; *šinamia* 'girl' < *strī-nāman*;

<sup>1</sup> Except *s<sup>st</sup>ko*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 239.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO, 1921, 211 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 171, 5).



*uš*, *uʷš* 'grass' < *vāstra*. Reg. Y *uščeno*, etc. 'haystack' < *\*wāstradānā*, cf. § 109.

106. Ancient *sm* remains in *pasmino* 'above'; *pasminaka* 'steep' < *sm* *\*pati-asmān*. But *s* is assimilated in voice to the homorganic *n*. Thus: *zinro* 'daughter-in-law' < *\*smušā*; *zənay* 'to bathe' < *snaya*. Postvocalic *zn* may change further into *zd*: *wuzn*, *wuzd* 'to wash'. The sonorizing of *s* before *n* is common to most Pamir dialects, v. Voc. s.v. *zinro*.

107. Ancient *sy* was assimilated into palatal *š* as in many other E.Ir. *sy* dialects. Thus: *diš* 'to think' < *\*han-disya*; *mištor* 'king, mehtar' < *\*masyah* + *tara*; and possibly *yeršio* 'barley', if from *\*arpasyā*.

The voiced, dental sibilant remains before voiced stops and *zg, zd, zb* fricatives in *zəyal* 'to run away' < *zɡad*; *zəyoriy* 'thirsty' < *\*uzgaraka* (?); *zəyū* 'to walk about' (< ?); *wāzd* 'fat' (with differentiating preservation of *d* after *z*); *zvar* 'to pour out' < *\*uz-bar* ?

The etymology of *yuzəp* 'dirty' is unknown; *mayz* 'marrow' is *zn, zm* borrowed from Prs., and *xuzd* 'to send'; *məzdira* 'the day after tomorrow' may contain ancient *zn, sn*. *čirgʷizen*, *širizen* 'three, two days ago' go back to *\*azana*. The only example of *zm* is *izma* 'fire-wood'.

No certain examples are known of *zr* except *vərzezo* 'wing' with *zr* *rz* < *zr*. Reg. *žōi* 'lake' v. s.v.—*raža* 'platform' is possibly derived from *\*razya* and *žūy* 'to sew' < *\*uz-(h)yū* (??). Cf. *š* < *sy*. *zy*

After *z* the semivowel *ʷ* was changed into the fricative *v*, and *zʷ* by some speakers of Y further into *ʃ*.

Thus: Yzh, p, M *zə'viy*, *zə'vū* etc. 'tongue', but Ysh, g *zr'bēy*<sup>1</sup>; Yzh, etc. *zə'viryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (-bark)': Ysh *z'biryo* < *\*brza-warakā* (?). Cf. also M, Ysh, etc. *xōvun*, etc. 'sleep': Yzh, u *xūbun*; M *ləvón* 'to winnow': Yzh, sh, r *ləbān*.

<sup>1</sup> Yr *z'riy* is probably mis-heard or mis-written. Cf. § 96.

108. Ir. *šk*—which as an initial is a sandhi form of *sk*—remains. *čk* Thus: *škōb* 'to raise' < *skamb*; *škōr* 'to send': Sogd. *\*škr*; *ušk* 'dry' < *huška*; *riško* 'nit': Prs. *rišk*; *pške-dri*, *puško* 'dung', *maška* 'inflated skin', *piško* 'cat' are lw.s. Cf. also *puškōw* 'to string'; *čirwašk* 'resin, gum'; *wušku* 'to seek'. Reg. M *škui* 'neck' cf. § 164.

109. One of the sound-changes most characteristic of Y—M is the palatalization of *št* (i.e. *šf*)<sup>1</sup> into *\*štʷ*, from which M *škʷ* and Y *šč*. Cf. the parallel development of *t* > *kʷ* (and *č*) and *nd* > *ngʷ* (v. §§ 62, 121).

Thus: Y *oguščo*, M *āguš'kyo*, *āgušk'a* 'finger'; *aščo*, *os'kyo* '8'; *iščin*, *yışkʷuna* 'female breast' < *fštāna*; *čir-yiščē* 'dried apricots': Prs. *kišta*; M *yışka* 'fur-coat': Ishk. *yūšt*; Y *mišča* 'sheaf of corn': Prs. *mušti* 'handful'; *mršč*, *muškʷ* 'fist'; *parguščē*, *parguškʷiy* 'fingerring'; *piščan*, *piškʷen* 'thigh' < *paitištāna*; *pušč*, *puškʷ* 'flour made of dried apples': Par. *pīšt*; *xeriščē*, *xriškʷiy* 'n. of a small tree': Bad. Prs. *xarišta*; *xušči*, *xuški*, *xuškʷey* 'greater, elder': Sogd. *ywyšt*, etc. Besides there are a number of preterites in *šč/škʷ* < *št* (and *rst*), e.g. *nəyušč*, *nəyuškʷ* 'heard', etc., cf. § 240. M *šk* from secondary *št* appears in *xišk* 'pulls' < *\*xaršati*, and in *wuškyeno*, Y *uščeno* 'hay-stack' < *\*wūštāna* < *\*wāstra-dāna* (cf. Or. *wūztōn*).

Words of unknown or uncertain origin are: *ustušč* 'to jump' (v. Voc.); *kuščo* 'contrivance for carrying hay'; *ninamāščē* 'spleen'; *v'ščo*, *viškʷo* 'steep hillside, ravine'; *čkyūgo* 'urine' < *\*čaštākā* (??).

Note M *wuškʷ* 'to rise, fly up'; *wūšč*, *wišk* 'morning' < *\*uštā*, with early reduction < *ut-sthā*, cf. Par. *ušt* 'to rise', etc. Reg. M *škʷuy*: Y *šilē* 'neck' v. § 164.

Also a number of ancient lw.s have been affected by this sound-change. Thus, e. g. *drušč*, *dʷrišk* 'rough' < Prs. *durušt*; <sup>2</sup> *dašk* 'steppe'; *gošč*, *gašk* 'turned round' (v. s.v. *gord*); *gʷēšč*, *giyaškʷ*

<sup>1</sup> Also when derived from *rst*, *ršt*, v. §§ 131 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Yr *drišto* is a recent lw.



'passed, forgave' (*g<sup>u</sup>ēr-*) < *gudašt*; *narangušć* 'thumb';<sup>1</sup> cf. probably also Y *rešk* 'avalanche' < Khow. *rešt*, with *t* > *k*, not > *č*.<sup>2</sup>

110. In recent lws *št* is preserved. Thus *uštu* 'brick'; *mušti* 'silver necklace' < Khow.; *lašt<sup>o</sup>kum* 'saddle-cover' of unknown origin; *šūštē* 'hook': Prs. *šast* (with assimilation).

In genuine Y—M words *št* is also of recent origin. Cf. (<sup>o</sup>)*što* 'said' < \**š(a)sta-*; *šti* 'what' < \**čisti*;<sup>3</sup> *š'lāhan* 'below' < \**čt-* < \**hača-t-*. Regarding secondary preterites in *št* v. § 240.

111. Ir. *rst*, *ršt* at an early date became *št*, and shared the fate of *rst*, *ršt* this group of consonants. For details v. § 131 sq.

One would expect Ir. *štr* to become *š* just as *str*. Y *škr<sup>o</sup>rō*, *štr šik<sup>o</sup>ro*, *ščuro*, M *škyuro*, etc. 'camel' do not go back to *ustra-* or \**ušra-* (Psht. *ūš*), but to \**ušturā*, or to Prs. *uštur*. Kati *štyūr*, etc. is not necessarily borrowed from early M,<sup>4</sup> as the palatalization of *t* before *u* may be due to Kati sound-laws.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding *šp* in *tršp* 'sour' v. § 95.

*šp*

112. While *s* probably remains unchanged before *m* and is sonorized before *n*, *š* is completely assimilated in both positions.

An example of *šn* is preserved in *penāčko* 'eyelashes' < \**paš(m)naxa šn* + *ko*, cf. Av. *pašna-*. Y *trušnē*, *tišno*, *tišno* 'thirsty' are lws from Khow. and Prs.—Reg. *xšn* > *n* and *ršn* > *n* v. §§ 94, 133.

Ir. *šm* is contained in *čām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *imar-* 'to count' *šm* < *hišmar-*; *maf* 'you'; and, possibly, in *puma* 'avalanche', if < \**pišma-*. — *štrišm* 'glue' is borrowed from Prs., and Y *kušm-*, M *kišmōy-* 'to vomit' is of unknown origin.

<sup>1</sup> But Yr. M *narangišt*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, l.c. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. *štyū*, *štū* 'pillar'; *tyūs* 'straw', etc.

113. It is just possible that *nəvər* 'came out' (*nī-*) is derived through *ḡg, ḡd, ḡb* *\*niyart* < *\*niryata* < *\*niḡ-gata*, cf. Par. *naryō*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand *nailō*: *nailevd* 'to circumcize' might go back to *\*niḡ-dab*, *nəvər* 'to take out' to *niḡ-bar*.

First Component *h*.

114. The only example of a group beginning with original *h* is *hm hm* in *max* 'we'. In a recent lw. we find differentiation: *maxmudiyo* 'dagger' < Khaw. *mahmūdi*.

First Component *a Nasal*.

115. As in most Ir. languages<sup>2</sup> surd explosives were sonorized after a nasal at an early date, *ṅk* coalescing with *ṅg*, etc. But the tendency to drop the nasal in such groups is characteristic of Y—M. It is unknown elsewhere in Ir.<sup>3</sup> and rare in most IE languages.

There is probably no connection between the Y—M development of e.g. *nt* > *d* (or *-d*, *-t* in final position) in *lad*, *lod* 'tooth' and that of Kafiri *ant* > *āt* > *at*, e.g. in Ashkun *dont* > Waigeli *dōt* > Kati *dut*, Prasun *lātəm*, as supposed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

In most Kafir dialects ancient *nd* does not become *d*, but *n*, e.g. in Kati *kən*, Waig. *kan* corresponding to Yd. *xo(u)d* 'to laugh' < *\*khand*. But the Prasun change of *nd*, *mb* > *d*, *b* in *yōd* 'to laugh', *ūškōb* 'bridge' < *skambha* (?) may possibly be connected with the Y—M development.<sup>5</sup>

The sound-change in question must be later than the Y and lower M development of *g* (from *-k*) > *γ*, and it has not been carried through to the same extent all over the Y—M territory.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prs. *palmarđa* = *piṣmurđa* 'withered'.

<sup>2</sup> Including even Wkh., and possibly Yaghn. (*ṣantum* 'wheat', but *dindak* 'teeth'), but not Bal.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Wkh. *ṣidim* 'wheat' v. Wkh. Voc. Kurd. *didān*, *dḡān*, *dran* 'tooth' may be due to dissimilation. Psht., etc. has initial *g*, etc. < *\*(a)ṅg*.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 29.



In Y it has affected all words except recent lws. In M some words exhibit assimilation in all dialects, thus e.g. *ag<sup>l</sup>era* 'grape'; *āgus<sup>l</sup>kyo* 'finger';<sup>1</sup> *agmān* 'honey'; *parguš<sup>k</sup>viy* 'finger-ring', etc., probably in originally unstressed position.

116. In some words Mm, Z, G and LSIm have *b*, *d*, etc., while Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* preserve the nasal.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: Mm *ā<sup>k</sup>kodiy*: Mti, (g) *akondi*, etc. 'thorn, bramble'; Mm, G, Z, LSIm *lod*, etc.: Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; Mm, Z, G, LSIm *trāj*: Mt *trōnj* 'to tie'; Mm, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc.: Mg, *t*, *ti* *yāndiy*, etc. 'blind'; Mm *zōbo*: Mg, *t*, (ti) *zōmbo* 'gums'; Mm, Z, G *zūk*: Mg, *t*, *ti* *zīng* 'knee'. But even Mm (not, however, Z and G) has *nd* e.g. in *pōndo* 'road', *yōndum* 'wheat', and it is not possible to find any phonetic reason for the variation. A curious case is Mg, (sh) *bāber*, etc., Y *boburē* 'wasp', but Mm *bambur*. In some cases Z has *nd* in the preterites of verbs in *n*, but these are probably recent, analogical formations.

117. Examples of *ng* (besides those mentioned above) are: Y *čoguli* *ng* 'hoof'; Y *čigāli*, M *čāngōli* 'claw' < Prs. *čāngāl*; Y *kyogō*, *tōk* 'pear' < Khw. *toṅg*; Y *rok*, M *raṅg* 'colour'; M *togo* (Z *taṅg*) 'narrow'; Y *trok* 'narrow', 'saddle-girth': Khw. *traṅg*, etc.; Y *xugor* 'sword': Khw. *khongor*; *xur-sago* 'mill-stone': Prs. *saṅg*; *guc* 'to burn', *gūy* 'to knead' (cf. *āgun<sup>gv</sup>* 'dough') < \**haṅ-k/g*; Y *γik* 'penis' possibly < \**γīnk*, cf. Psht. *γēn*; *zik*, *zūk* 'knee' < \**zānuka*. Of unknown origin are *cigyerē* 'mushroom' and *pēcog* 'to cut'.

In recent lws we find *ng*. Thus, e.g.: *aṅgāh* 'awake'; *jaṅgal* 'forest'; *paṅaṅ* 'leopard', etc. Likewise *ng/k* remains in secondary contact: M *frayingo* 'she-goat' < \**fragāmikā*; *zīṅko*, *go* 'woman' < \**jamikā*. But note also Y *afsinyo* 'ladder'; *stinyo* 'supine' *tovūnyo* 'box'.

118. Examples are: *akadē*, *akondi* 'bramble'; *āy(u)d* 'to dress'; *idou* *nd* 'fever'; Wkh. *andav*; *ida*, *hadē* 'slave, boy': Wkh. *andag*; *boda*

<sup>1</sup> But Mullah Faiz Bakhsh "ankardia".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 17.; Rep. on a lingu. mission to N.W. India, 71.

'dyke': Prs. *band*; *ċad* 'to fall' < \**haċa-hand*- (?); M *ċad*, Y *ċand* (lw.) 'how many'; *dā* 'to smear' < \**han-dāw*-; Y *dīr*, M *yūdūr* 'other' < \**antāra*-; *diš* 'to think' < \**han-disya*-; *diz* 'to bury' < \**han-daiz*-; Y *yādēm*, M *yōndēm*, etc. 'wheat'; Y *hadamə* (M *andām*) 'limb' < *handāman*-; *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < \**an-antika*-; *lad*, *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; *pādo*, *pōndo* 'road'; *skəd* 'to cut' < *skand*-; *vad*, *vōnd* 'to tie'; *wādāy* 'to mix' < \**abi-han-tak*- (?); *xo<sup>nd</sup>* 'to laugh'; *xrrd*, *xred* 'to shave' < \**xrind*-; *Idəy*, *Yidg* 'member of the Yidgha tribe' < \**Hinduka*-; *-et*, *-at* pers. suff. 3 pl. < *-anti*; *ušiṣyād* 'hungry' < \**weṣayanta*-.

Of uncertain origin are *kuryudo* 'bramble' (< *kunda*? V. Voc.); *skut* 'wood, stick'; *niċōd* 'to moisten'.

In secondary contact we find *-t* from *n + t*, e.g., in Pres. 3 sg. of roots in *n*. Thus: *vət* 'carried' (< *upa-nīta*-); *kīt* 'he does'; *wīt* (> *wid*) 'he sees'; *xīt* 'he laughs', etc. Here the development has been *nt* > *nt* > *t*, cf. *zik* < \**zānuka*- and the *r + t* > *t*.<sup>1</sup>

The preterite of verbs in *n* is in most cases derived from secondary formations in *nt/d*<sup>2</sup> which has either resulted in *d*, or has in some cases preserved the nasal through the influence of the present stem.

Regarding the possible preservation of *nd* in the plurals of the demonstratives Yd. *mind*, *ind*, *wind*, v. § 209. *nd* is also found in recent lw.s, such as *andiša* 'thought'; *bīlānd* 'high'; *sandūq* 'box'; *zīndo* 'alive', etc.—*kando* 'plough-share' may go back to a pres. ptc. \**kanant(ā)*-.

119. Verbs in *-m* have secondary preterites in *-md* or *-nd*. We also find Y *kāmdēr*, Mm *kamder*, but Z *kandīr* 'smaller' from Prs. *kamtar*. *lamdo*, *lōmadā* 'hem, skirt' is probably derived from \**dāmāntā*-, but cf. also *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak' < \**abi-dāmānta*- (?) with earlier contraction.

It is tempting to derive M *tūga* 'button' through \**tumga* from Y *tukmo* (< Turki), and Y *kədī* 'which' < \**kamday* < \**katama*' *kahya* (v. s.v. *kə'em*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 117, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 243.



120. Between two *n*'s *θ* disappears in *lēmōn* 'to rub' < \**ni-manōnā*, *nθn* cf. Av. *manā*. There is no example of *nθ*. *pado* 'road' goes back to \**pantāh*. We have no reason to assume that *nθ* has become *nt* in Av. *pantā*. The different treatment of *nt* and *nθ* is testified by Par. *panān* 'road': *menth* 'to smear'; Saka *pande*: *manth*; Oss. *fāndag*: *zmāntin*, Sogd. *pnt* 'near' (?): *mnθ*.

Examples are: *ā'būya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol*; *boburē*, *bambur* *mθ* 'bumble-bee'; *bār* 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta*; *baxš* 'to divide' < \**ham-baxš* (or lw. ?); *čapē* 'door-frame': Prs. *čamba* 'large bar'; *debāl* 'behind' < Prs. *dumbāl*; *g'ib* 'lost' < Prs. \**gumb*; *kob/p* 'little' < \**kamb*; *lib* 'to card wool': Sgl. *damb*; *nəb/p* 'dew' < \**namb*; *škōb* 'to raise' < *skamb*; *tubūr*, *tambūr* 'guitar' < Prs.; *vēzb* 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb* (?); *xap* 'to fell' < \**xamb* (v. s.v. *xafs*); *zibi/jim* 'earth-quake' < \**zambinjum*; *zōbo*, *zōmbo* 'gums'.

Of unknown origin are *cēb* 'to pinch' (cf. Wkh. *čip* 'to pick'); *sōbrim* 'boiled fat'; *yōba* 'dance'; *zib* 'to rise'; *sabəranj* 'neck-rope of the yoke' (< *sami-baranači* ?).

In modern lws *mθ* is common: *amburo* 'forceps'; *zumb* 'hoof'; *paijumbar* 'prophet'; *grambešu* 'neighbour', etc.

Y—M *lēm* 'tail' < *duma* < \**dumbma*, not \**dumba*, from which *mθm* Prs. *dum(b)*.

Initial *mr* develops a transitional *b* and results in *br*. Thus: *mr* *bräyiko* 'sparrow' < \**mrəy*; *Bräyeyo* 'Munjan' (v. s.v.). Similarly *ābrūo* 'pear' and the lw. *ambrōz* < \**amrōt*. *m'reč* 'mulberry' is borrowed from Khow., and also *pilamru* 'cloak' is probably a lw. Cf. also Y *blāim*, *mə'lāim* 'soft' < Ar. Prs. *mulāim*.

121. Examples are: *awāz* 'to hang up' < \**awa-hanj*; *trāz*, *t'rōn* *nj* 'to tie': Prs. *taranjidan*; Y *səziyo*, M *sijiā* 'jujube-tree': Prs. *sinjid*; Y *vroc* 'to roast': Khow. *venjē*; *žəžiro* 'chain': Khow. *janjer*; *zibi/jim* 'earthquake' < \**zambinjum*; M *rəč* 'difficult': Prs. *ranj*; M *Ajuməno*, Y *Anju'mān* 'Anjuman'. But in all dialects we find *n* in *pānj*, *pānč*, *ponč* etc. '5', probably through the influence of Prs.—*pōnzda* '15' is a lw.

In lw.s *nj* is retained: *anjām* 'dress' < Khov.; *banj* 'holly-oak' < Khov.; *b<sup>u</sup>rinj* 'rice'; *kunj* 'corner'; *Munjān* 'Munjan', etc.—*sabəranj* 'neckrope of yoke' < *sami-barana-čī* (?); *šinjo* < *šično* 'needle'; *prenjio* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*parana-čī* all have secondary *nj*. *M yānčilyā* 'lizard' is of unknown origin.

In *māg<sup>v</sup>* 'to rub' *nd* has become *\*ng<sup>v</sup>* > *g<sup>v</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly *Y yeik<sup>v</sup>*, *nd* *Z yēn'g'* 'he grinds' < *\*yēnt* < *\*arnati* (cf. the secondary preterite *Y yāg<sup>v</sup>* < *\*an + d*). In recent lw.s *nd* remains.<sup>2</sup>

### First Component a Rolled Consonant

122. On the whole surd occlusives in Ir. dialects are treated in the same way after *r* as after a vowel. Those dialects which sonorize e.g. *ata*, do the same with *arta*, and wherever *ata* is kept distinct from *ada*, the same is the case with regard to *arta* and *arda*.<sup>3</sup>

123. Accordingly Ir. *-rk-* shares the fate of *-k-*: It results in *Mm*, *Z rk* and *G rg*, but changes further to *ry* in other *M* dialects and in *Y*.

Thus: *Y (h)ory*, *M ary*, *org*, etc. 'work': *Phl. ark*; *icury*, *wurg/k* 'wolf'; *karyoz*, *kargas* 'vulture'. In lw.s and recent compounds *rk* remains. Eg. in *harko* 'upper part of the back'; *narkirē* 'cock'.

Ancient *rg* occurs in *mīryo* 'meadow'; cf., with early metathesis, *rg brāyiko* 'sparrow'; *Brāyeto* 'Munjan'.<sup>4</sup>

No example is available. *porx*, *porč* 'dew' is of uncertain origin. *rx* In *porxāw* 'to eat with a spoon' *rx* is of secondary origin.

In view of this word, and of the maintenance of *rx* < *xr*,<sup>5</sup> the derivation of *xāxo* 'thistle' < *\*xārzo*<sup>6</sup> < *\*xāra-xā* is very doubtful.

124. Ir. *rt* resulted in *Y r*, probably through the stages *\*rd* > *\*rd* > *\*d*. *rt* In *M*, which lies further removed from the *IA* sphere of influence,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sgl. *mānč*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> In Wanetsi, however, *arta* and *arda* coalesce, although *ata* and *ada* do not.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 120.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 97.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. secondary *rt* > *rt* > *t*.



ordinary *r* has been substituted for *ɾ*. The reason for the special treatment of *rt* as compared with *rk*, *rp* is not connected with the general weakness of *-t*,<sup>1</sup> but is due to the similarity of articulation between *r* and the dentals, which in Ir., as well as in many other languages, favours assimilation.

Examples of *rt* are: Y *bār* 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta*; Y *caroɣo* 'bustard': Bad. Prs. *čarda*; Y *keɾo*, M *kero* 'knife'; *mɛr*, *mēr* 'man'; Y *nucāɾə* 'excuse' < \**ni-wartaka* (?); *wāɾo*, *wōrā* 'summer': Psht. *wōrai*; *wār*, *wōr* 'roof-beam' < \**warta*; *wor*, *wur* 'to knit', etc. < *vart*; *wōɾo*, *wero* 'trousers';<sup>2</sup> *worɣo*, *wargā* 'quail' < \**wartakā*; *yārə*, *yōriy* 'flour': Prs. *ārd*, etc.

Besides we find *ɾ/r* in many preterites of roots in *r*. Thus, e.g., *mur*, *mur* 'died'; *xur*, *xur* 'ate'; etc.<sup>3</sup> With secondary *d*: *kərd* 'cut down'.

125. In Y *ɾ* occurs also in a number of lw.s, usually corresponding to Khow. *l*. Thus, e.g., *boriko* 'small basket' < Khow. *belu* 'reed' (?); *bɾok* 'knuckle, bud' < *blōy*; *ɣoribombur* 'large wasp' < *ɣōlibūmbur*; *hoɾk* 'scar' < *hol/ɬk*; *keɾə* 'shield' < *khēli*; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg' < *kāri*; *kriɱsar* 'pickaxe' < *klīnsar*; *kɾox* 'scab' < *klok* (?); *(loɬ)riɱ* 'double' < *(ju)riɱ*; *kirār* 'cheese' < IA (but not Khow.). Note Y *pakoɾo* 'cap': Khow. *phakōl*, M *pakūlo*.

Of unknown origin are: *areyevde* 'wood-carving'; *čūɾwa* 'unripe apricot'; *ɣurčā* 'to swallow'; *ɣurp* 'deep'; *kuɾə* 'numb'; *pokoɾ* 'rung of a ladder'; *Uɾak* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh'.

In modern lw.s from Prs. and Khow. we find *rt*, *rd*. Thus: *gūgurt* 'sulphur'; *gord* 'to walk about'; *kortus* 'cartridge'; *ārdi* 'part of the floor' < Khow., etc. In native Y words *rd* reappears through recent sound-changes in *xird* < *xrid* 'to shave' and *ɣurd* < \**ɣured* 'seized'.

The voiceless Khow. *ɾt* is heard in Y in the place-names *Wart*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 46.

<sup>2</sup> *warwāden* 'trouser-string' < \**war-waden*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 238.

and *Gurtio* (besides *Guṣṭi*). In secondary contact  $r + t$  became at an early date  $*rt$ , from which subsequently  $*ht > t$ . Thus: *zīt* 'yellow'  $< *zīrt < zairita-$  (cf. Par. *zītō*); *xūt* 'he eats'  $< *xearati$ , and other 3 sg. forms of verbs in  $-r$ ; <sup>1</sup> *lat* 'held'  $< *dārīta-$ , etc.<sup>2</sup> This development is parallel to that of  $n + t > t$ .<sup>3</sup>

126. Ancient *rd* (*rđ*) must have moved towards the stage *l*, *l* before *rd* ancient *rt* resulted in *r*. It does not seem probable that the development passed through the stages  $*rđ > *rδ > *rl > l$ .

Examples are: Y *alīza* (only MFB!) 'ribs'  $< arōda-$ ; *k'emalyo* 'skull'  $< kamārōda-$ ; *milyo* 'clay': Skr. *mṛd-*; *pil-* 'to fart'  $< parōd-$ ; *sāl*, *sōl* 'year', not necessarily lw., cf. *asāl* 'this year', *prasāl* 'last year', *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year'; *tāl-* 'to whittle': Skr. *tṛd-*; *zīl*, *zīlōv*, etc. 'heart'; *žilo* 'hail'  $< *jārdā-$ . The derivation of *wulycyo* 'small shrub' from  $*wɣda-$  is very doubtful. *wulya* 'kidney' may go back to *wərdka-*, or to  $*wɣθkā$  (*wərdka-*). The etymology of *xəларыо* 'wet clay' is unknown.

127. In secondary contact, and in a few early lw.s, *rd* (*rđ*) is changed into  $*dr$ . Y *fsidro* 'spring' (season) cannot be separated from Psht. *psarlai*, etc. and must go back, through  $*fsūdrā < *βsōrda$ , to  $*upa-sārada-$ . Similarly  $*angurdā$  'grape' (early lw., cf. Prs. dial. *angurda*, etc.) became  $*angudrā$ , from which, with differentiation, Y *agidro*, but M  $*agelro > aglero$ . Cf. also Y *mə(n)drayē*, M *mulrāgi* 'necklace'  $< *muḍraka(ka)-$  (borr. with *rđ* or *dr*? v. Voc. s.v.). Also Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl' may possibly go back to a form in  $*pari-dō$ . The relation between Y *činur/γyo*, and M *cənurgo*, *cindorya* 'starling' is unknown. Y *afsirnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi-sārādnaka-$ , or  $*sardanaka-$ .

128. Ir. *rđ* occurs in *pilf* 'ford'  $< pərdw-$ , and possibly in *wulya rđ* 'kidney'.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Wulf* 'n. of a vill. in Munjan'.<sup>5</sup> It is also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 238.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 118.

<sup>4</sup> V. above § 126.

<sup>5</sup> With ancient *rđw* or *aḍw*? Cf. §

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possible to derive *xalifān*, \*ōn 'flour-bag' < \*xwarðfān < \*xwarðapān < \*hwarðapāna-;<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *woro*, etc. 'trousers' < \*warðā- < \*warðra-, \*wəðra-.

129. There is no certain example of ancient *rp*. M *karvaša*, *kaicwəviy* *rp* 'lizard' and Y *karvasē* 'cotton' may be lw.s, just as well as Y *karbasa* 'lizard' and M *karbōs* 'cotton'.

Ir. *rb* results in *rv* in *yurv-* 'to seize', frequently reduced to *yur-*. *rb* (*w*)*urw-*, *wurb-* 'to boil' must go back to \**warb-* (Par. *yarw-*) < \**barw-*.

Reg. *skāvrio*, *skarviyo*, *skarbiya* 'coal' (< \**skarbatā*?) and *yurv* 'mouth' v. s.vv.

In *kʷirf-* 'to sneeze' it is impossible to tell whether *rf* goes back to *rf* or *fr*. The word may quite well be a recent, onomatopoeitic formation.

*Rē*, *rj* occur only in lw.s and in composition. Thus, e.g., *čarē rē* 'spindle'; *parčam* 'hairlock'; *narčan* 'he-goat', etc.

130. Ancient *rs* and *rz* remain unassimilated.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *lirs*, *lurs* 'goat's hair': Wkh. *dirš*, etc.; *přs-*, *purs-* 'to ask'; *pərsəyə* 'rib' < *pərsu-*; *yavarso* 'millet': Prs. *gāvarsa*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərsi-*. The derivation of *pārsē* 'roof-beam' and of *fərs-*, *fris-* 'to spit' is unknown.

In *alarsinē*, *yūvərən* 'lower, upper door-sill' the contact between *r* and *s* is secondary (v. Voc. s.vv.). (*w*)*ušiyo* 'hungry' has got its *š* from the old, now lost, word for 'thirsty', cf. Prs. *gušna* with *š* from *tišna*, and parallel phenomena in other Ir. dialects. Reg. *xaš/skən* 'dung', v. s.v.

Examples of *rz* are: *urzuγ* 'straight' < *ərəzu-*; *larzē* 'sheaf' < *darəz-*; *pəlarz-* 'to wrap up' < \**pəti-darz-*; *spərzə* 'spleen' (lw.?).

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *-ā/ōn* > *-āna-* cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly *rs* in Oss., Wkh. and Shgh. (?), but *sr* > Oss. \**š* > *s*, Wkh., Shgh. *š* (*šʃ*). In Par. and Sgl. we find *š*, *š* < *rs* and *sr*. Paht. has *š* < *sr* also in intervocalic position, while *-rs-* apparently becomes *-š-* (*wəšai* 'hungry'), as the result of earlier assimilation.

Y *virzanē* 'pillow' < \**bʏzanaka*.<sup>1</sup> Reg. Y *zeviryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (bark)' with dissimilation < \**vərz-vūrgo*, v. s.v. The etymology of Y *yurzuyo* 'handmill' is unknown, and *Birzin* 'n. of a village in Lutkuh' may be of foreign origin.

131. Between *r* and *t* the articulation of *s* was weaker and less *rst* resistant, and at an early date *rst* was assimilated into *št*, from which Y *šč*, M *škʷ*.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *pišč*, *piškʷ* 'farted'; *pətišč* 'broke'; *wušč*, *wušk* 'knitted', preterites of *pil-*, *wor-*. *gošč*, *gaškʷ* 'turned', *gʷěšč*, *gyaškʷ* 'passed' have probably been borrowed from Prs. forms in *št*, not from more ancient forms in \**rst*.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly *ren* was assimilated into *žn*, from which *ŋ*, in Y *vān*, *ren* M *vānʷv* 'long' < \**barzn-*, \**baržn-*, cf. Av. *barəšna-*.

132. Ir. *rš* remains in *yarš* 'bear'. In this word the *š* may, however, *rš* have been long or geminated, and the same is possibly the case with regard to *yaršiyo* 'barley' (with *š* < *sy*?) and *poršik* 'lip' (if *š* < IE *ks*).<sup>4</sup>—In *fəršəmē* 'silk' and *fīršōn-* 'to shake' *r* and *š* are in secondary contact, while the etymology of *kəršav-* 'to stir soup' is unknown.

It is tempting to derive *kiō* 'hard work, ploughing' from \**kršā-*, and to compare also *qīāy* (with secondary *q*?), *kiāy* 'bull'.<sup>5</sup>

In that case *fərmō-*, *fərmīy-* 'to forget' might also be derived from \**fra-mʀš-*, as is semantically probable,<sup>6</sup> and *gūy-* 'to knead' might go back to \**ham-grš-*. It does not seem improbable that *rš* (< *rs*) became *-əš-*, *-uš-* early enough to develop further into *-əy-*,

<sup>1</sup> But M *viz/īnī* < \**bʏzniya*? Cf. Oss. *baz* 'pillow' < \**bazu* < *bʏzna-*, but *āmbārzān* 'coverlet'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>3</sup> *pist* 'asked' is a secondary formation, cf. § 229 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the treatment of *-š-* § 75, and v. also Meyer Lübke, *Roman. Sprachwiss.*, 169. O. French *sus* < *sursum*, but *ours* < *urs/s)us* < \**ursus*.

<sup>5</sup> V, s.v.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of Henning, ZII, 9, 185, who points out the phonetic difficulty in deriving Phl. *fṛāmōš-* < \**fṛā-mʀš-*.



etc.<sup>1</sup> *xoš-* 'to pull' appears to be a lw., since it appears in the same form in several Pamir dialects; but *\*arš* > *aš* (*\*rs* > *uš* > *uy*, and *\*aršš* > *arš*) is perhaps conceivable.

Ir. *ršt* was assimilated into *\*št*, just as was the case with *rst*. *ršt* Examples are: *piščo*, *piškʷo* 'back': Y *lišč* 'saw' (*win-*); *pəlišč* 'wrapped' (*pəlarə-*); *kišč*, *kīškʷ* 'ploughed' (*kār-*), *xišč-*, *xiškʷ* (lw.?).

Ir. *rž* (< *rgh* + *s*) occurs in *wirž*, *wurž* 'thread'. In *yaržo* 'beard' *rž* the group is of secondary origin,<sup>2</sup> and *žaržo* 'partridge' is either a lw., or has *rž* < *r* + *č*. *Aržūiko* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh' is borrowed from Khow.

133. Ir. *rn* was assimilated into *n* (as in Sgl. and Psht.), which remained *rn*, *ršn* (or became *n*) in Y, while in M, which has an aversion to cerebral sounds, it became *n'g'* (*nʷgʷ*, *n'gʷ*, etc.) through segmentation after the change of *ng* > *g* and of *nd* > *gʷ* (through *\*ngʷ*).<sup>3</sup> Also *ršn* resulted in *\*žn* > *n*, *ngʷ*.

Examples are:

Yg *a'muŋo*, Yzh, sh, r *a'muno*: M *amiŋgʷo*, etc. 'apple': Psht. *maŋa*, etc.

M *āgunʷ*, *əgunʷ* 'dough' < *\*haŋ-grš(a)na-*;

Yzh, g *kun-γastē*, sh, r *kun-*: M *kūn'gʷ*, etc. 'deaf' < *karəna-*.

Yzh *kʷunʷo*, sh, g, r *kyūŋo*: M *kunʷuvgo* 'magpie' < *\*kʷšnakā* (?).

Yzh, g *pūŋā*, sh, r *pīnə*: M *pūŋʷ*, etc. 'feather' < *parəna-*.

Yzh, etc. *pəŋək*, r, p *pəŋək* 'leaf' < *\*prna* (?).

Yzh, g *pāŋio*, sh *panio*: M *pāŋgʷo*, etc. 'heel' < *\*pāršni-*.<sup>4</sup>

Yzh, sh *wūŋ*, g, r *wūn*: M *wīŋ* 'marmot': Sgl. *yūŋek* < *\*ārna-*?

Yzh, g *yāŋ-*, sh *yān-*: M *yāŋʷ-*, etc. 'to grind' < *\*arna-*.

Yzh, r *žunayē*, sh *zuno*: M *ziŋgyigo*, etc. 'small boy': Psht. *z/žanai*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 62, 121.

<sup>4</sup> *šn* (Av. *pāšna*) would have resulted in *n*, v. § 112.

In the words given above Yzh, *g n* in most cases corresponds to Ysh, *r n*. There is probably a real difference of pronunciation, and the isolated instances of Yzh *n*, and vice versa, may be due to inexact notation.

At a very early date Ir. *kṛn-* became *kun-*, from which Y—M *ken-* 'to do'. Also *peno*, etc. 'palm of the hand' goes back to a form with Ir. *n*, not *rn* cf., e.g., Wkh. *pān* (but *mur* 'apple'). Note that Skt., too, has an irregular form, and v. Voc. s.v.

In *xōn-*, etc. 'to buy' we find Y and M *n*.<sup>1</sup> Here *\*rn* (*\*xərn-*) is of secondary origin, and the same is the case in *xun* 'raven' (< *\*xwārana-*), *ziānē* 'afternoon' < *uzayeirina-* + *ka*, and possibly in *yīston* 'felt' (if < *\*wi-starana-*) and *raz-in* 'elbow' (< *-arani-??*). Apparently *r* had no 'cerebralizing' power at a later date (cf. secondary *rt* > *t*, § 124), and the result was a complete, regressive assimilation. At a still later date *rn* (< *\*radn*)<sup>2</sup> remained intact.

Regarding *n* < *rn* in secondary contact with *t* cf. § 121.

*pīr* 'full' is borrowed from Prs.

134. Ir. *rm* remains in *yārmē*, etc. 'foreleg, shoulder' < *arəma-*. Y *rm* *kurmo* 'scorpion', M *kurm(o)*, *kərm* 'insect, worm' may be genuine, but Yzh *kīrəm* 'bug' is probably borrowed from Prs.

Ancient *ry* occurs only in *parguščē*, etc. 'finger-ring' < *\*pary-* *ry* *aṅušṭaka-*.

### Assimilation.

135. A great number of cases of assimilation in contact have been mentioned above in the paragraphs describing the development of intervocalic stops and of groups of consonants. Cf. also e.g. *pəcəg-/pəzg-* 'to break'; *niaskē/niaszye* 'mucus', etc. And note the simplification of specially heavy groups, e.g. in Y *pəško* 'tray' < M *paxškʷo*; *āšuryo* ~ *āšurēyo* 'ember'; *čkʷūgo*, *skūgo* 'urine' < *\*čʷškʷ* (?); *što* 'said' < *\*šta*; *kafdūz* < *kovedūz* 'cobbler', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Except, perhaps, in Yg.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 127.



Assimilation at a distance—called *dilation* by Grammont<sup>1</sup>—is mainly of two types, both of which are common also in other Ir. dialects.

A voiced fricative or liquid has been assimilated to a homorganic nasal in *ag'min* 'honey' < \**ang'ib/vin*; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \**lānoyo*; *nəmalen* 'half-full' < *ləmalen*.

The only instance available of a type of perseveration of an initial nasal common to many Ir. and NW. I.A. languages is Y *məndrayē* < *mədrayē* 'neck-ring'.

A dental sibilant is assimilated to a palatal or dorsal one. Thus: *šinjo*, *šizno* 'needle' < \**suṣn-*, etc.; *šāštē* 'hook': Prs. *šast*; *šayūrš* < *sayūrš* 'hawk'; *špūo* = *spūo* 'flea' < \**spīšā*; *žoržo* < *zaržo* 'partridge'. Y *žāžīro* 'chain': Prs. *zanjīr*, but cf. also Khw. *janjēr*.

An isolated case is *sarbargo* < *sabargo* 'trefoil' < Prs. *sihbarga*. Cf. also *warwaden* 'trouser-string' < \**war-vaden*.

### *Dissimilation and Differentiation.*

136. The most frequent type of dissimilation is that which affects one of two nasals. Thus: *ləyan-* < *nəyān-* 'to throw away'; *loyn-* < *nayon-* 'to lie down'; *ləmōn-* 'to rub' < \**nəmon-*; <sup>2</sup> *lažino* 'wood-pile' < \**nižino*. Cf. also *šaklām* 'dew' < Khw., Shgh., etc. *šagnām* < \**šabnam*; *blāim* 'soft' < *məlāim*.

When an *l* follows after the second nasal, the dissimilation does not take place. E.g.: *nəmālyo* 'salt', not \**ləm*<sup>o</sup>. But the principles regulating the assimilation and dissimilation of nasals are far from being clear.

Dissimilation of a liquid occurs in: *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl* 'lawful'; *žir-māl(ē)* < *žilmāl* 'kernel'; *vul'yōr* < *wulyār* 'shoulder-blade' (or vice versa?); *Tālaš Mir* < Khw. *Teriē Mēr*; *kala'kəri* 'wrinkles' <

<sup>1</sup> But the term dissimilation is reserved by him for the changes taking place in contact!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *šemān-*.

Khow. *ka{aka}li*. *γarbil* and *γal'bil* 'sieve' may both have been borrowed from Prs.

Loss of *r* is entailed in *ka'drəno* 'earring' < Khow. *karidreni*; *fāru* 'mill-broom' < \**frāruv*; *fri* 'melted' < \**frari*; *awarxo* 'flame' < *urvāxra* (?).

Regarding the preventive dissimilation in *dāl* 'to give' < \**ḍada*, cf. also § 56.

The development of *xšusta* > *xusto* 'wet' is paralleled in other Ir. dialects, and so is *čič* > *tīč* 'to sit down', cf. also Voc. s.v. 'šti. Dissimilation of *š—š* > *s—š* has taken place in *spač* < *špač* 'behind', and possibly at an early date in *afšinyo* 'ladder' < \**afšišn* < \**upa-srišnakā*. Cf. also *wuʒuzgo* 'frog' < \**wuʒuzgo* (v. s.v. *azuzyo*).

The change of *t—db* > *t—gb* in *tagbir* < *tadbir* 'plan' is not confined to Y—M, and probably belongs to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

Generally speaking, the examples of dissimilation mentioned above fit in with the rules laid down by Grammont. There are, however, exceptions (such as *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl*) which may be due to special causes.

A segmentization of *l', r'* > *lg(y), rg(y)* occurs in Mg, etc., *wulg<sup>vi</sup>igo*, *wulgiy* 'kidney'; *zrl<sup>vu</sup>* 'heart'; Mt *storgī* 'stars' (sg. *stōriy*).

### Metathesis and Interversion.

137. Metathesis is quite frequent in Y—M. Examples are: M *kupōr* < Y *p'korē* 'mouth'; *nəliv* 'to lie down' < \**nəvil*; *lur* 'to run away' < \**rul*; <sup>1</sup> *plār* 'to sell' < \**prāl*; *layafēi* ∼ *ləvaxčē* 'torch'; *zəgürmyo* < *zəmərgire* 'lizard'; *xəsmānek* < *səxmānek* 'pellet-bow'; *əryūy* < *əyury* 'egg'; *krəbərē* 'wool of lambs' < Khow. *kābraili*, *karberi*; *azuzyo* ∼ *wuʒzəga* 'frog'; *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižo*; *oymīno* 'podex' < *γu'mino*; *nīšāš* < *nījāš* 'to show'; *icarwadən* 'trouser-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *r—l* > *l—r* in *lār* 'road', *lara* 'tor'.



string' < \**warvaden*; *bräyiko* 'sparrow' < \**marγ*; *pəšgirdio* < *pəškədrī* 'dung'; Y *xird-* (but *xrist*!) < M *xred-* 'to shave'.

Regarding intervension in groups of consonants v. § 97 (*rf, rx* < *fr, xr*); § 127 (secondary *rd* > *dr*); § 119 (*md, mg* < *dm, gm*).

Cf. also *alvosto* < *avlasto* 'sleeve'; *värzeyo* < \**vazrayo* (*vəzəryo*) 'wing'; *šinjo* < *šižno* 'needle'; *pəzgō* < *pəgzo* 'clean';<sup>1</sup> *šfin* < \**fšün* 'comb'; *šfarm* < *fšarm* 'shame'; *šfē* < \**fšuyē* 'husband'.

But note: *nīzo* < (?) *nezyo* 'mucus'; *škāvrio* < *skarviyo* 'coal'; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamxa*; *zoyno* 'chin' < \**zanya*; *weyzəga* 'frog' < \**wazyaga* (v. *azuzyo*). In these words an apparently easier sequel of consonants has changed into a more difficult one.

### Vowels.

138. Any attempt to reconstruct the development of Ir. vowels in Y—M is beset with many dangers, and the results must of necessity be much more uncertain than those we can arrive at with regard to many of the consonants. In most languages, and certainly to a marked degree in Y—M and some other E.Ir. dialects, the vowels are more variable and more subject to complicated influences from neighbouring sounds than the consonants.

A glance at the Vocabulary will show that, while the consonants generally agree in Y and M, or present only two different forms, the vowels often appear to vary with the speaker. No doubt some of the variations may be due to faulty notation. It takes much longer time to penetrate the vowel system of a language, than to ascertain the number of consonant phonemes. But there really appears to be a certain instability in the articulation, especially of short vowels, in Y—M. They often tend towards a neutral *ə*, and *a* and *o* may interchange in the same word and with the same speaker according to the phonetic context.

<sup>1</sup> But also Khaw. *paṣgā*, *paṣzā*.

Without the knowledge of older forms of these dialects the task of tracing in detail the vowel changes, which have taken place at different periods and under varying conditions, is just as hopeless as the fixation of the sound-laws which have changed Germanic *a*, *au*, *ai*, *e*, *ē*, *ō*, and *iū* into Modern English *i*,<sup>1</sup> would be, if we knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon, or the older stages of English.

## a

139. In the majority of cases Ir. "a" (whatever its exact phonetic value) is represented, in stressed syllables by Y *ā*, M *ǎ* (*ǎ*). It is doubtful whether the difference of quantity has any historical or phonological significance.<sup>2</sup>

To give an exhaustive survey of the development of ancient *a* would entail a repetition of the majority of the words contained in the Vocabulary, and I must therefore restrict myself to quoting some selected examples.

Before a nasal, also when derived from an earlier group of consonants (e.g. *śm*, *rn*), we find Y *ā*, M *ǎ*, e.g. in: *ṽbān*: *ṽvōn* 'to winnow'; *ṽyān*: *ṽyōn* 'to throw away'; *śam*: *śōm* 'to drink'; *yān*: *yān<sup>sv</sup>* 'to grind'; *pām*: *pōm* 'wool'; *čām*: *čām*: *čōm* 'eye'; *pādo*: *pōndo* 'road'; *pānš*: *pōnč* '5'; *yādēm*: *yōndum* 'wheat'; *lad*: *lod*, *lōnd* (but LSIm *lād*, MFB *lānd*) 'tooth'; *vad*: *vōnd* 'to tie'; *trāž*: *ṽrōnž*, *trāj* 'to bind'; *akadē*: *ākodiy* 'bramble'; *tandur*: *tondoro* 'thunder'.—Corresponding to Y *yādē* 'blind', we find Mm, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc., but Mti, t, (t), g *yāndiy*, where the *ā* can scarcely be due to the influence of *y* (cf. Mt *yōn<sup>sv</sup>* 'to grind'). Nor am I able to explain the vocalism of Y *ṽmōn* 'to rub', *boda* 'dyke, ankle-bone' (< Prs.).

Before *r*, *l*: Y *šfarm*: M *šfor<sup>m</sup>* 'shame'; *γary*: *γory* 'heavy'; *laržē*: *loržiy* 'sheaf'; *yalv*: *yōlv* (but LSIm *yālf*) 'dog'; *polarz*: *pōlōrz* 'to wrap'; *pary*: *pory* 'mouse'.

Before *s*: *niāst*: *niōst* 'sat down'; *karāst*: *kērost* 'hide'; *last*: *lost*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in *heel*, *leaf*, *heal*, *steal*, *eel*, *feel*, *creep*. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 35.



'hand'; *ašco*: *oškʷo*, etc. (but G, LSI *m ā-*) '8'; *yasp*: *yosp* 'horse'; *čāst*: *čōst* 'fell'; *vāst*: *vōst* 'tied'; *yašk*: *yošk* 'tear'.—Note Y *xāstē* 'straw', but *xosto* 'grain' (with assimilation to -oʷ).

Before other consonants: Y *māgʷ*: M *mōgʷ* 'to rub'; *parwaxšē*: *parwaxšiy* 'broom'; *maxšē*: *mōxši* 'mosquito'; *max*: *mōx* 'we'; *sāvdē*: *sōvdīy* 'basket'; *avdo*: *ovdō* '7'; *maf*: *mōf* 'you', etc.

140. One group of exceptions to this rule are the cases with Y *o*: M *a* in the proximity of *x* and the labials. But we do not always find Y *o*, M *a* in such positions (v. above), and it is impossible to tell what has really taken place in such words, assimilation in Y or dissimilation in M.

Examples with *x*: Y *xof*: M *xaf* 'scum'; *xof*: *xaf*, *xəf* 'to cough'; *xoš*: *xāš*, *xəš* 'to pull'; *xoro*: *xara*, *xərā* 'ass'; *xo<sup>(u)</sup>d*: *xād* (Z *xād*) 'to laugh'; *xō<sup>(u)</sup>n*: *xan* 'to buy'. But note Y—M *xāfs* 'to descend' (pret. Y *xāvd*, M *xō/āvd*).

Before *x*: Y *yox*: M *yax* 'cold'; Y *žūrox*: M *žirəx*, *kirax* 'to shy'; *kutox*: *kutax* 'sour milk'.

After *wo* the development is more troubled. Cf. e.g.: Y *wofšio*: M *wafšiyō* 'wasp'; *woryo*: *wargā* 'quail'; *wor*: *war* 'to knit'; but also Y *waly* 'wedding'; *wor*, *war* 'oath'; *wo/arfo*: M *worfo* 'snow'; Y *wāzd*: M *wōzd* 'fat'.

Before labials we find Y *o* in: Y *kofšē*: M *kafšo* 'shoe'; *nov*: *nāv* 'to rain'; *skāvrio*: *skarviyo* 'coal'; *xšovo*: *xšavo* 'night'; *yovurso*: *yavurso*, *yə*, *ye* 'juniper'. But Y *yavo* (sh *yəwo*): M *yōwa* 'cow'.

But the hopelessness of finding some principle or principles to explain all the variations in the development of *a* in Y—M is demonstrated by Y *poləm*: M *pal<sup>m</sup>* 'soft'; Y *sōro*: M *sara* 'dung'; Y *laʷoso*: M *lāsa* 'rope'; Y *moyuso*: M *maguso*, *mā*, *mə<sup>o</sup>* 'fly'; Y *xurom*: M *xuram* 'threshing-ground', etc. Cf. also e.g. Y *los* '10'; *rok* 'colour'; *kob* (= M) 'little'; Y—M *nayən* 'bread', etc.

141. After initial *kʷ* Y *a* has been palatalized in *kʷel* 'baldheaded'; *kʷämder* 'younger'; *kʷemalyo* 'skull': Mj. *kʷāl*, *kamder*. But in other cases Y has *ka*, *ko*. Reg. *āx* < *aš* (?), cf. § 153.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 41.

After  $x < hw$  ancient  $a$  has been labialized in Y—M *xun*, *xõn* 'raven'; M *xurî* 'sister's son', etc. Cf. also (*w*)*urv*- 'to boil' with  $u < a$  between two labials (but Y *wefšio* 'wasp').

Y *pūñā*, M *pūñ<sup>ov</sup>*, etc. may go back to a form in  $\bar{a}$ , or have early compensatory lengthening, cf. *xāt* 'he eats'; *šāt* 'he speaks' and other syncopated 3 sg. forms with early lengthening.

Very difficult to explain are the M preterites in  $\bar{e}$ , such as Z *šēmd* 'drank', *fxēvd* 'sheared', etc.<sup>1</sup>

142. Before the accent  $a$  usually remains. Thus, e.g.: Y—M *a'larsinē* 'threshold'; *av'lāsto*, etc. 'sleeve'; *aspōlan* 'stable'; *par'guščē*: *par'gušk<sup>vij</sup>* 'finger-ring'; *ag'mīn* 'honey'; *agidro*, *aglero* 'grape' (with shift of accent?). But note Y *o'guščo*: M *oguška*, *ā<sup>o</sup>*, *ə*- 'finger'. After the accent we find  $u$  in *mo'yuso*, *mayəsa* 'fly' < \**makasā*, and possibly in *av'ruš*, *yivguš* < \**upakaša* (?).

Note Y—M *ida* 'slave' < \**hantaka*- (but *hadē*); Y *īdou*; M *yīdou* 'fever' < \**han-tapa*-; Y *dūr*: M *yūdūr*, *īdūr* 'other' < \**antāra*- with unexplained  $i$ , etc.

#### Ir. $\bar{a}$ .

143. Ancient Ir.  $\bar{a}$  'normally' results in Mm, Z, G  $\bar{u}$ , Y, and some  $a$  forms of M  $\bar{i}$ , in some cases with secondary shortening. This M  $\bar{u}$  appears to be identical with that which arises from ancient  $\bar{u}$  and  $au$ ; but the fact that in the latter cases  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y proves that the common Y—M sound derived from  $\bar{a}$  was not identical with  $\bar{u} < \bar{u}$  (and  $au$ ), but was probably of a palatal type. Thus perhaps:

$$\text{Ir. } \bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{ö} (\bar{u}) > \begin{cases} \bar{i} \text{ (Y, Mg, t, etc.)} \\ \bar{u} \text{ (Mm, etc.)} \end{cases}$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{ } au > ou > \bar{u} \\ & \text{ } \bar{u} > \bar{u} > \bar{u} \end{aligned}$$

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 159.



Examples of  $\bar{a} > M \bar{u}$ ,  $M-Y i$  are: Mm, Z, G, LSI *m*  $\check{c}\bar{f}\bar{u}r$ : Y  $\check{c}\bar{s}\bar{u}r$ , Mt, ti, g, (sh)  $\check{c}\bar{f}\bar{u}r$  'four' Mm, Z, G *n*  $\bar{u}f\bar{a}$ : Y, Mg, t, ti *nif* 'navel'. The same distribution of  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  appears in Y *asmīno* 'sky'; *išēin* 'female breast'; *dār* 'other'; *fīz* 'breast';<sup>1</sup> *nowisa* 'grandson'; *prist* 'sold' (*plār*); *piž* 'arrow'; *riyo* 'vein'; *riw* 'rhubarb'; *sabrīm* 'fat' (of unknown etymology); *šfīn* 'comb'; *šiz* 'vulture'; *tīro* 'darkness';<sup>2</sup> *vīzyo* 'arm'; *vira* 'burden'; *zik* 'knee'; *zavīy* (and *zabēy*) 'tongue', as compared with the forms in Mm, etc. Possibly also Mti *nivilo*: Z *naicul*<sup>3</sup> 'bedding' < \**ni-pādū*; Y *mīryo*, Mg *mīrya*: Mm *muryo* 'meadow' < \**mārgā*.

Words with ancient  $\bar{a}$  found only in Y are: *sīy* 'hare';<sup>4</sup> *stīnyo* 'supine'; *tīyo* 'rope made of willow bark'; *šilo* 'hail'. Cf. also Voc. s.v. *čērīy*, *čīrūy* 'lamp'; *pīy* 'onion'; *pīloyo* 'cup'. *škūr* 'shooting'; *pūzē* 'falcon' (< Prs *bāz*), and possibly *šulo* 'rice pillau' must have been borrowed too late to join the development of ancient  $\bar{a}$ .

Special M words are: *čīrūy* 'lantern' (early lw.); *tūr* 'trap'; *xuri* 'itching'; *xurī*, *xūrōya* 'sister's son';<sup>4</sup> *pārīvur* 'cow-house'.

144. Most of the exceptions to this rule can be explained. Thus after *x-* and *w-* Y  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y—M *u*  $\bar{u}š$ , *u*  $\bar{u}š$  'grass'<sup>5</sup> < *vāstra*- (cf. Y *uščeno*, M *wuškēno* 'hay-stack'); Y—M *xūyo*, *xūgo* 'spring, well'; *wūi* 'wind' (but Mt, g, etc. *wīy*, *wīy*); Y *xūno* 'lid of a tray'; Y *hūy* (< \**wūy*?) 'money'. Possibly also after *m*, cf. Y *mux* (Biddulph 'moogh') 'month'; and cf. s.v. *munyo* 'sheep-skin bag'. But, on the other hand, cf. *nowisa* and *asmīno* above.

After *y-* we find Y  $\bar{u}$ , possibly retained through preventive differentiation, in: Y *yūr*: M *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārt*;<sup>6</sup> *yūrzon*, etc. 'millet' (prob. < \**ārz*-, v. Voc. s.v.); *yurzujo* 'grindstone' (if < \**yāhr*- <

<sup>1</sup> Biddulph's *fuz* can scarcely be an older Y form.

<sup>2</sup> With \**ār* < \**qār*.

<sup>3</sup> With \**ā* < *ahā*. Cf. Psht. *šē*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> With \**ār* < \**ahr*.

<sup>5</sup> But Mt *wīš*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 101.

\**yaθra*). But corresponding to M *yūr* 'ground' (< \**ārta*.) we find Yg *yir*.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *is*, *yīs* v. below. Mm, Z, G *yüspən*, Mt, g *yüspən* 'iron' goes back to \**ōspan* < \**āspana*., and the vocalism of Y *rīspən* seems to show that the mysterious *r*- was introduced at an early date in \**ōspan* > \**rōspan* > \**rūspan*, etc.

Also before *-y* < *-t* we find *ū* in *sūi* 'slate' (< \**sāta*.) But I am unable to explain the varying development of \**āta* in Y, Mm, Z, G *wūi* (*wūy*): Mt, ti, g *wī(y)*, *wī(y)*, *wīy* 'wind'; Y *li*, *lū*: Mm *lūiy*, Mt, Z, G *līy*, (*loy*) 'gave';<sup>2</sup> Mm *yūi*: Mg *yiy* 'brother-in-law', etc. Cf. also Y *Prū-yus*: Mt, g, etc. *Prī-yus*, but Mm *Prē-gus* (possibly < \**drāti* with epenthesis of *i*?).

There are no examples of ancient, unshortened *-āy* in Y, but in M this group has been subject to early palatalization. Thus: Mm *nusiḡ*, g *nisiḡ* 'shadow' < \**nisāya*; Z *ziḡ* 'to bear' (but *zūy* < *zāta*); cf. *čiy*: *čūy* 'to freeze'.

145. In a great number of words *ā* has been shortened at an early date and has shared the fate of ancient *a*. This shortening has taken place before some nominal suffixes, in the first hand *-o/-a* < *-ā* and *-ē/-iy* < *-aka*., in nominal compounds, and in the present tense of the verbs.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to assume that all of these suffixes have once carried the stress; the shortening may be due to rhythmical tendencies.

Examples are, e.g.: Y *a'lāno* 'pome-granate' < \**ha-dānā*; Y *lāmo*, M *lōmo* 'village' < \**dāmā*; M *lōmago* 'snare' < \**dāmakā*; Y *mayo'yo*, M *mōyaya*, etc. 'mare' < \**mātakā*; Y *nāno'yo* 'grain' < \**dānakā*; Y *palo*, *polo*, M *pālo* 'foot' < *pādā*; Y *wāriyo* 'rain' < \**wārikā*; Y *wāro*, M *wōro* 'summer' < \**wāhṡtā*; Y *yāu'yo*, M *yōngo*, etc. 'water' < \**āpākā*; Y *no'woso*, M *nawōso* 'granddaughter' (but Y *nawisa*, *nawis* m.).

Y *fer'yāmə*, -ē, M *'frayomiy* 'he-goat' < \**fragāmaka*; Y *'mōžē*:

<sup>1</sup> Other Y informants gave the remade form *yāḡvī*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But *yāi* 'brought' (*is*, *yīs* 'to bring' < *yās*).

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the early syncopated 3g. in-*ati*.



M *mažiy* 'stick' < \**māḍaka*; Y *stārē*, M *stōriy* 'star'; Y *yārē*, M *yōriy* 'flour' etc.

In such words as *asmīno* 'sky'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *šilo* 'hail'; *xūyo* 'well'; *pūšē* 'hawk', etc., the suffix may have been added at a later date.

Y *vrai*, M *vrai* 'brother'; Y *za'mai*, M *zamōi* 'son-in-law', which apparently have shortening without suffigation, may perhaps be derived from \**vrūpy* < \**brātaka*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In compounds we find shortening of \**ā* in *poruylan* 'key-hole' and other words in ancient \**dāna*; *aspolan* 'stable'; *awlān* 'bridle'; Y *pišcan*, -en, M *pišk'en* 'thigh' (< *paitištāna*); *molān* 'waist' (< *maidyāna*); *pistān* 'udder' (< \**payah-stāna*); Y *xalfūn*, M *zalifōn* 'skin bag for flour' (< \**hwarḍa-pāna*). *ištin*, *asmīno*, *stīnyo*, *xūno*, *zik*, etc., mentioned above, show that the shortening can not have been caused by the nasal which follows the \**ā*.

Among the present forms cf., e.g., Y *aydāum*, M (Z) *aydōvəm* 'I dress' (and other causatives); Y *plār*, M *plōr* 'to sell' (< \**parā-dā*), *lār* 'to hold'; *vōzān* 'to know'; *wāf*, etc. 'to weave' (Prs. *bāf*); *zōnay* 'to wash', etc. But Z *ziy* 'to bear',<sup>2</sup> etc., may have been influenced by the 3 sg. Cf. Z *aydūvd* 'he dresses', etc. with regular *ū* < *ā*.<sup>3</sup>

The verbs in *ā* and those in *a* have thus to a large extent, if not completely, coalesced through the shortening of *ā* in most forms, and the lengthening of *a* in Pres. 3rd sg.

Also the prefix *ā* has been shortened, or has at any rate not taken part in the development towards *ū*. Thus Y *āydem*, M *āyudem*, etc. 'I dress': Y *ay'dāum* 'I dress (somebody else)'; *āyoi* (or with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *vraya* 'younger brother', with *a* from *vrai*. Other words in *-a* have unshortened \**ā*, cf. § 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 144.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Z *nigēvd* 'bites'; *wēft* 'weaves'; *firšēd* 'shakes' (*firšōn*); *bispēt* 'entrusts' (*bispōr*); *pīlēr* 'sells' (*pālōr*) cf. the Morphology. The phonetic development is not clear.

assimilation Y *ōyoi* 'came'; *ārunyo* 'light' < \**ā-raucsnakā*, etc. But in M *yūspən* 'iron', etc., *ā*- has not been felt as a prefix.

Final *-ā* was shortened at an early date, but did not coalesce with original *-a*.

146. In Prs. lw.s, except possibly in the very early borrowing *pūzē* 'falcon', we find *ā*, *ō*, *ā̄*, varying very much in the same manner as in genuine Y—M words with ancient *a*. Thus, e.g.: *zomistān*, *-ōn* 'winter'; Y *šām*: M *šōm* 'evening'; Y *xām*: M *xōm* 'raw'; Y *bāya* 'garden'; Y *sāl*: M *sōl* 'year' (if borrowed), etc.

### Ir. i.

147. As has already been pointed out by Gauthiot,<sup>1</sup> *i* and *u* have a tendency to lose their specific articulation in Y—M, and to become mixed vowels of the type *e*, *ɨ*. This tendency is shared also by Psht. and some other E.Ir. dialects.

Examples of *i* in Y—M are: *cē*, *cī* 'what'; *cēb*-, *cəb*- 'to pinch'; *diš*- 'to know'; *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta*-; Y *imar*-, M *yumar*- 'to count' < *hišmar*-; *lizo*, *ləzo* 'fort'; *riško* 'nit'; *sēyo*, *šig<sup>yo</sup>* 'sand' < \**sikatā*-; *sīl<sup>yo</sup>* 'cream' < \**sidakā*-; *səziyo* 'jujube tree' < \**sinjītā*-; *tiry*, *tī<sup>o</sup>*, *tə<sup>o</sup>* 'sharp'; *xird*-, *xərd*- 'to shave' < \**xrind*-; *yimsāl* 'this year' < *ima<sup>o</sup>*.

After *w*- ancient *i* has been labialized in *wul*: *wust* 'to throw' < \**wid*-; *wulēyo* 'span' < \**widāti*; *x<sup>u</sup>šwəd* 'sweet' < *xšwipta*-; Z *pəriwōyd* 'sifted' (*pəriwēž*-); possibly *wriz*- 'to spread dung' (*wi*- or *awa*-).

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *ū* in *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš*-; *pušē*, *pušk<sup>u</sup>* 'flour made from dried apples'; *puma* 'avalanche' < \**pišmā*.

Unstressed *i* is still more exposed to assimilation. Cf. e.g. *nəliv*:- *nəwōst* 'to lie down'; *nuyōz*:- *niyēzd* 'to swallow'; *ni(y)*:- *noyoy* 'to go out', etc. Note also *Undustōn* 'Hindustan'.

Before *hr* < *θr* *i* has been lengthened in *mira* 'sun'.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.



## Ir. i.

148. Ancient *i* is retained in *xšira* 'milk'; *šīyo* 'woman'; *šio* 'bow-string'; *wist(o)* '20'; *nīya* 'sour milk'. With constant shortening: *ši-nāmia* 'girl' < *stri-nāman*; *ti* 'to enter' < *\*ati*.

The relation between *yurvo*, *yirwa*, etc. 'throat' and Av. *grīvā* 'neck' is uncertain.

## Ir. u.

149. In most cases Ir. *u* remains, or becomes *ə*, *i*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *luydo*, *lə*<sup>o</sup> 'daughter'; *vəzo*, *və*<sup>o</sup>, *vī*<sup>o</sup> 'she-goat'; *surx*, *sə*<sup>o</sup>, *sī*<sup>o</sup> 'red'; *suwdo*, *sə*<sup>o</sup>, *sī*<sup>o</sup> 'shoulder'; *surv* 'hole'; *oguščo*, etc. 'finger'; (*w*)*ušš* 'dry'; *poruy* 'lock, bolt'; *yuxs-* 'to learn'; *tu*, *tə* 'thou' (Psht. *tə* points to *\*tū*); *vən* 'bottom, root'; *rust* 'fled', etc. Note Y *šfē*, M *šfīy*, *šfui*, etc. 'husband' < *\*fšəyəy* < *\*fšəyaka*.

In *zinro* 'daughter-in-law' (< *\*smušā*) and *friyo* 'flea' (< *\*frušikā*) *u* has resulted in *i* before *y* < *š*.<sup>2</sup> In *gʷib* 'lost' (< *\*gumb*); *lib-* 'to card wool' (*\*dumb*), and *lim*, *lum*, etc. 'tail' *u* has become *i* before a labial.<sup>3</sup> I cannot explain the reasons for the development in Y *ʷagidro*, M *ʷaglero* 'grape' (*\*angurdā-ʔ*); *šktro*, etc. 'camel'; *frāiyo* etc., 'yoke-rope' (< *\*frayugā*).

In *pūr* 'son' the lengthening has been caused by the loss of *h* < *θ*. But note the lengthening also in other monosyllabics, such as *yūy*, *yīy* 'yoke'; *ʷstūy* 'long hair', *šūi* 'went'.

In unstressed position we find *u*, *ə* in: *yādem*, *yōndəm*, *ʷum* 'wheat'; *pərsəyē*, etc. 'rib' < *pərsu-*; Y *uržūy*, M (*w*)*urzug*, *ʷəy* 'straight';<sup>4</sup> Y *āydt*, M *āyud-* 'to dress'.

Initial *u* is preserved in *usxūbun* 'sleepless'; *ustušč-* 'to jump', but lost in the atonic word *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Corresponding to Y *ilir* 'belly' (*\*udarya-ʔ*) M has *Λ<sup>o</sup>*, *yī<sup>o</sup>*, etc.; cf. Y *imoyo*, M *yu<sup>o</sup>*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above regarding *i*.

<sup>2</sup> The statement § 74 is hardly correct. But cf. above *i* > *u* between labial and *-š-*!

<sup>3</sup> Through differentiation?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 181.

*yī*<sup>o</sup>, *i*- 'moon' < \**uxšm*<sup>o</sup>. Y *āvelī*, M *a*<sup>o</sup>, *ə*<sup>o</sup> 'both' may have suffered a very early reduction of the initial vowel, cf. Av. *uua-*, *ava-*, *va-*. Regarding *upa*, *upa-* cf. § 165.

Also in lw.s *u* is rendered by *ə*, *i*. E.g. *kəlf*, *kulf* 'lock'; *pīr*, *pər*, *pur* 'full'; *sīnd*, *sənd* 'two-storied house' < Khw. *suṇd*.

#### Ir. *ū*.

150. Ancient *ū* retains its quality in Y—M *kū* 'where'; Y—M *γū(w)* *ū* 'excrements' (but also Y *γō(h)*); Y—M (\**stuno* (and Y *steno*) 'post'; M *tūi* 'mulberry'. M shows a tendency to palatalization in *lūy*, *lūy*, *lī* 'smoke'; *lura*, *lə*<sup>o</sup>, *lū* 'far'; *stur*, *stər*, *stūr* 'big'; Y *lūi*, *lūro*, *stur*. In Y *pio*, M *pīy* 'rotten'; *vīo*, etc., 'was' and Y *astio* 'abuse' (if < \**a-stūtā*-) this tendency has prevailed completely (before *y* < *t*) in both dialects. Also Y—M *vriyo*, etc. (G *vrēga*) has an unexplained *i*.

Y—M *šū* 'horn' may go back to *srū-* or \**srau-* (cf. the Wkh. form). Y *vṛūt*, M *brūt* 'moustache' are lw.s.

#### Ir. *r*.

151. In view of the general instability of short vowels in Y—M it is not surprising that the very short vocalic element which developed in original *r* should show a wide scope of variation, which cannot be explained in all particulars.

In the neighbourhood of a labial *r* usually results in *u*. Thus: *wulya* 'kidney'; *wury* 'wolf'; (*w*)*ušiyo* 'hungry'; *xur* 'ate'; *yurv-* (*yirv-*) 'to seize'; *yovurso* 'juniper' (< *hapərəsi-*); Y *nəwur*, *ər*, M *never* 'took out'; *mur* 'died'; *imur* 'counted'; *urzu* 'straight'; M *pursəgo* (but Y *pərsəyē*) 'rib'; M *purs-*, *pərs-* (but Y *pərs-*, *pṛs-*) 'to ask'; *wūrēz*, *wērēz* 'thread'; *virzanē*, *urz*<sup>o</sup>, *viz*<sup>o</sup> 'pillow' < \**bṛz*<sup>o</sup>.

Before Y *šē*, M *šk*<sup>o</sup> the vocalic element became palatal: *lišē*: *līšk*<sup>o</sup> 'saw'; *kišē*: *kīšk*<sup>o</sup>, *kīšk* 'ploughed'; *pōlišē* 'wrapped' (*pōlarz-*);



*pišē*: *piškʷ* 'farted' (*pil*); *pišēo*: *piškʷo*, but also *pī<sup>o</sup>*, *pi<sup>o</sup>*, *pə<sup>o</sup>* 'back'. To the same conflicting influences of an initial labial and a following palatal is due the vacillation in Y *wušē*, *wišē*: M *wušk* 'knitted' (*wor*), etc. It is doubtful whether *fərmīšē* 'forgot' has ancient *r*.<sup>1</sup>

An *l* appears to have prevented the development of a labial vowel in Y *mīlʷo*: M *mī<sup>o</sup>*, *mə<sup>o</sup>*, *mī<sup>o</sup>* 'clay' (< \**mīd*-); Y *pil* 'to fart'; Y *pilf*, *pəlf* 'ford'.

Other examples with *i*, *ə*, are: Y *lirs*: M *lirs*, *lurs* 'goat's hair' (< \**dīsa*- or \**dārsa*-?); Y *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year' (< \**para-sīd-anaka*-?); Y *zīl*, *zēl*: M *zīlʷ*, *zūlʷ*, etc. 'heart'; Y *fīdro* 'spring' (< \**upa-sīdā*-, or \**sārdā*-); *kīrio*, etc. 'hen'; Y *kər*: M *kər* 'made', etc.

Note Y *mur* 'died' (v. above), but *mər*- 'to die' with the usual reduction in the present.

Initial *r* is found only in Y *yarš*, cf. Av. *arəša*-.

Reg. M *vəzvurgo*, Y *zevirʷo* 'birch'; Y *kurmo* 'scorpion, insect' (but *kīrəm* 'bug'); *yīkʷ* 'penis' v. Voc. s.vv. Note *kənəm* 'I do', *kīt* 'he does' < *kunāmi*, *kunati* with early change of *r* into *u*, as in Prs., Shgh. etc.

### Diphthongs.

152. In most cases ancient *ai* results in *ī* (*i*), the older stage *ē* being *ai* preserved in a few words without any apparent reason.

Examples are: *ag'mīn* (rarely *oīn*, *oīn*) 'honey'; *anīməf* 'half' (adv., cf. *nīmopīr* 'half full'); *axšīn*, *ēn*, *ən* 'blue'; Y *iz'ma*, M (y)*i<sup>o</sup>*, *yr<sup>o</sup>*, *ya*- 'firewood'; *diz*-, *diz*- 'to bury'; *γīs* 'goat's hair thread'; *γī(w)*- 'to spin'; *liu* 'rotten, bad'; *mīy*, *mēy* 'cloud'; Yzh *miz*-, Ysh, Mm *mēz*- 'to urinate'; *neriz*- 'to lick'; *pərwēz*- 'to sieve'; *pīx* 'span' (Sgl. *pēx*); *spī* 'white'; *vī*- 'to break' (Sgl. *vrēl*-); *wīn*- 'to see', *wīya* 'willow'.

In Y—M *yēya*, *yē<sup>o</sup>*, Z *yāya* 'bridge' (< *haētu*-) the development of initial (*h*)*ai*- differs from that found in *iz'ma*. The difference is perhaps conditioned by the following *y*. In *yū* 'one' the development

<sup>1</sup> v. § 132.

appears to have passed through the stages *aiw* > *yau*.<sup>1</sup> *M yax'len*, *yi*<sup>o</sup> 'cold' might be explained in the same manner, but this word is probably borrowed from or influenced by Prs. (cf. *M yaxsəriy*, *Y laxsərə* 'ice'), genuine *\*aix-* occurring in *Y ax'len*. Cf. *Y max*: *M mōx* 'peg' (Prs. *mēx*); *Y woxo*: *M wāxo* 'root' (Prs. *bēx*), with loss of the palatal element before *x*.<sup>2</sup> *Y xūl*: *M xa'la* 'perspiration' is difficult to explain. Possibly *i* has been absorbed into the *l* (< *\*l'*).<sup>3</sup>

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *ū*, etc. < *ai* in *Y 'mūo*: *M mīyo*, *mō*<sup>o</sup>, *mō*<sup>o</sup> 'sheep', and possibly in *Y ābūya*: *M ābīy* 'moraine'. Cf. above regarding the treatment of *i* in similar positions.

*Y yarīō*: *M yōrīō* 'beard' may be derived through *\*raižā* < *\*raišā*.

The pronoun *yo* 'this' (half proximate) probably goes back to *\*ayo* < *aēta-* (or nom. *aēša*), cf. *mo* < *ima-*, etc. Loss of *ai-* is also recorded in *Y fkyiyiko* (Biddulph still *ifkigo*) 'alone' < *\*ēw* + *k*<sup>o</sup>, cf. Sar. *iwj*.

In the lw. *qiza'gi* 'bridle' < Prs. *qaiza* the foreign sound *ai* has been reduced in unstressed syllable.

The actual diphthongs in *Y nāilā* 'to make sit down'; *nāilō* 'to circumscribe' are probably derived from *\*nəy* < *\*niš/ž*.

*paitawo* 'puttees' is a lw., and the etymologies of *paifar* 'steep hill side', *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' are unknown. *pai-* may go back to *pati-*. Cf. also § 46.

#### *au*

153. The development of *au* into *ū* (*u*, *ü*) is parallel to that of *ai* > *i*. *au* As mentioned above,<sup>4</sup> this *ū* did not coalesce with the sound resulting from *ā* in common Y—M. In Y *ū* < *au* is palatalized before *-y-* < *-t-*, cf. *īy* < *ūta*, § 150.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *yau*, Par. *fū*, etc. But v. also Junker, SHAW, phil. hist. Kl. 1914, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. *pīx* above!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *xwala*, but also *wala* 'willow': Y *wīya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 143.



Examples are: Y *ā'brūo* 'pear' (< \**hamrautā*-); Y *o'γūzo* 'walnut'; *ārunyo* 'light' (< \**ā-rauxšnakā*-); *drūv-* 'to dance' (Sogd. *δr'wβ-*); *γū* (*γōi*), etc. 'ear'; *γūnia* 'hair'; *γūš* 'meat'; Y *k'vifo*, *k'vūo*, M *k'vīo* 'hump' (< \**kaufyā*-? *kūfān* 'camel's hump' may be a lw.); M *kūiko* 'stone'; Y *koviō*, *koviyo*: M *kouyo*, *kōuēya* 'pigeon'; *lūž-* 'to milk'; *nəyūy-* 'to hear'; *rūi*, etc. 'bowels'; Y *Rūi* 'n. of a village' (cf. Prs. *rōd*?). Y *rufo* 'small broom' (\**au* or *u*?); *rūyən* 'clarified butter'; Y *rūso*: M *raūso* 'fox'; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole'; M *s'tīr* 'horned cattle'; *tūy'm* 'grain'; *xūlo* 'cap'; M *yōruya* 'eructation' (\**ā-raugā*-); *yūya* 'ear of wheat' (Prs. *xōša*).

Of unknown or uncertain derivation are: Y *ā'yury*: M *ar'yūg* 'egg'; *yuvē* 'wooden trough'; *kuso* 'maize-straw'; *mūž-* 'to move'; Y *sūyiko*: M *sūgo* (M(g) *sīyakā*!) 'tale'; Y \**stuynūl* 'dripping'; *yur-siliko* 'shoe-string'. V. Voc. s.vv.

Note Y *pisto*: M *pūsto* 'bark' (Prs. *pōst*), possibly < \**paustā*, cf. Av. *pasta*.—Reg. -*awa*- (e.g. in *tō* 'thy', etc.), cf. § 85.

### Umlaut.

154. Umlaut caused by a following *i* or *y* is common in Y—M as in most other Ir. languages, but it is not easy to determine the exact conditions under which this assimilation takes place, nor are the results always the same.

155. Before a following *y* an ancient *a* results in *ē* or *i*. Thus, e.g., *a-y* Y *mēr*: M *mēr*, *mār* 'man' < \**mar(i)ya*- (but Y *maṛa*, M *mēra* < \**martyaka*-); Y *kəro*, *kəo*, *ko*: M *kēro*, *kēo* 'knife' < \**kart(i)yā*-; Y *γu'rež*, *ož* 'knot' < \**graḍyā*-; Y *yežio*: M *yōžo* 'hand-mill' < \**yaḍriyā*- (?). Reg. *vəžāžo* 'pregnant', *zāžko* 'child-bearing'; *pəžəžr*, *pəžāžē* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**zaḍya*- or \**zaḍa*-, v. §§ 66, 155.

But *i* occurs in M *nəliv*, *nīlv-* 'to lie down' < *nī-paiḍya*-; Y *mištor* 'prince' < \**masyah-tara*-; *īlir*, etc. 'belly' < \**udarya*-; Y *siri* 'upper' < \**sariya*- (?). There is no epenthesis or umlaut in the unstressed first syllable of *m'lān* 'waist'.

156. Before *i* we find umlaut in: *iṣ* 'snake' < *aṣi*; *ṣit* 'yellow' < *a-ṣ* *zairita*; *ṣina*, *ṣiṅko* 'woman' < *jaini*; *ṣeṣo* 'pin of a spindle' < *\*ṣastri*; M *uṣlo*: Y *uṣlo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vaidi*;<sup>1</sup> possibly also in Y *sporo*: Mm *sparo*, Z *spēra* 'plough-share'; Y *uoro*: M *uero*, etc. 'trousers'; Y *pero*: M *pēro*, etc. 'hip'; Y *loso*, *leṣ*: M *leṣo* 'wild oats' (Sgl. *dosin*).

The absence of umlaut in *yar* 'stone' < *gairi* may be due to early transfer into the *a*-stems of masculines in *i*.

157. Examples of *ā*→*y* are: Y *peṣiko* 'snare' < *\*pāṣyā* (v. s.v.); *ā*→*y* M *vrēri* 'nephew' (< *\*brāḍryaka*); M *xṣēma* 'supper' < *xṣāfnya* (if a lw., of very early date); Y *yēṣko* 'duck' < *\*āḍya* (?); *mīṣ* 'day' (< *\*māḍya*?). Reg. the various forms of *yazio* 'ashes' (< *ātrya*?), v. Voc. s.v.

*uṣlēyo* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti*;<sup>2</sup> M *frayingo*, *frayengo* 'she-goat, 1 y. *ā*→*y* old' < *\*fragāmikā*; Mm *ṣrē-gus* 'sickle' < *\*drāti* (?); Y *pāṇio*: M *pāṅyo* 'heel' < *\*pārṣni*.

158. Umlaut of *ā* seems to be regular in Pres. 3rd sg. before syn-copated *-ati*. Thus Y *nəvit* 'he takes out' < *\*nibar(a)ti*, but 1sg. *nəvorum*; M *kēd* 'he digs': *kanəm*; M *ziṣk* 'he pulls out': *xaṣəm*; M *gi'yit* 'he passes': *gi'yarəm*. From stems in *\*ā*: M *gi'yēt* 'he lets pass': *gi'yōrəm*; Y *lāt*, M *lēt* 'he has': *lārəm*, *lōrəm*; M *wēft* (Y *wāft*) 'he weaves': *wōfəm*. Cf. also Y *kīt*, M *kēd* 'he does' < *\*kunati*: *ke/ənəm*. The umlaut possibly also took place in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. Cf. § 167.

The majority of the exceptions are due to the neighbourhood of a labial. Thus M *aydūd* 'dresses' (caus.); M *āvūd* 'brings' (*āvōrəm*);<sup>4</sup> Y *xut*, M *xūt* 'eats'.<sup>5</sup> In Y—M *ṣūt* 'he speaks' the double *tt* in (*ṣāt* <) *\*ṣatti* < *\*jatati* may have prevented the umlaut. But note also M *yūst* 'he carries': (*y*)*iṣəm*.

<sup>1</sup> Or *\*wādi* as indicated by some of the forms in the Shgh. group.

<sup>2</sup> As rendered probable by Sar. *\*māḍ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ṣitrēyo* 'Chitral', which is, however, a lw. of uncertain date.

<sup>4</sup> Y *avīt* with *i* < *ā*? Cf. *nəvit* above.

<sup>5</sup> But *ṣūt* 'he bps'.



159. In several cases we find, especially in M, a palatal vowel in the preterite. Thus, e.g. Y *ayduvd*: Z *aydēvd* 'dressed' (caus.); Y *ava/ezd*: Z *avēzd* 'brought'; Z, Mm *kēd* 'dug'; Y *lobad*: Mt *Pvēy*, Mm *Pvēd* 'winnowed'; Mm *nījašt*: Z *nīješt* 'showed'; Y *vəzad*, *vəzend*: Mm, t, Z *vzē(n)d* 'knew'; Y *waft*: Mt, Z *wēft* 'wove', etc. It is possible that these formes have been influenced by ancient verbal nouns in *-ti*.<sup>1</sup>

There are some traces of epenthesis caused by a following *-aya-* in present stems. Thus, e.g., Y *uriz-* 'to spread dung' (< \**wi-rāzaya-*); *rim-*, *rēm-* 'to please' (< \**rāmaya-*); Z *stēr-*, but Mm, Y *stōr-* 'to sweep'; Z *tēw-* 'to stir' (soup, etc.) < \**tāwaya-* (?); M *tīž-*, *tēž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*; Z *vřēm-* 'to stand' < \**upa-rāmaya-* (?). But most of these etymologies are doubtful, and we find no umlaut in *lār-* 'to have' and *ušāw-* 'to call' < *dāraya-* and \**us-srūcaya-*. Cf., however, Parachi *mēr-* 'to kill' < \**māraya-*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

160. It is impossible to decide whether *r* in Y *mřč* (M *mušč*, etc.) *u*-<sup>1</sup> 'first' is due to umlaut or to the influence of *šč* (cf. above § 149). But most dialects have *svedo*, *so*, *sī* 'shoulder', without any trace of umlaut. Likewise we find Y *šino* (Yg *šuno*): M *šino* 'vulva, *au*-<sup>1</sup> podex' < *sraoni-* and Y *šinjo* (Yr *šuo*): M *šlěno* 'needle' < *saučani-* (or \**su*?), but *lūžd* 'he milks', *lūrd* 'he flies' < \**raudati-*.—(y)*ino* 'blood' and related words in other Ir. dialects present special difficulties, not altogether surprising in a word which may have been subject to taboo. But \**wahuni* > (w)*ūni-* > *in-* seems possible.<sup>3</sup> *pīro* 'before' may be derived from *paurvya-* (\**přvya-*) and reg. *r*-<sup>1</sup> *pist* 'he asks', cf. above.

161. Epenthesis of *u*, or *u-* umlaut, is comparatively rare in Ir.<sup>4</sup> The *a*-<sup>1</sup> only possible examples in Y—M are *wulo* 'wife' < *vađū-*, *urzuy*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henning, ZII, 9, 216: 'Auch *ti*-Bildungen mögen gelegentlich die Form des P.P.P. beeinflusst haben, wahrscheinlich bei [Turfan Phl.] *ošist* 'fiel herab'.

<sup>2</sup> HFL, I, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Scarcely with Henning, ZII, 9, 226 \**wēn* < \**whūn* < \**wohūn*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the development in Swedish and E. Norw. where the *i*-umlaut is much more important than the *u*-umlaut.

'straight' < *arzu* + *ka*-, and *muryo* 'ant' < \**marwi*- + *kā*. It should be remembered, however, that unstressed *u* was dropped at a very early date.

### Accent and Contraction.

162. It is impossible to derive the present accentuation from any ancient system, either of the 'Vedic' or of the 'Latin' type. If we want to reconstruct the pre-Y—M accent, we must try to trace it from its effects on modern Y—M vocalism. But it is by no means certain that all vowel-changes due to stress date from the same period, or are even due to the same system of accentuation. Thus *a* and *u* have been elided at an early date in e.g. *xun* 'raven' < \**xwārana*-, *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka*-, but quite recently, and owing to the modern accent, in *lamdo* < *lōmadā* 'hem'; *āyd* < *āyud* 'to dress'. Reg. the interchange between stressed and unstressed initial vowels in certain words v. § 84.

163. The majority of Y—M words are of the accent types  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$  and  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$ .

Thus, e.g., with  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$ : *o'guščo* 'finger' < *an'guštā*; *ag'min* 'honey' < \**aŋka'paina*-, *āyost* 'dressed' < \**āgusta*-, *čšir*, *čfür* '4' < *ča'θwārō*; *dir*, *yūdūr* 'other' < *an'tāra*-, *dram* 'inside' < \**anta'rahmi*; *ax'sin* 'blue' < *ax'saēna*-, *wulēyo* 'span' < \**wi'dāti* (+ *o*); *zəviy* 'tongue' < \**hiz'wāka*-, etc.

With  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$ : *γādom* 'wheat' < *gantuma*-, *iz'ma* 'fire-wood' < \**aizmaka*-, *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < \**raučana*-, *stārē* 'star' < \**stāraka*-,<sup>1</sup> *višy* 'arm' < \**bāzuka*-, *wisto* '20' < \**weisati*; *youyo* 'water' < \**āpakā*-, etc. With  $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$ : *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka*-, *urzuγ* 'straight' < \**γzuka*-, *seγi'o* 'sand' < *sikatā*-, *ved* 'brought' < *w'pa-nita*-, *zit* 'yellow' < \**zarita*-, *kit* 'does' < \**kunati* (and other Pres. 3 sg. forms).

*γūškən* 'cow-dung' may be a remnant of the ancient type  $\hat{\sim}$   $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$ ,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or \**stā'rahakya*, cf. Orm. *star'ruk*. V. § 182.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Parachi, IIFL, I, 32.



or perhaps more probably, the form may be due to the tendencies determining the vocalism of compounds.<sup>1</sup> Orm. (?)*skan* warns us that we do not know all factors regulating Ir. accentuation.

164. Regarding the shortening of *ā* in ancient stems in *-ā-* and *-aka-* cf. § 145. In the case of *-aka-* it might be presumed that the accentuation of the oblique *-akahya* had caused the shortening,<sup>2</sup> but it is hardly probable that the f. suffix *-ā* normally carried the stress. But cf. also in Psht. e.g. *špa* 'night', *mlā* 'waist', *sra* f. of *sūr* 'red', etc.

The opposition between *kyem*, *kiyam* 'who' (adj.) and *kə'dī* 'who, which' (subst.), and between Y *šilē*: M *šk'iy* 'neck' is probably due to accent shift: *kiyam* < \**ka'tamahya* and *kə'dī* < \**kandəy* < \**kadmag'i* < \**kata'makahya*; *šilē* < \**ušadakah* and *šk'iy* < \**uša'dakahya*.

With the secondary displacement of accent in *lamdo* 'hem' and in *āy(u)dəm* 'I dress' < \**ā'gundāmi* mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> cf. also *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta-* (?); *avlānd* 'hem' < \**abi-dāmanta-* (?); *yougo* 'flood' < \**āfvantakā*.<sup>4</sup>

Short *a* appears to have been more resisting against contraction than *u*. While *-aka(hya)* resulted in Y *-ē*: M *-iy, -uka-* was contracted except after a group of consonants (*vīzy* < \**bāzuka-*, but *urzy* < \**rzuka-*).<sup>5</sup>

165. The prefix *upa-* (and *abi-*, possibly also *apa-* and *api-*) appears in the forms *av-* (*af-*) and *və-* (*f-*). It is possible that this double development is due to presence or absence of a secondary accent, but we cannot explain all the examples according to this rule without resorting to artificial and improbable constructions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Orm., IIFL, I, 327 and 360 f.

<sup>3</sup> § 162.

<sup>4</sup> *kando* 'plough share', prob. from Prs. *kanand*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 162, 175.

Cf., on the one hand, *avāzəm* 'I fetch' (3rd sg. *avēzd*) < \**upāzāmi*; *avlasto* 'sleeve' < \**upa'dastā*; *av'zino* 'first irrigation' < \**upa'zayanā*; *av'zano* 'ladle' < \**upa'zācanā* (?); Y *'afseno*, M *'yufse<sup>no</sup>* 'whetstone' < \**abi'sānyā* (or \**upa-*, \**ābi*-?); *aw'lan* 'bridle' < \**abi'dāna-*; *af'sinyo* 'ladder' < \**upa'sriśnakā*; *af'sirnē* 'summer wheat' < \**upa'sydnaka* (?). On the other hand we find *fšūvum* 'I suck' < \**βšōvum* < \**upaššāpāmi*; *f'xəvum* 'I shear' < \**upaxa'bāmi* (?); *vənim* 'I bring' < \**upana'yāmi* (or second. pres. from \**vənt* < \**upanita-* < \**upa'nita*-?); *vədayəm* 'I mix' < \**upahan,tāka'yāmi* (?); *vəzānəm* 'I know' (3rd sg. *vəzil*) < \**upazā'nāmi* (or *vi*-?); *vəzāto* 'womb', etc. < \**upazaθā* (with *a* treated as a short vowel?). V. Voc. s.vv. in *av-*, *af-*, *f-*, *v(ə)*-.

But several of the derivations tentatively suggested above are quite hypothetical. *avyuš* 'lap' cannot be fitted into the rule without assuming an original form \**upa'kāšša-*, and *fšidro* 'spring' < \**upasārādā-* (?) remains altogether unexplained.<sup>1</sup> The theory cannot therefore be proved.

166. Initial unstressed *i-* has been dropped in *Proyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā-*.

But also *a* is frequently contracted before the accent. Thus, e.g.: *čšir* '4', *plār-* 'to sell'; *prāsilanē* 'lamb, one y. old'.<sup>2</sup> And initial (h)a- is lost in *šə* 'from'; *zo* 'I'; *tī-* 'to enter'; *max* 'we'.<sup>3</sup> *yo* 'this', just as well as *u-* in *sko* 'on', *šilē* 'neck'.

I am unable to explain the reason for the different treatment of (h)an-, (h)am- in Y *dir* and M *gudūr* 'other', and in the verbs *diš-* 'to think'; *diz-* 'to bury'; *baxš-* 'to divide'; *gūy-* 'to knead' as compared with the nouns *ābrūo* 'pear'; *ābūya* 'moraine'; *āguny* 'dough'; *hadamə* 'limb', etc.

167. The accentuation of the present tense may be explained in the following manner:

<sup>1</sup> The same is the case with Psht. *psarlai* < \**upasaradaka-*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *što* 'said' cf. § 110.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. *amax*, cf. § 204.



## Yzh

1st sg.	<i>ke'nēm</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēm</i>	<	<i>*ku'nā'm</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmi</i>
2nd	<i>kenē</i>	<	<i>*kənē</i>	<	<i>*kunai</i>	<	<i>*kunahi</i>
3rd	<i>kīt</i>	<	<i>*kint</i>	<	<i>*ku'nt</i>	<	<i>*kunati</i>
1st Pl.	<i>ke'nam</i>	<	<i>*kə'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmah</i>
3rd	<i>ke'net</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēt</i>	<	<i>*ku'na'nt</i>	<	<i>*ku'nanti</i>

Similarly, e.g.: *\*nipa'dāmi* > *\*nivlēm* > *nīlvəm*; but *\*nipadati* > *n'vēld* > *nūld*, etc.

Cf. Konow's reconstruction of the development in Saka.<sup>1</sup>

## Ancient Final Consonants and Vowels.

168. The only Y—M words which may go back to forms in final consonants (other than nom. *-h* and acc. *-m*) are *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*, *uxšo* 'six' < *xšvaš*; <sup>2</sup> *zo* < *azəm*, and possibly *yo* < *aētāt* (and *aēša*), etc.

All short vowels (including masc. nom. sg. in *-ah*, *-ō*) are dropped, the only exceptions being bisyllabic words which have become oxytones at an early date: *zo* 'I', *yo*, *mo* 'this' and possibly *vio* 'was'. *ža* 'from' and *lo* 'with' may rest on forms in *-ā*. Likewise *āvdo* '7' < *\*haftā* with *-ā* from *\*aštā*. Cf. Psht. *ōwə*, *atə*.

Final *-ā* normally remains as *-o* or *-a*. But *vrai* 'brother', *zamai* 'son-in-law', *lad* 'tooth' indicate an early shortening of *-ā* in masculines.

In Pres. 2 sg. *-ē* goes back to *-ahi*, cf. also 3 sg. *-e*, *-ī* < *-ayati*.

Reg. *-ē*, *-iy* < *-aka(hya)* and plurals in *-ē* < *\*-āh*,<sup>3</sup> cf. §§ 182, 198.

## Prothetic Vowels.

169. An unexplained prothetic vowel appears in Y *akadē*, etc. 'thorn, bramble': Sgl. *kandāk* and in *anaxno*, etc. 'nail'. The existence of a prefix *ā-* in these words is conceivable, but not probable.

<sup>1</sup> NTS, VII, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Not with Gauthiot < *\*xšwaša*.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Tedesco, ZIL, IV, 156.

*Relative Chronology of Sound-Changes.*

170. There is no material available which enables us to date the various stages in the phonetic development of Y—M. But it seems possible, at any rate in some instances, to establish the chronological sequence between different sound-changes. A number of such cases have been mentioned above, but it may be useful to give here a synoptical review of the more important ones.
171. 1) The transition of  $b, d, g > \beta, \delta, \gamma$  and of  $ft, xt$  into  $vd, \gamma d$  are pre-Y—M, and probably common E.Ir.  
 2)  $rst, r\dot{s}t$  must have become  $*\dot{s}t$  before  $\dot{s}t$  changed into  $\dot{s}k^y$ , etc. (cf. § 110).  
 3)  $\dot{s}ta/o$  'said' <  $*\dot{z}asta-$  is later than  $\dot{s}t > \dot{s}k^y$ .  
 4)  $str$  became  $\dot{s}$ , and  $-\dot{s}at-$  was syncopated, before  $\dot{s}t$  became  $\dot{s}k^y$  (cf. Y *uščeno*, §§ 105, 110).  
 5)  $sr$  became  $\dot{s}$  before the syncope took place in  $yā\dot{s}k$  'tear' <  $*asruka-$ .  
 6)  $k > g$  before  $g > \gamma$  in Y etc., the partial change of  $ng > g$  being still later.  
 7) Syncope of  $nat$  (e.g. in *wit* 'sees', § 118), and of  $rat, rit$  (e.g. in *xūt* 'eats', *zīt* 'yellow', § 125) into  $*\dot{n}t, \dot{r}t$  (from which  $t$ ) before sonorization of intervocalic  $t$ , but after change of ancient  $rt$  into  $*rd$  (from which  $*d > r > M r$ ).

But after an occlusive the contraction has been delayed, evidently in order to avoid the development of a heavy group of consonants. Thus e.g.  $*\dot{d}au\dot{c}ati$  'milks' >  $*\dot{d}ō\dot{c}t > *dō\dot{z}^ad > *dō\dot{z}d > lū\dot{z}d$ ,  $*pari-\dot{u}pati > pōrevd$ ,  $*nipadati > *nvild > nūld$ . Between unvoiced dentals, however, the contraction took place at the earlier stage, as shown by  $\dot{z}ūt$  'speaks' <  $*\dot{z}ōtt < *jātati$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The relative chronology in Saka is quite different. Cf. *Saka Studies*, p. 27 (*pittā* 'falls' <  $*padati$ , but *hriṭṭā* 'eats' <  $*hīcarati$ , and *pasūste* 'burns' <  $*pati-sau\dot{c}atai$ , etc.).



- 8)  $\delta > l$ , and possibly  $r\delta > l$ , after  $\delta w > \delta v > d^v$ , and  $\delta r > d^v r$ , but before syncope of  $r - \delta$ , from which  $*\delta r$  (cf. § 127).
- 9) Syncope of  $hi\delta > h\delta$ , from which  $\vartheta$ , before  $\delta > l$  (8), and  $\vartheta > \tilde{x}$ .
- 10)  $a\vartheta r > ahr$  (from which  $\bar{a}r$ ) before  $\vartheta > \tilde{x}$ .
- 11)  $ahr > \bar{a}r$ ,  $aha > \bar{a}$ ,  $arn > \bar{a}n$  before  $\bar{a} > \bar{d} > \bar{o}$  (cf. § 143).
- 12) Possibly  $-r\tilde{s} > *-\vartheta\tilde{s}$  before  $-\tilde{s} > -\tilde{x}$  (cf. §§ 74, 151), and metathesis of  $*rai\tilde{z}\bar{a} > yar\tilde{z}\bar{o}$  'beard' before  $-\tilde{x} > -y$ .
- 13) Prefixed  $ha\tilde{c}\bar{a} > \tilde{c}\bar{a}$  (§ 50) and  $ati > ti$  (§ 46) before  $-\tilde{c}$ ,  $-t > -\tilde{x}$ ,  $*-d$ . But loss of initial vowel in  $\tilde{z}\bar{a}$  after  $-\tilde{c} > -\tilde{x}$  (cf. § 50).
- 14)  $xn > yn$  before  $xan > xn$  (cf. § 96).
- 15)  $x\tilde{s}m$ ,  $x\tilde{s}n > \tilde{s}m$ ,  $\tilde{s}n > z$ ,  $m$ ,  $n$  before nasal influenced preceding  $a$  (cf. § 139).
- 16)  $r\tilde{s}n$ ,  $rzn$ ,  $rn > n$  (§§ 130, 133) before secondary  $r-n > n$  (§ 133) and  $r-dn > rn$ .
- 17)  $rn-t > nt$  before  $nt > nk^v$  ( $> Y k^v$ ) cf. §§ 62, 132.
- 18)  $m-d > nd$  before  $nd > d$  (§ 119).
- 19)  $mr > mbr$  before  $mb > b$  (§ 120).
- 20)  $ng > ng^v > g^v$  (§ 121) before M  $n > n^{vv}$ .
- 21) Prothesis of  $y$  before  $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$  (e.g.  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire', § 144).

In the following table the chronological sequence runs from the left to the right. Phonetic changes which are approximately of the same age, are put in the same vertical column. The sign || has been employed to separate two series of changes, which in order to save space have been placed on the same line, but which are not connected with each other.

172. *Synoptic Table of the Relative Chronology of Y—M Sound-Changes.*[illegible]



## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### Stem-Formation.

#### I. Primary Stems.

173. Ancient stems in *-a* are numerous in Y—M. As a matter of fact, most genuine Y—M nouns ending in a consonant go back to, or may go back to, stems in *a*. Thus, e.g. *aclān* 'bridle'; *iščin* 'female breast'; *fšarm* 'shame'; *γū(i)* 'ear'; *γāl* 'thief'; *γāðəm* 'wheat'; *γalv* 'dog'; *γīs* 'goat's hair thread'; *lum* 'tail'; *last* 'arm'; *miγ* 'cloud'; *meγ* 'man'; *nif* 'navel'; M *pūn<sup>99</sup>* 'feather'; *pūr* 'son'; *piščan* 'thigh'; *rūγən* 'ghee'; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole'; *vən* 'bottom'; *wūi* 'wind'; *wuš* 'grass'; *xul* 'perspiration'; *xusur* 'father-in-law'; *xūbun* 'sleep'; *yōu* 'grain'; *γarš* 'bear'; *γasp* 'horse'; *zīt* 'yellow', and past participles, such as *kəγ*, *mur*, etc. All of these words correspond to Av. stems in *a*. Also a number of other words lacking in Av. and Old Prs., are probably original *a*-stems. E.g. *aspolan* 'stable'; *lūi* 'smoke'; *surv* 'hole'; *γurzun* 'millet'; *zəviγ* 'tongue', and many others.
174. Ancient *ī*-stems are comparatively rare, and most of those surviving are feminines which have been enlarged with the secondary suffix *-o*. Unenlarged words are *iž* m. 'snake' < *aži*-; *γar* m. 'stone, hill' < *gairi*-; *mišč* 'first' < *mušti*-; *γurəž* 'knot' < \**graði*- (?),<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *wirž* 'thread', v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 66, 156.

Enlarged *l*-stems are: *suvdo* 'shoulder' < *supti*-; *šino* 'vulva, podex' < *sraoni*-; *uolo*, *uēlo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vadi*-; *žina*, *žinžo* 'woman' < *jani*-; (*y*)*ino* 'blood' < *voḥuni*-; *wisto* '20' < *vīsaiti*; *pišto* 'back' < *paršti*-; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi*-; *šijo* 'female' < *stri*-; *wulēyo* 'span' < *\*widāti*-; *šinjo* 'needle' < *\*sūcani*- (?); but *prenjo* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*paranači*- (?).

*muryo*, *məryika* 'ant' < *maurvi*-; *friyo* 'flea' < *\*fruši*- (?); *frayingo* 'she-goat' < *\*fragāmi*(*kā*-).

*maxšē* 'fly' < *maxši*- f.;<sup>1</sup> *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < *\*an-anti*-; but *yastē* 'bone' probably < *ast*-, not *-asti*-. Note *wīya* m 'willow' < *vaēti*- f.

Cf. Psht. *šnu* 'hip-bone'; *uāla* 'irrigation-channel'; *uīna* 'blood'; *šəja* 'woman' < *\*striči* + *ā*, etc.

175. Ancient stems in *ū* are: *šū* 'horn' < *srū*-; *uulo* 'wife' < *vadū*-, *x<sup>u</sup>šo* 'mother-in-law' < *\*hucasrū* + *ā*; cf. *vriyo* 'eyebrows'. In most cases *-ka* has been added at an early date, and *u* has been elided after a single consonant.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *urzuγ* 'straight' < *ərəzu*-; *yary* 'heavy' < *gouru*-; *yašk* 'tear' < *asrū*-; *zik* 'knee' < *zānu*-; *vizγ(a)* 'upper arm' < *bāzu*-; *yuvγ* 'arrow' < *išu*-; *pərsəyē* 'rib' (pl. ?) < *pərsu*-. Probably also: *pary* 'mouse' < *\*paru*-; *Idəy*, *Yidg* < *\*Hindu-ka*-; *waly* 'feast' < *\*wadu*- (?); *γik* 'penis' < *\*gršnu*-. But *yəya* 'bridge' < *haētu*- seems to have *-a* added at a comparatively recent date.

176. Ancient stems in diphthongs are *γavo* 'cow' and possibly also *ēū(u)*, *žug* 'leather' (< *\*jaṇ-ka* ?).

*Vrai* 'brother' and *zamai* 'son-in-law', are ancient nominatives of *r*-stems, with *\*ah* instead of *-ā*, which looked like a feminine ending. To this group has also been added *yūi* 'husband's brother'.<sup>3</sup> *ləydo* 'daughter' goes back to *dugədā*, *duγda* (or *\*duxtā*), and similarly *ixō* 'sister' may be derived from < *(y)ahucā* < *\*hahucā* < *\*hēcāhā*.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Psht. *maē*, *meē* m., < *\*maxši*- (?).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 149.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.



*yūr*, *yūr* 'fire' point to a secondary stem \**ārta*-, and also *l'vor* 'door' may have become thematic at a very early date.

*ēam* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *tuy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain' are ancient neutral nominatives of stems in *n*. Probably also *lad* 'tooth' goes back to \**dantah* (< \**dantā*, v. § 108). *lāmo* 'village' may rest on the pl. *dāman*; <sup>1</sup> *lōmago* 'snare' and *šinamio* 'girl' (< *stri-nāman*-) have had secondary suffixes added to the original *n* stem, and *γūskən* 'cow dung' is derived from a thematic \**sakana*-. Note *yēyən* 'liver' < \**yaznya*-, a form based on the oblique stem.

The small number of nouns which go back to stems in other consonants than *r* and *n* have probably become thematic at an early date. Cf. *wor* 'oath' < *varah*-; *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš*; *zīl* 'heart' < *zərəd(aya)*-.

## II. Feminines in -o (-a).

177. Ancient Ir. nom. fem. -*ā* (and acc. -*ām*) becomes Y, Mm -*o*; Mg, and occasionally Zar.<sup>2</sup> -*ā*; G, Z, LSIm, Mti, (t), (sh), and occasionally g, -*a*; Mt palatal -*a* and M(g) -*ä*. Mg, (sh), ti and LSIm also have -*e*, -*ε* in a few words. Some of these forms may be plurals, thus e.g. Mg *pāle*, *pān<sup>g</sup>ye*; Mti *pālē*, *pān<sup>g</sup>ye* 'foot', 'heel', or Mti *yīne*, *wōrfe*: Mg *yīne*, but *worfo* 'blood', 'snow'.<sup>3</sup> But this explanation can hardly apply to e.g. Mg, sh *γōwe* 'cow', LSIm *feske* 'nose', *yelke* 'duck', etc., and we have to admit the existence of unexplained variants in these dialects of M.

178. Some of the words in -*o/a* correspond direct to Av. feminines in -*ā*. Thus: *xšovo* 'night'; *ēio* 'bow-string'; *γurvo* 'throat'; *xoro* 'ass'; *škiro* 'camel'; Av. *xšapā*-, *jyā*-, *grīvā*-, *xarā*-, *uštā*-. In other cases, too, the -*ā* is probably ancient. Cf. *sēyo* 'sand', *vəzo* 'she-goat'; *riško* 'nit'; *tiro* 'darkness'; *yaržo* 'beard' with Psht. *šoga*, *wəza*, *riča*, *tyāra*, *ēīra*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> But *pado* 'road' < *pantā* is not an ancient stems in *n*.

<sup>2</sup> Z's informants probably belonged to different villages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *wēne*, *wātere*, pl. in common use.

*sōro* 'dung'; *yavo* 'cow'; *šino* 'podex'; *ino* 'blood'; *warfo* 'snow' correspond to Av. *sairya-*; *gav-*; *sraoni-*; *vohuni-*; *vafra-*, and *zinto* 'daughter-in-law' was originally a stem in *-a-*. But Psht. has *sarā*, *šna*, *wina*, *wāwra* as fem., and Shgh. *zōnaž* goes back to *\*nušā*.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that in some cases the formation in *-ā* has been made independently in the various dialects, and Y *mūo* 'sheep' < *\*maišā* differs not only from Av. *maēši-*, but also from Psht. *mēž* (Shgh. *maž* is doubtful in this respect).

179. Forms in *-o/a* may of course denote the female animal (cf. Voc. s.vv. *mūo*, *vzo*, *kirio*). But in many cases the fem. form in *-o* is epicene. Besides *xoro* and *škirō* mentioned above, we have also *rūso* 'fox'; <sup>2</sup> *koviō* 'pigeon'; *kūnyo* 'magpie'; *wofšio* 'wasp'; *wūro* 'duck'; *xurūso* 'weasel', etc.

The *-ā*-stem is ancient in *āmuno* 'apple' (Psht. *maṇa*), and probably also in some other names of plants and fruits. But the use of the suffix *-o/a* has been extended to the majority of such words. V. Voc. s.vv. *ābrūo*; *agidro*; *oyuzo*; *alāno*; *imoyō*; *amazno*; *āričo*; *iryojo*; *ašasto*; *azriō*; *azito*, etc.

A separate f. form in *-o* of adjectives is still in use.<sup>3</sup>

180. Many Prs. lws in *-a* have been included among the Y—M words in *-o/a*. Thus, e.g. *aftōvo* 'bucket'; *xarbuzo* 'melon'; *banafšo* 'violet'; *āino* 'mirror'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *būwo* 'widow'; Y *paisō* (but Mm *paisa*) 'money'. This suffix has also been added to other lws. E.g. *rōy(o)* 'deodar' < Khw. *rōy*; *amburo* 'pincers' < Prs. *ambūr*; *gačio* 'scissors' < *gaiči*. Note *kučio* 'street' < Prs. *kūča*.

<sup>1</sup> Also Psht. *nžor*, Bal. *našār* presuppose an earlier *\*nušā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidén, *Namn och Bygd*, 19, 87 sq. about other epicene names of the fox, and Meillet BSL, 32, 7.—Note Mm *škwuro* f. and epicene: *nar-škyur* m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 195.



Ancient Suffixes in *k*.III. Nouns in *-γ, -g*.

181. The ancient suffix *-ka* remains as a velar after *u*,<sup>1</sup> after original or secondary *ā* (Y *zəviγ*, M *zəvū* 'tongue' < \**hizwāka*-; *pīγ* 'onion' < \**pitāka*- (?); *sīγ* 'hare' < \**sāk* < \**sāhaka*), after *au* and *ū* (\**stūγ* 'lock of hair' < \**stūka*-; *c'rouγ* 'markhor'; *žū(g)* 'hide' < \**jauka*-), and after a consonant (m Mti *wilx*: *wīγ* 'kidney' < *vəɾə[ka]*). But this *γ/g* is not a productive suffix in Y—M, and from a synchronic point of view there is no difference between the *γ*'s e.g. in Y *wury* 'wolf'; *hory* 'work'; *γary* 'heavy'; *yūγ* 'yoke'; *sīγ* 'hare'.

IV. Masculines in Y *-ē*, M *-īy*.

182. A still living and productive suffix is Y *-ē* (-ə), Mm, g *-īy*, t, (t) *-īy*, (g), ti, (sh) *-i*, Z *-əy*, G, *-ē(y)* < *-akah*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar development in Psht.: Y *stārē* (Yr *stārə*), Mm, g *stōriy*, t, (g) *stōri(y)*, Z *stōrəy*: Psht. *stōrai* 'star'.

The suffix appears to be ancient in this word and also in *feryāmə*, *frayomīy* 'young he-goat': Psht. *ɪəryūmai*; Mm *nūwīy* 'new': Psht. *nawai*, Sgl. *nucōk*; M *rūyei* 'bowels': Prs. *rūda*; *warē* 'lamb': Psht. *ɪərai*, etc.; *yastē* 'bone': Sgl. *ostōk*, Sogd. *'stk*; *yārē* 'flour': Shgh. *yāuž*, etc.

In a number of other genuine Y—M nouns and adjectives it is impossible to decide whether the suffix *-ē/-īy* is ancient or not. Thus, e.g.: *mōxē*, *maṣīy* 'stick'; *vrēri*, *v'rērəy* 'brother's son'; *yārmē* 'foreleg', etc., corresponding to Shgh. *māṣ*; Av. *brātūirya*, Psht. *ɪərārə*; Prs. *arm*, etc.

This suffix serves to denote male animals, to form certain adjectives, and to derive secondary nouns, e.g. *lastē* 'handle' from *last* 'hand', and *γisē* 'plaited bottom of a bed' from *γis* 'rope of goat's hair'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 148.

<sup>2</sup> Or < \**akahya*? Cf. *-a* < *akah* (in *maɾə*, etc.), cf. § 186?

*hadē* 'slave' (\**han-taka-*); M *ābiy* 'moraine' (\**ham-paiša-*?) and M *kaləy* 'soot' (\**kata-dūta-*?) do not belong here originally.

183. In many lws *-ē/īy* renders Prs. and Khw. *-i*. Thus, e.g.: Y *čugurē* (M *čikrī*) 'rhubarb'; *činė*, *čini* 'cup'; *našpotīy* 'pear'; *pšānē* (M *pišāni*) 'forehead'; *xālē* 'empty' from Prs.; *ačardinē*, *ni* 'wedge for fastening the plough-share'; *calandurē* 'window'; *puinē* 'bellows'; *vrazidinē* 'pillow', etc. from Khw. Sometimes *-ē* varies with *-i*. V. above, and cf. Y *virzanē*: M *vizni* 'pillow'; Y *čirē*: Y, M *čiri* 'apricot'; Y *pargušē*, M *par-gušēy* but also *škvī* 'fingerring'.

184. A variation between *-ē* and *-(y)a* (< *-yaka-*?) occurs in: Y *izē*: M *yijya*, etc. 'goatskin bag'; Y *yuvē*: M *yuvya* 'wooden trough'; Y *pəzāžē*, M *pizāžiy*: Z *pizažya* 'male sheep'; but also Y *muškoya*: M *muškayi*, *məškāy* 'calf'.

A double suffix, theoretically < \**ka-ka-* appears in Y *čunayē* 'small boy', and possibly in Z *dunayəy* 'distressed'.

#### V. Nouns in *-a* (*-o*).

185. The apparently masc. suffix Y, Mm, Z, G, LSI *-a*: Mg, (g), t, ti *-o* (Z also *-ā*) appears in the following groups of words.

1) A number of words which have no variants without *-a* and no corresponding feminines: *mīra* 'sun'; *vīra* 'burden'; *xšīra* 'milk'; *nīya*, *pōya* 'sour milk'; *vazda* 'fat'; <sup>1</sup> *pvaza* 'dough'; *fī(y)a* 'shovel, shoulderblade'; *izma* 'firewood'; *wīya* 'willow'; *yēya* 'bridge'.<sup>2</sup> Probably also Mti *nivīlo* 'bedding' and *nāmyo* 'felt' are m.

2) Names of animals, chiefly worms and insects: *ustada* 'spider'; Mg *čal-kirmo* 'an insect'; *kač-kurma* 'silk-worm'; Mm *fusfesiya*, *yaspa* 'locust'; *karbasa*, etc. 'lizard'; *kautia*, *raua* 'butterfly'; *xowīza* 'bug'; *mig<sup>va</sup>a* 'ring-dove'; *tažia* 'heron'.

3) In a few cases I have noted m. forms in *-a* corresponding to f. forms in *-o*: *vūza* 'he-goat'; *mūya* 'male oorial'.

<sup>1</sup> Mm *maska*, but Y *masko* 'butter'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 175.



4) The majority of words in *-a* are derived from still surviving forms without this suffix. In many cases the addition of *-a* does not seem to change the meaning of the word, but the suffix may perhaps have a diminutive force. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *ābūya* (*ābīy*); *išcīn* (*yīškūna*); *bubuka*, *bāya* (*bāy*); *c'kena*; *čula*; *čana*; *maška*; *nif* (*nūfa*); *nowisa*; *maṛa*, *meṛ*; *rūy<sup>n</sup>* (*rūyna*); *surv(a)*; *tólo*; *taya*; *vizya*; *wulya*; *wāzd* (*wazda*).

But note on the other hand: *āyurya* 'scrotum': *āyury* 'egg'; *ilira* 'calf of the leg': *ilir* 'belly'; *ustada* 'spider': *ustāt* 'carpenter' (\*'weaver'?); *mišča* 'sheaf of corn': *mišc* 'fist'; *pukara* 'leather strap of pellet-bow': *p'korē*, *pukōr* 'mouth'; *γūen polna* 'lobe of the ear': *polēm* 'soft'; *pūsura* 'part of the spinning-wheel': *pusur* 'head'; *šfina* 'instep': *šfīn* 'comb'; *yaspa* 'locust': *yasp* 'horse'.

- 5) In lw.s Prs. *-a* is frequently rendered by Y *-a*. Thus: *arra* 'saw'; Yzh *kāfila* (but Ysh *kōfilē*) 'caravan'; *miwa* 'fruit'; *kūza* 'jar'; *qala* 'fort'; Yg *bāša* (but Mm *bāšo*) 'falcon', etc. I have not found any rule for the rendering of Prs. *-a* with Y *-a* or *-o*.
186. It appears from Z's material that the numerous M lw.s from Prs. words in *-a(h)*, pl. *-agān* have stressed *-a'* and pl. *-agi*. Cf. Y pl. *-ayē* e.g. in *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; *degazayē* 'fork of breech-loader' < Prs. \**dô-gaza*.

According to Z, genuine M words and a few early lw.s in *-a* have stressed penultimate and pl. in *-aki* = Y *-akē* in *āyuryakē* 'testicles'; *wul'yākē* 'kidneys' (*wul'ya*).

M *-a* has evidently been borrowed from Prs., and pl. *-agi*, Y *-ayē* has been formed on the pattern of Prs. *-agān* at a comparatively recent date, but before the change of *-g* > *-γ* in Y.<sup>1</sup> Also *-a*; *-aki*, *-akē* has probably been borrowed, but at a much earlier date, when *-k* was still preserved in Prs., but had already been sonorized in Y—M. The *-k* of the pl. renders a derivation from a genuine pre-Y—M suffix *-akah* uncertain.

But note that the pl. of Y *maṛa* is *maṛē*, and of Z *xūrəya* 'sister's son': *xūrīi*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45.

VI. Nouns in *-k*.

187. A suffix *-(e)k* occurs in Prs. lws (e.g. *xūk*, *pušāk*, *xurāk*, etc.) and as a secondary suffix in *fəryōmček* 'female calf, 1 y. old'; *rizayak* 'goats and sheep'; *pənek* 'leaf'; *poršik* 'lip'; *stunek* 'throat'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'.

VII. Nouns in *-yo/go*.

188. Anc. Ir. *-akā*, the f. equivalent of *-akah* survives in Y *-yo*, M *-go*, *-ga*, *-ya*. Cf. e.g. Y *vriyo*, Mm *°go*, Mg *°γā*, M(g) *°γä*, Mt *°ya*, Z, G *°ga* 'eyebrow'.

But words in *-yo* are not now used as f. of masculines in *-ē*, except in the case of Mm *vrēriyo*, *xurigo* 'brother's, sister's daughter': *xurī*, *xūreya*; *vrēri*, *vrērēy* m., and perhaps Yg *wōryō* 'she-lamb, 1—2 y. old': Ysh *warē* 'male new-born lamb'.

Only a small number of words in *-yo* have exact parallels in other Ir. languages. Examples are: *nēmālyō* 'salt': Psht. *mālga*; *sāyo* 'shade': Sogd. *sy''k'*; *wōryō* 'quail': Phl. *vartak*, Skr. *vartakā*; *xūyo* 'fountain': Orm. *xūko*, and possibly *yduyo* 'water': Wkh. *yupk* (but Orm. *wōk* is m.); poss. *vriyo* 'eyebrow': Oss. *ärfig*.

But also other words of this type may be ancient. E.g. *frīyo* 'flea' < *\*frušikā*; *orunyo* 'light' < *\*ā-rauxšnakā*; *frayingo* 'she-goat' < *\*fra-gāmī-kā*; *broyo* 'clear sky' < *\*idrakā*; *xīryo* 'water-mill'; *zeviryo* 'birch-tree'. Note the adjectives *stīnyō* 'supine'; *yūyo* 'one of several'.

As a secondary suffix we find *-yo*, *-go* in M *biwogo* 'widow' < Prs. *biwa*; *pīloyo*, *piōlega* 'cup' < Prs. *piyāla*; *tavdoyo* 'n. of a tree' < Prs. *\*tafta* (?); *maxmudiyo* 'dagger', etc.

VIII. Nouns in *-ko* (*-iko*).

189. The fem. suffix *-ko* (*-ka*) is common. Thus, e.g. Z *γark'a* 'small egg' (cf. s.v. *āyury*); M *kuške* 'hair'; Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl'; *piško* 'cat'; *pəško* 'tray'; *toško* 'adze'; *yāško*, *yālko* 'duck';



*zāḥko* 'child-bearing'; *ḡiṅko* 'woman'. This last-mentioned word is a derivative of M *ḡina*, but apart from that *-ko* does not seem to be productive any longer, and after surd consonants it may simply be a phonetic variant of *-go*.

The enlarged form *-iko* is still largely used to form diminutives, etc., from words in *-o*. Only a few examples of this numerous group can be given here: *oguṣṣiko* 'finger' (*oguṣṣo*); *luḡdiko* 'daughter'; *mīryiko* 'meadow'; *xūyiko* 'spring'; *suḡdiko* 'end of a bow' (*suḡdo* 'shoulder'); *weḡliko* 'small irrigation-channel', etc., etc.

From words in *-yo*, *-ko* are formed diminutives in *-yiko*, *-kiko*. Thus, e.g.: *peḡōyiko* 'small cup'; *weḡyiko* 'lamb'; *ḡiṅkiko* 'woman'; *fiyiko* 'small spade'; *postiyiki* (pl.?) 'bark of a tree', either from unrecorded or disappeared forms *\*fiyo*, *\*pōstiyo*, or direct from forms in *-o*.

#### IX. Nouns in *-ya*, *-ga*.

190. The masc. suffix Y *-ya*, M *-ga*, *-yo*, theoretically from *\*-kaka* (cf. Psht. *-gai*, etc.) is comparatively rare and includes forms of different origin.

In Y: *viṣya* 'upper arm' (in reality *viṣy + a*); *təplāya* 'drum'; *stūya* 'throat'; *kitaya* 'almond' (Kafiri lw.); *ṣafṣiyā(n)* 'armpit'. In M we find *ḡānoyo* m. 'male kid, one year old' (*ḡano* 'new-born kid'); *ḡūṣioyo* m. 'chicken' (*ḡūṣiya* f.); *frāyōmioyo* 'he-goat, one year old' (*frayomīy*); *ḡuānoyo* 'male calf, one to two years old' (*ḡuāna*); *weḡyoyo* 'male lamb' (*weḡrya*); *ziṅgyigo* 'small boy' (Y *ḡunayē*). In Mm *-ga* has been added to lws in *aṣṭōvaga* 'bucket'; *amsūyaga* 'neighbour'; *fāxtaga* 'dove'.

Mg *kāyoko* 'throat' (interior) corresponds to Sogd. *k'γk* 'palate', but the *k* cannot be direct derived from ancient *-k*.

Regarding the fem. suffix M *-gāḡā* (of masculine participles in *-gā*) cf. Z p. 122.

## X. Nouns in -i.

191. As mentioned above, *-ē/-īy* has been substituted for *-i* in most lw.s, but in recent borrowings *-i* remains. Thus, e.g. from Khow.: *ārdi* 'middle of the floor'; *pičīli* 'n. of a plant'; *madiri* 'hem'; *kiṭori* 'dried mulberries', etc. From Prs.: Y *naharī* 'breakfast'; M *čarpoyī* 'bed'.—*čaulī* 'stirrup'; *kafčī* 'hollow below sternum'; *qizagi* 'bridle'; *čōpi* 'lie' are of Prs. origin, but the suffix seems to have been added in Y—M.

Also some genuine words end in *-i*: *froi* 'chip'; *fšai* 'out of breath'; *fšīi* 'very ripe and soft'; *paržini* 'hedge'; *čoromi* 'the fourth (finger)'.

## XI. Nouns in -x.

192. Several Y—M words have preserved the ancient suffix *-xā*, but they do not form a group, and the suffix is not productive any longer.

Examples are: *malax* 'locust' (lw. ?); *mux* 'month' (< \**māhaxa*-); *maz* 'peg' (*mīx* 'nail' < Prs.); *woxo* 'root-fibre' (Prs. *bēx*); *rōx* 'cheek' (lw. ?); *xāxo* 'thistle' (\**xāra-xā* ?); *penāxko* 'eyelashes' (\**pašnaxa*-); *selxiko* 'sorrel'; Y *alixa* 'ribs' (only MFB). Also *amaxno* 'sloe'; *zaxmo* 'field' and M *zoyno* 'chin' probably contain an ancient *-xā*.<sup>1</sup> But *awarxo* 'flame' goes back to *urwāxra*, and Y *čerox* 'spark'; *nax* 'floor' are probably lw.s. *krox* 'scab' may be an adaptation of Khow. *kolūk*, and in *baṇḍux* 'a kind of handmill' an Ir. suffix has been added to a stem which must be of IA. origin.

## XII. Nouns with Other Suffixes.

193. Traces of an ending in *-z* appear in *bayaz* 'bleating',<sup>2</sup> *milyuz* 'red clay'; cf. *dorz-kuryuz* 'weaver'; *kiščyuz* 'cultivator'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *dōnas*, *khānas*, Pashai *yānas* 'bellowing'.



In *yadmin* 'wheaten bread' and *kōskin* 'barley bread' we find a suffix *-in* < *-aina*, which has also been transferred to *arzəmin* (for \**arzanin*) 'millet-bread' and *maymun* 'pea-bread' (*muyo*).

### Noun-Inflexion.

#### The Article.

194. The numeral *yū* 'one' is sometimes used nearly in the sense of our indefinite article, but I do not think it would be correct to call it an article from the point of view of the Y—M linguistic system. E.g. *yū p̄vər noyər* Mm 'a door appeared'; *no yū kua'tinen* 'with a rich man'.

In Ysh *yurd wo maraken* 'the man took it', etc. the function of *wo* approaches that of a definite article. Cf. *wo ādam* 'the man'; *wo vira yurah* 'seize the burden', etc.

#### Gender.

195. Y—M is one of the few modern Ir. dialects which still preserve, at any rate to some extent, the ancient distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

In Y the f. of adjectives has a separate form, e.g. in *x<sup>h</sup>šuvdo* f. 'sweet'; *muro* f. 'dead'; *zōro* f. 'old'; Yzh *umidvāro* (but Ysh *umidvār*) 'pregnant'; *yauyo axleno šui* 'the water became cold'; *mən wulo šiloxo šui* 'my wife became destitute'; Yzh, sh *\*sturo-guščo*, Yg *stro oguščiko* 'thumb'. For examples from M cf. Z, p. 125.

In Y adjectives in *-ē* do not change in the fem. Thus: Yp *mer yadē*, žingo *yadē* 'the man, the woman is blind'; Yg *malane oguščo* (Yr *malanoguščo* = *malan' og<sup>o</sup>* or *malano 'g<sup>o</sup>?*) 'middle finger'. But Mm *malanigo āgušk'o* (m. \**malanīy*); M(t) *yū mār 'yandiy*: žinkika *yan'diya*; cf. Z *yādēy* m.: *yādiga* f., etc., v. Z pp. 122 sqq.

In the past tense no distinction is made in Y. Thus Ysh *yū akābur niāsto* 'an old man was sitting'; žinkiko *niāsto* 'a woman was sitting'; *vīo* m., f. 'was', etc. Regarding the situation in M cf. Z p. 125.

In the nouns the ancient suffixes denoting gender are still in use. Thus we find Y—M *nar-kirē* 'cock', but *kirio* 'hen'; *nowis*, *nowisa* 'nephew', 'grandson', but *nowoso*, *nowasiko*, 'niece' etc.; Y *ida* m.: *idiko* f. 'slave'; *warē* m., but *wōryo* f. 'lamb'. But it is worthy of notice that the pairs *mīya*: *mīyo* 'male and female oorial'; *vūza*: *vūzo* 'he- and she-goat'; *frayomīy*: *frayingo* 'male and female kid'; *xurī*: *xurigo* 'sister's son and daughter'; *vrēri*: *vrēriyo* 'brother's son and daughter' have only been found in M. The corresponding Y forms are: *frayāmō* or *narbōz*: *vōzo*; *narčān*: *pran'jio*, while *no'wisa*: *nowasiko* are used both for 'grandchild' and for 'nephew', 'niece'.<sup>1</sup>

Evidently the feeling for grammatical gender has been weakened in Y, possibly under the influence of Khow. In Sgl. the development has proceeded still further, and the only traces left of the ancient distinction are the suffixes denoting males and females of a few animals.

#### Number.

196. The pl. suffix is normally *-ē*, *i* in Y and *-i* in M.

Thus from stems in consonants: Y *yaspē* 'horses'; *kāriakē* 'yoke-pegs'; *ādamē* 'men'; *pūrē* 'sons'; *yaškē* 'tears'; *lade* 'teeth'; *Idyē* 'Yidghas'; *zēmone* 'children'; *liedani* (Yp) 'fireplaces'; *šilaxe* 'naked'; Mm *ādami*, *pūri*, *lodi*, *Yīdagī*, *čāricoyi* 'cattle'; Mg *nāxši* 'songs'; Mt *miži* 'days'; Mti *wilye*, (*wilke*) 'kidneys'.

From stems in Y *-ē*, M *-iy*, etc.: Y *stāri* 'stars'; *rūi* 'bowels'; *larzi* 'sheaf' (pl. of *larzē* 'sheaf-band'); *maxše'i* 'mosquitoes'; *čapii* 'door-frame'. M(g) *storiī*, t *storgi*; *rū'i* 'bowels' (Mm 'rūyīy sg). Ysh *wariān* 'lambs' (*wā'rē*) is probably a persianized, incorrect form.

From f. stems in Y *-o*: Y *lōydē* 'daughters'; *wulē* (Ysh *wulī avozde* 'brought wives'); *čoguli* 'hoofs'; *agmīn-kurmīki* 'bees'; *špūū* (?) 'lice' (sg. *špūo*); *niāsti* 'sitting' (f. pl.). M *luydi*; *ašosti* 'shrubs'.

From stems in Y *-a*: Y *marē* 'men'; *muško'i* 'calves' (*muško'ya*);

<sup>1</sup> Yr employed *nowoso* both for the m. and for the f.



*šināmī* 'girls' (*šinamia*). Regarding Y *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; MZ *wīyaki* 'willows', etc. cf. above § 186.

From stems in *-ī*: Y *čaulī* 'stirrups'; M *Munjiyī* 'Munjis' (*Munji*). From stems in *-ai*, *-oi*: Ysh *kāyī*, Yr, Bidd. *kyēi*, M *kyai*, Mg *kyāyī* 'houses';<sup>1</sup> Mg *v̄rōi* 'brothers' (sg. *v̄rōi*).

197. After numerals we find the sg. in certain phrases. Thus: Y *čir miž*, M *čirūi miž* 'four, three days'. But M *yu čad mīži* 'some days'; Y *čir wulē* 'four wives'; *loh (čirōi) pūrē* 'two (three) sons'; M *lu luydi* 'two daughters'; Y *hazār rupāyī* (and *rupāyo*) 'one thousand rupees'. The sg. forms cannot have a purely phonetic explanation, as is the case in Prs., but must either be due to influence from Prs., or to general syntactical tendencies common to many languages. LSIy gives *mer* and *ādam* 'men' as pl. forms.

Note Z *marduman štat* 'people said' with the collective subject in sg. and the verb in pl.

198. Tedesco<sup>2</sup> derives the pl. suffix *-ē*, etc., from *-āh* and, as far as Y—M is concerned, I believe he is right. It might be argued that if f. sg. *-ā* and f. pl. *-āh* both resulted in Y *-o*, the pl. of ancient stems in *i*<sup>3</sup> could be extended to the stems in *ā*, in order to establish a clear distinction between sg. and pl. Thus:

Sg. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvd + ā</i>	changed into	<i>vuzo suvdo</i>
Pl. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvdē</i>		<i>vuzē suvdē</i> .

It might also be possible to derive the pl. of ancient stems in *-akā* from *\*akāh* (> *\*āyo* > *ei*, *iī*) without assuming a change of *-āh* > *-ē*.

But it is difficult to see how the type *pūrē* can be explained, except as a direct phonetic outcome of *\*puḍrāh*. There would have been no reason to substitute the pl. of the rare masc. *i*-stems for a phonetically developed form *\*pūrā* > Y *\*pūro*.

If we accept Tedesco's theory we must, however, give up the derivation of Y *pado* 'road' direct from *\*pantāh* (Av. *pantā*), and we cannot explain *warfo* 'snow' as an ancient plural.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> ZIL, IV, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Which were often transferred into the *ā*-group, cf. above § 174.

## Case.

199. The Vocative is expressed by the particle Y *āi*, Z *ē*. Thus, e.g.: *āi vrāi*, *āi pūrē*; but *āi luydeo* (?) 'O daughters'; *āi Parvardigāra* 'O Creator' (prob. from Prs.).

The suffix of the obl. sg. is Y *-en*, or, with vowel harmony, *-an*. Thus, e.g.: *vərayen* 'brother'; *šifien* 'husband'; *mīšen* 'day'; *sāharen* 'desert'; *galavānen* 'cowherd'; *kiyen*, *kyēin* 'house'; *daryāhan* 'river'; *pādšāan* 'king'; *sāharan* 'town'; *lurayan* 'from afar'; *mištarān* 'prince'; M *hādamen* 'man'. The only f. forms noted in Y are: *žinkikī* (= *in* ?) 'woman'; *wulē(n)* 'wife'; *Čitrāyī*, *Čitrēyen* 'Chitral'. They do not suffice to decide whether Y distinguishes between obl. m. and f. as is the case in M according to Z.<sup>1</sup> LSly gives *loyda* 'daughter' as nom. and obl.

Regarding the derivation of the oblique from *\*-aina* cf. Tedesco, ZII, IV, p. 156.<sup>2</sup> Konow's objection<sup>3</sup> to a derivation of Khotan Saka *-āna* (Maral Bashi *-ena*) < *\*-aina* does not necessarily affect Y—M. But the vocalism and the difference between the m. and f. forms in M render Tedesco's derivation uncertain in details. The m. form might go back to *\*-ana* and the f. to *\*-ina*, based upon it and belonging originally to the stems in *i*.

The obl. pl. suffix is Y *-əf* (*-ef*, *af*), M *-af*.<sup>4</sup> E.g. Y *pūrəf* 'sons'; *čirief* 'apricots'; *žinkəf* 'women'; *Idgef* 'Lutkoh', *Hartəf*, *Tuyakaf* names of villages. The derivation < *\*-abiš*<sup>5</sup> seems obvious.

An ancient gen. pl. has been preserved in Mm *Yīd'yūn* 'Lutkoh', cf. also *Yīd'gānə rōi* 'Yidgha'. *Munjān* is a Prs. form.

<sup>1</sup> P 126, m. *-an*, f. *in*.

<sup>2</sup> A different view is expressed by Z (p. 126), who compares the Shgh. loc. (or gen. abs.) in *-and*, Sar. *-an*.

<sup>3</sup> Saka Studies, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Tedesco's *-ew*, *-aw* (l. c. p. 156) are miswritings or misprints.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l. c.



## Composition.

200. Y—M possesses a number of ancient nominal compounds. Some of these contain ancient prefixes, such as *ā*, *an*, *us*, *ham*, *abi*, *upa*, *pati*, *pari*, *parā*, *fra*, *hada*, *wi*, etc. Thus, e.g.: *ārunyo* 'light'; *hənadīy* 'out of breath'; *usxūbvn* 'awake'; *hadamə* 'limb' and *ābūya* 'moraine'; *awlāsto* 'sleeve' and *awlān* 'bridle'; *vəzāžə* 'womb'; *piššan* 'thigh'; *paršin* 'enclosure' and *parguščē* 'finger-ring'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *feryāmə* 'he-goat'; *lomalen* 'half-full'; *wulēyo* 'span'.

Other ancient compounds, regarding which see Voc. s.vv., are e.g. *ag'mīn* 'honey'; *uščeno* 'hay-stack'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *yūārikē* 'ear-ring'; *šinamia* 'girl'; *pistān* 'udder'; *yurzuvo* (?) 'crushing-stone'; *yursiliko* 'shoe-string', etc.

Compounds of a more modern type are numerous, and new ones are constantly being formed. The principles of formation are similar to those found in other Ir. languages, and examples will easily be found in the Vocabulary.

Note the adverbs *do-kučə* 'out' and *da-dram* 'inside, in'. Also the type *fəskaf-surv* 'nostril', *lasten-bot* 'wrist' must be considered as a kind of compound.

## Adjectives.

201. Regarding the inflexion of adjectives for gender and number cf. § 195.

*Luro* 'far, distant' appears to be inflexible: *Yzh yo 'ādam lur'o*, *yāi 'ādame lur'o*; *Mg wə kyāi ləre*, *wai kyāyi lə're*. But *luro* is probably derived from the Av. abl. *dūrāt*.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms, but the LSI. gives Y *kemder* 'younger', and M *žə yəza-iš sterder* 'he is taller than his sister' (Y *žə wen iza blend astet*). I heard e.g. Y *'zo žə-yen (žə-won) u'stur* 'I am bigger than he'; *mən vərāi žə tō vərāyen u'stūr*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Bidd. *eyen kugoren man kugor yašē astet*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 217.

'my sword is better than his'; *zo eyen tiz yazam* 'I can run faster than he can' (without *žo*).

The suffix *-der* is possibly borrowed from Prs. The genuine Y form may have been preserved in *mištor* 'mehtar, prince'.

### Numerals.

202. The typical forms of the numerals (for details see Voc. s.vv.) are:

Yzh	Mm
1. <i>yū</i>	<i>yū</i>
2. <i>lo<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>lv</i>
3. <i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roi</i>	<i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roi</i>
4. <i>čšir</i>	<i>čfür</i>
5. <i>pānš</i> (Ysh <i>pānj</i> )	<i>ponš</i>
6. <i>ux'šo</i>	<i>ox'šo</i>
7. <i>'avdo</i>	<i>'ovdo</i>
8. <i>'aščo</i>	<i>'ošk'zo</i>
9. <i>nōu</i>	<i>nāu</i>
10. <i>los</i>	<i>da</i>
11. <i>los'yū</i>	<i>yōzda</i> (Mg)
12. <i>losilo</i>	<i>dwōzda</i> (Mg)
13. <i>losž'rāi</i>	<i>sēzda</i> (Mg)
14. <i>losič'šir</i>	<i>čōrda</i> (Mg)
15.	<i>pōnzda</i> (Mg)
16.	<i>kōnzda</i> (Mg)
17.	<i>'avda</i>
18.	<i>'ašda</i> (Mg)
19.	<i>'nūzda</i> (Mg)
20. <i>wis'to</i>	<i>bīst</i> (G <i>wīst</i> )
30. <i>yūwistolos</i>	<i>sī</i> ( <i>sāi</i> )
40. <i>lw'wist</i>	<i>čel</i>
50. <i>lucistolos</i> (Yr)	
60. <i>ž<sup>ai</sup>roiwist</i> (Yr)	
100. <i>pānžwist</i> (Yr), <i>yušōr</i> (Yg) <i>sad</i>	
200. <i>loswist</i> (Yr) — 1000. <i>azōr</i> (Yp), <i>hazār</i> (Yzh)	



Apart from the fact that Y has preserved the genuine forms *los* and *wisto*, and that it has borrowed from, or been influenced by<sup>1</sup> Khow. in cases where M adopted Prs. forms, the differences between the two dialects are only of a phonetic nature.

It will be observed that Y and Mm distinguish as regards accentuation between *ux'sō*, *ox'sō* '6' on the one hand, and 'avdo, 'aššo etc. on the other. This distinction is no doubt of ancient origin (*ux'sō* < *xšvas*, and 'avdo < 'haftā, with -ā from *aštā*), but it has been obliterated in most M dialects. Thus e.g. M(sh) has *ox'sō*, *ov'dō*, *os'k'sō*, with the same accentuation in all three numerals.

Ancient numerals are preserved in *širizen* 'three days ago'; *širasāl* 'two years ago' and in *šurmo*, *pšūrma* 'four days ago'. Cf. also s.v. *šir'vizen* 'four days ago'. *šoromī* 'fourth' is probably a Prs. lw.

Other numeral forms to be noted are: *yūyo* 'one of several'; *lohrinj* 'double'; *lohsaxo* 'a period of two years' (cf. *yūsaxo*); *lūini*, *luānekē* (pl.) 'twins', and, possibly, Y *aveli*, Z 'avel'i 'both' < *ubaya duye* (?).

### Pronouns.

#### Personal Pronouns.

203.

1st Prs. Sg.

Y	M
Nom. <i>zo</i> zh, sh, g, p, <i>zə</i> sh, r, u, g.	<i>za</i> (zo?) m, <i>zə</i> t, <i>zā</i> , <i>zə</i> Z.
Obl., Gen. <i>mən</i> zh, sh, g, u, r, <i>mun</i> sh, u.	<i>mun</i> , <i>mun</i> t, (t), <i>mən</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. 'mən-kān zh, sh.	'mā-kān, 'mānā Z.
Acc. <i>va</i> 'mən zh, <i>və</i> mən zh, r, <i>vo</i> (ico) mən sh, <i>vo</i> mun u.	<i>və</i> mən m, 'va-mən Z.
Dat. 'nā-mən zh, sh, 'nā-mun, -man sh.	nō-mən g, 'na-mən Z.
Abl. <i>ša</i> 'mun zh, <i>šō</i> , <i>ša</i> mən sh.	šu mun m.
Comit. 'lā-mən sh.	

<sup>1</sup> The vigesimal system of Y is of Khow. origin.

## 1st Prs. Pl.

Y	M
Nom. <i>max</i> zh, sh, <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mōx</i> r.	<i>mox</i> m, <i>mōx</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mox</i> r.	
Gen. <i>amax</i> zh, sh, <i>max</i> sh (?)	<i>a-mōx</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va max</i> zh.	<i>va-mōx</i> Z.
Dat. <i>'nā-max</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>nə-max</i> sh, <i>nomāx</i> Bidd.	<i>nā-moy</i> (!) g, <i>na-mōx</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>ša-mox</i> m.

## 2nd Prs. Sg.

Nom. <i>tu</i> zh, sh, r, g, p, <i>tə</i> sh.	<i>tu</i> , <i>tə</i> m, Z.
Obl., Gen. <i>tō</i> zh, sh, g, r, u, <i>ta</i> zh (?) sh.	<i>tə</i> , <i>tə</i> m, <i>ta'</i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>tə</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>ta-kān</i> zh, sh, u.	<i>tə-kān</i> , <i>tə'wā</i> Z.
Acc. <i>və 'to</i> zh, r, g, <i>vəto</i> u, <i>vto</i> zh, u, g, <i>fto</i> sh.	<i>fto</i> m, <i>fīa</i> (t), <i>fīə</i> t, Z.
Dat. <i>'nā-to</i> zh, <i>na-tō</i> sh, r.	<i>na-to</i> m, <i>na-tā</i> Z.
Abl. <i>'š-tō</i> sh, ( <i>šo-to</i> denied by zh).	
Comit. <i>lə to</i> r.	
Adess. <i>də tō</i> sh.	

## 2nd Prs. Pl.

Nom. <i>māf</i> zh, sh, r, g, <i>mof</i> r.	<i>mof</i> m, <i>mōf</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māf</i> g.	
Gen. <i>amaf</i> zh, sh.	<i>a-mōf</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>amaf kan</i> zh, sh.	<i>a'mōfā</i> , <i>ša-mōf</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va 'maf</i> zh.	<i>vaha-mof</i> (!) m, <i>'va-mōf</i> Z.
Dat. <i>nā-maf</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>no-māf</i> sh.	<i>'na-mōf</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>ša-</i> , <i>ša-mof</i> m.

204. The inflexion of the sg. of the Personal Pronouns is based on the two-case system.<sup>1</sup> Thus *zo* < *azəm*, *mən* < *mana*, *tu* < *tvēm*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSJ., XX, 61 sqq.



(or *tū*); *tō*, *ta*<sup>v</sup> < *tavā*. (*a*)*max* < Old Prs. *amāxam*, with preservation of the initial vowel in the stressed, genitive form <sup>1</sup> *ta*, in *ta-kān* (LSIm *to-kān*), is probably a shortened form of *tō*. Cf. also Yzh *zo w ta gap yū lārēm* 'I listen to thy word'.

The frequent phonetic coalescence of *\*ahmāxam* and *\*(yu)šmāxam* in Ir. has caused an embarrassment from which the different dialects have extricated themselves in various ways. But in every case it is the 2nd pl. which has had to give way to the more frequently used 1st pl., just as it is the 2nd pl. termination of the verb which is changed in case of collision with the 3rd sg.<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring Dardic language, Kalasha, which constantly employs a copula with personal inflexion, tolerates a complete homogeneity between the nominatives of the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl.<sup>3</sup> In the Pamir dialects, where the construction without a copula is very widely used, this would not be possible.

In Psht. and Orm. the distinction between the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl. has been effected through the introduction of an entirely different, possibly borrowed, stem for the 2nd pl.<sup>4</sup> Parachi has utilized a base *\*ušā* which has become *wā*,<sup>5</sup> and Wkh. has completely remodelled the pl. of the Pers. Pronouns.<sup>6</sup> In the Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk. groups the 2nd pl. has been differentiated by the prefigation of *ta-*, *tō-*, etc., taken over from the sg.<sup>7</sup> In Ishk. this has been deemed a sufficient distinction (*mux: tēmā/vx*), but Sgl. has differentiated the vowels, too (*amax: tēmux*), and the obl. form of the 1st pl. is *māč*, *mič* < *\*ahmāčiya-*, while the nom. is used also as an obl. in the 2nd pl.

In Sar. there exists, according to Shaw and the LSI., an unexplained

<sup>1</sup> *amaf* has got its *a-* from *amax*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. on a lingu. miss. Afgh., 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Indian Linguistics, V, 361.

<sup>4</sup> *tāšū*, *tus*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> This explanation is preferable to that given IIPL, I, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IA. *\*huzma-*.

difference of quantity between 1 pl. *maš* (< \**ahmašya*),<sup>1</sup> and 2 pl. *tamāš*, while Shgh. opposes *māš* to *tamā* (< \**ta* + *šmāk*?).

Y—M agrees with W. Ir. dialects in employing neither the prefix *t-* in the 2nd pl., nor the adjective base in \**ē(i)ya-* for the 1st pl. It utilizes the difference between the ancient gen. \**māx* < \**ahmāxam* (and \**(yu) šmāxam*), and the instr. \**māβ* < \**ahmābiš*, etc., to distinguish the two persons. It is, of course, possible that a form *māx* (with *-x* from the 1st pl.) has never existed in pre. Y—M, but that \**māβ* has been substituted for \**māk*.

The assignment of the form in *-f* < *-β* to the 2nd pl. was facilitated by the existence of a verbal ending (originally an enclitic pronoun) 2 pl. in *-f* < *-v* < \**dv*.<sup>2</sup>

### Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

205. Regarding the possible employment of the ancient enclitic pronouns as verbal terminations see below § 231.

I have only come across a few cases of the use of real pronominal suffixes, and the examples are not all of them quite certain.

Thus: *āzawuy-em tū*, *mōzē-em tū*, *dalē-em tu* Ysh 'thou createst me, thou killest me, thou givest me'; *agar kōi ke liē-t*, *yašē*, *kōi ke ēe liē-t* . . . 'if anybody gave thee something, it is well, if nobody gave thee anything, . . .'. In this last example it is possible, but not probable, that *liē-t* is the 3rd pl. pret.

Other instances are: Mt *dōam-et* = *zō ftō dōam* 'I beat thee'; *dir pādšāan* . . . *kāyaz kəro*, *škār-en* 'another king wrote a letter and sent it to us'. But *škār-en* might be a nazalized form (cf. *nā-to škārō* Ysh).

Mm *wo auqāt-iš g'yašk*<sup>3</sup> 'guzarān-iš šud' is a Persianism, cf. LSI m 2 sg. *-it* and 3 sg. *-iš* from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> But Psht. *mūnē* < \**māš* < \**ahmāšya*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.



## Demonstrative Pronouns

206.

"HIC" (Proximate).

Sg.	
Y	M
Nom. <i>mō zh, sh, u, mōi sh.</i>	<i>mā m, Z, mō m, g, Z.</i>
Obl. <i>mən zh, u.</i>	<i>man Z.</i>
Gen. <i>a'man zh, a'män zh, sh.</i>	
Predic. Gen. <i>a'man kan zh, amän k. sh.</i>	
Acc. <i>vəm zh, wum sh.</i>	<i>vum m, 'və-m(ā) Z.</i>
Dat. <i>nə-män zh, nə (no) 'man sh.</i>	<i>'nu-man m, 'nə-man Z.</i>
Abl. <i>žə-män zh, ž-im sh.</i>	<i>ž<sup>a</sup>-man m, žə-man Z.</i>
Locative <i>dēm zh, dum u.</i>	

Pl.

Nom. <i>{mind zh, sh.</i> <i>{mai zh, māi sh, me g.</i>	<i>myänd m, myend g.</i>
Obl. <i>məf g.</i>	<i>mai m, g, Z.</i>
Gen. <i>a'məf zh, a'mof sh.</i>	<i>məf Z.</i>
Predic. Gen. <i>a'məf kan zh, sh.</i>	
Acc. <i>və-'məf zh, vümäv Bidd.</i>	<i>vi-məf m.</i>
Dat. <i>nə-'məf zh, nə'məf sh.</i>	
Abl. <i>žə-'mōf sh.</i>	<i>žə-'məf m.</i>

207.

"ISTE" (Half Proximate).

Sg.	
Y	M
Nom. <i>yō zh, sh, g, yə sh.</i>	<i>yā m, Z, yə Z.</i>
Obl. <i>yän sh.</i>	<i>yan Z.</i>
Gen. <i>ā'yen zh, ā'yen sh.</i>	
Predic. Gen. <i>a'yen kan zh, sh.</i>	
Acc. <i>vāi zh, vēi sh.</i>	<i>vai m.</i>
Dat. <i>nā-yen zh, sh, nā-yen, nə'en sh</i>	<i>nə-yän m, 'nə-yan Z.</i>
Abl. <i>žə-yen zh, žən sh.</i>	<i>žā-yan m, žə-yan Z.</i>
Adess. <i>dāi zh.</i>	

## Pl.

## Y

Nom. *ſind* zh, *yānd* sh.  
 { *yāi* zh, *yēi* sh, *yeh* Bidd.  
 Obl. *āyef* (?) sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *a'yef kan* zh, *āyef k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vā'yef* zh, *vēf* sh.  
 Dat. *nā'yef* zh, sh, *ne-ef* sh.  
 Abl. *žēf* sh.

## M

*yend* m, *yend*, *yənd* g.  
*yāi* m, *yai*, *dai* Z.  
*daf* Z.  
*vā'yaf* m.  
*žā'yaf* m.

208.

"ILLE" (Remote).

## Sg.

## Y

Nom. *wō* zh, sh, u.  
 Obl. *wən* sh, u.  
 Gen. *a'wən* sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *a'wōn kan* zh, *awən k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vōu* zh, sh, *wōu* sh, r.  
 Dat. *na'wōn* zh, *na'wən*, *no'wōn* sh, *nōn* u.  
 Abl. *žo'wōn* zh, *žo'wən* sh, u.  
 Adess. *dōu* zh.

## M

*wā* m, Z, *wə* g, *wa* Z.  
*wan* Z (fem. *win*).  
*a'wan* Z.  
*vōu* m, *vā-w(an)* Z, *vā<sup>w</sup>* G.  
*no-wan* m, *na-wan* Z.  
*žo-wan* m, *žā-wan* Z.  
*dan* LSIm.

## Pl.

Nom. *ſwən* zh, *wənd* sh.  
 { *wōi* zh, sh, *wəh* Bidd.  
 Obl. *wōf* sh, *wov* u.  
 Gen. *o'af* sh.  
 Predic. Gen. *o'af kan* zh, *o'af k.* sh.  
 Acc. *vo'af* zh, *vōaf*, *wōf* sh.  
 Dat. *no'wof* zh, sh, *no'ōf* sh.  
 Abl. *jo-ov* Bidd.  
 Adess. *do'ōf*.

*wend* m, *wiyend* g.  
*wai* m, g, Z.  
*waf* Z.  
*vo-waf* m.  
*žo-waf* m, *žā-waf* Z.



The bases are as follows:

	Sg.			Pl.		
Nom.	<i>mo</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>wo</i>	{ <i>mai</i>	<i>yäi</i>	<i>woi</i>
				{ <i>mind</i>	<i>yänd, ind</i>	<i>wənd, wiwend</i>
Acc.	- <i>m</i>	-( <i>a</i> ) <i>i</i>	-( <i>ō</i> ) <i>u</i>	{ <i>maf, maf</i>		
Obl.	<i>man</i>	<i>yän</i>	<i>wən, wan</i>			
				<i>yef, yaf</i>	<i>waf, waf</i>	

These stems go back to respectively Av. *ima-*, *aēta-*<sup>1</sup> and Anc. Prs. *ava-*. An identical system of demonstratives is found in Sgl., which has *am(a)*, *ad(a)*, *ō(aū)*, (obl. *īm*, *iđ*, *yē*), in Shgh. with *yim*, *yid*, *yū* (obl. *me*, *de*, *we*, etc.), and in Sogd. with *me*, *yyō*,<sup>2</sup> *ʾw* (nom. *ʾw*), but not in Yaghn. (with *iš*, obl. *it*, *au*, *ax*), or Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The Yazgh. system (*yuk* < *ayōm*, *duk* < *aēta-*, *ū* < *ava-*) is of a similar but not identical structure, the ancient nom. surviving in the proximate demonstrative.

*Mo* goes back to *\*i'mām*, *\*imat* (cf. *zo* < *azəm*), and *yo*, *wo* are probably also original accusatives. The modern 'accusatives' *vəm*, *vāi*, *vou* are probably ancient formations: *\*upa imam*, *\*upa aitam*, *\*upa avam*. Of the same type are *dum*, etc. The derivation of the gen. 'prefix' *a-* is uncertain.

I have not come across any special fem. obl. form of *wo*, or any other trace of distinction of gender. But Zar. gives obl. masc. *wan*, fem. *win*.

The nom. plurals *mai*, *yäi*, *woi* are probably to be analysed as containing *mo*, etc. + the pl. ending *-e*. *mind*, *yänd*, *wənd*, etc. recall Sgl. *amānd*, *adānd*, *awānd* and also Sogd. *wyśnt*, which Benveniste<sup>4</sup> derives from *avaē-sānām* + *t-*. But the preservation of *nd* in this special case remains unexplained. The forms in *nd* are unknown

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar. s.vv.—Nom. *yo* might, of course, be derived from *aēla*, but this is not probable in view of the Sgl. forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 122, but note *ō* < *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wkh., Pronouns.

<sup>4</sup> Gramm. Sogd. II, § 81.

to Z, G and the LSI<sub>m</sub>, and M<sub>m</sub> first mentioned them, then denied their existence in M, but afterwards employed them, together with Mg, in his speech. I was not able to detect any difference of meaning or use between M *mai* and *mind*, except in so far as *mai* seemed to be the more usual form. Z gives *dai*, *daf* besides *yai*, *yaf*. These forms may go back to \**ta*-, with early loss of the initial diphthong. Cf. § 48.

According to Ysh *moi*, *yoi*, *woi* are emphatic forms of *mo*, etc., and not plurals. Thus e.g., *yoi kyäi* sg. = *yō kyäi*, but *yēi kyēi*, *yänd kyey* pl. Cf. also *mōy-a* = 'hami ast?' *moi kōi-kān fərmā?* 'whose can this one be?'

Note the obl. Y *məf*, M *maf*, but Pers. Pron. 2nd pl. Y *maf*, M *mof*.

209. *Yo* and *mo* both correspond to Prs. *in*. Thus, e.g.: *nō-man ces yo, mo delum* Ysh 'what shall I give this one (*ba i*)'; *mō čamin žaga Yu* 'what kind of place is this (*i štari žā*)?'; *yo kyei äyēn-kan* Ysh '*i xāna az i st*'; *yo kōi ādam* Ysh '*i kī ādam ast*'; *yo cəs-mīn vira* Ysh '*i čī būr ast*'

But *mo* is used especially about quite near objects and persons: *mō mind ādame nazdik astet* Ysh 'these men are near'; *mō ādam, māi (mind) ādame nazdik* Yzh; *mō kyäi qarib* M<sub>m</sub> 'this house is near'; *myänd (mai) yaši, wai liwi* M<sub>m</sub> 'these are good, those are bad'; *wum isa* Ysh 'bring this one (which I have just given you)'; *yo mača ž'kū, wāi pərsə . . . zo ž-im kyeyen, mō kyei mən-kān* Ysh 'from where is this man, ask him . . . I am from this (very) house, this house is mine'; *yo mən šifə . . . mō amaf tāt* Ysh 'this is my husband, . . . this (very man is) your father'. Cf. also G *yimsāl* 'this year'.

*Yo*, on the other hand, may be used in sentences like *yō ādam yo lu'ro, yāi ādamē lu'ro* 'this man is (these men are) far away'. But usually it is applied to half-proximate objects. Cf. Zar., p. 180: 'указат. мест. для предметов среднего удаления.'

*Wo* usually corresponds to Prs. *ū (ān)*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *lim nōn Yu wo*

<sup>1</sup> Zar. tot, on.



'I gave him' (*ba ū*); *n-ou mara kyein* Ysh '*ba jā-i-ū mardek*'; *ēio wōf* 'he beat them (*unhara*)'; *wōu ē-pərviayāf* '*ūra na yāfta būdīd*'; *bād ēo wan* Mm 'after that (*bād az ū*)'. Other examples of *wo* are: *wənd ādame(n) lūro astet* Ysh 'these men are far off'; *wo ādam lūro* Mm; *wə kyāi ləre* Mg; *yo mən kyei, wo to kyei* Yzh 'this is my house, that is your house'.

*Wo* is also used as a Pers. Pron. El.g.: *wo ruxsat sūi* Ysh 'he took leave'; *na'wən līō*; *līo no'wən* 'he gave him'; *wən (wo) 'sto, wōf ištōt* 'he, they said'; *šelo won* Ysh '*ba pēš-i ū*'; *wōu ləbadəm* Yr 'I winnowed it'; *tu do'ōf xabar ēēš-a?* 'have you no news about them?' *wo xap kəf* Yu 'he kept silent', but in a following passage: *mo xap ēi kit?* 'why does this man keep silent?'

Regarding the use of *wo* as a Definite Article, cf. § 194.

I never heard any Y form corresponding to Biddulph's '*hooroh*' 'he, she, it' (remote). It is probably a lw. from Khw. *horo*, and does not seem to be in general use.

### Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite Pronouns.

210. *Koi* 'who?' (< *kahyā*) is used both as a subst. and as an adj.: *kōi-ste* Yu 'who art thou?' *yo vira kōi-kān* Ysh 'whose burden is this?' *na-koi ase tu?* Yzh 'whom dost thou come for?' *maf na-koi a'sef?* But also *yo koi ādam?* Ysh 'what man is this?'

*Koi* is also an indefinite pronoun: *vo kōi* Yr 'somebody' (*kasira*); *agar kōi ke liē-t yašē* 'if anybody gives thee (anything), it is well'.

*Kēdi* is used as a substantive: *kēdi ayoi* 'which one came?' *kedē-vā* LSim 'any one'. But *kyəm* is an adjective: *kyəm ādam* 'which man?' Regarding the phonetic development of these words v. §§ 47, 164.

Examples of *ces* 'what' are: *to ces nām?* *to cis nām astet?* *tō nām cis mīn?* Ysh 'what is thy name?' *ya cēs mīn vira?* Ysh '*i ēi bār ast?*' *mūn ces gu'nā* 'what is my fault?' *cis ke nā-mūn resī* 'whatever I get'; *no-man ces delum* 'what shall I give him?' *ces ory kē'nē?*—

*ci* (in *ci ilā*) *kenem* Yu 'what remedy shall I use?' is Prs. Regarding *ce* 'what?', *ce*, *ci* 'why, what'; *cē* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

'How much, how big' is *čamin*: *mo č<sup>o</sup> žaya* 'what kind of place is this (*i štari* (= *ci-tauri*) *ja*)?' *č<sup>o</sup> kənem* Ysh '*čiko* (= *ci qadr*) *kənem*?'.

Regarding *ind*, *mind* 'so much'; *ča(n)d* 'how much'; Y *čei*, M *ištiva* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

The relative particle *ke*, is borrowed from Prs.

Regarding the Reflexive Pronoun *xoi* v. Voc.

### Use of the Cases and Prepositions.

211. The Nom. is used as a subject with intr. verbs and with trans. verbs in the Present. Thus: Yzh *mə ādam vri*, *māi ādamē vriet* 'this man breaks, these men break'; *mo 'mara* (*žinkiko*) '*yadē* 'this man (woman) is blind'; *mo 'ādam na'yan xut* 'this man eats bread'; Yg *me žirōi mere hōr(y) kenet* 'these three men are working' (cf. Ysh '*mīnd 'ādamen hōr(y) kənat*'); Ysh *yo mūn vərāi aštet* 'this is my brother'; *wo žinkiko da čatīr šūi* 'the woman went into the tent'.

Nominative

Note that the Pers. Pronouns are frequently used, even when no special stress is laid upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g. 1 Sg.: Y *zo wušiaday-am* 'I am hungry'; *zo sabā oīm* 'I shall come to-morrow'; Mm *zo org 'yikenum* 'I am working', *za fte 'duham* (*zə fte dōam t*) 'I beat thee'.—2 Sg.: *tu wušiaday-et* 'thou art hungry'; *tu vōu de* 'beat him'; *tu ču žui* 'what dost thou say?' *tu ces hōr(y) kenē* 'what work art thou doing?' M *tu 'šti 'yikunīy* 'thou art doing something'.—1 Pl. Y: *max wušiaday-am*; *max hōr(y) kənam sh*, *māx hōr kənem g*, *mō/āx ory kənem r*, M *mox ory yikenam*.—2 Pl. Y *māf wušiaday-af*; *māf ces hōr(y) kənef*? M *mof 'šti yikunef*; *mof male nižit* 'sit down here'. In Ysh *zo ž-īm kyeyen* 'I (am) from this house' the pronoun replaces the copula.

<sup>1</sup> As is the case e.g. in *kū ki tu šuyit zo ašm* Ysh 'wherever you go (lit.: went), I shall go'.



The Nominative is also sometimes used as a subject with transitive preterites.

Thus, e.g. Yu *žinkiko* (*kurmo*) 'što 'the woman (the grasshopper) said'; *galavān wazir luydo do 'vyuš žio* 'the cow-herd embraced the vizier's daughter'; Ysh *dukandār yurd yū alāno* 'the shopkeeper took a pome-granate'; *agar Xədəi ɛu mašee vii* 'if God had not killed him'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *kamder pūr šta*, LSI<sub>y</sub> *kemder pūr što* 'the younger son said'.<sup>1</sup>

With pronouns: Yzh *zo* (or *mən*) *uto žim* (*žiyom viō*) 'I (had) killed thee'; Yr *zo na-to* 'štom 'I said to thee'; Ysh *zo muzdurə kur-yum* 'I have served'; *tə na'yen xuryet-a* 'hast thou eaten the food?' Mm *tə və-mən žiet*, Yr *tū və-mən žiit* 'thou didst kill me'; Ysh *wo alāno yurd* 'he took the pome-granate'; Ysh, u *wo* (or *wən*) 'što 'he said'; Ysh *yō və-mən ži-što* 'he was beating me'; *wo wulo što* 'the wife said'; *yō ādam nayan xu'ro* 'this man ate bread'; Z *wā žinka və-mən liškigagā* 'that woman has seen me'.

As an adjective the demonstrative is always put in the nom. in Y: *wo maraken* 'što 'the man said', etc. But Z gives both *wā mēran* 'this man' and *man idakan* 'this slave' as agents, cf. *wā* and *waf lu v'rōyaf* 'these two brothers', etc.

But this construction with nom. and transitive preterite is no doubt of recent origin and due to Prs. and Khw. influence.<sup>2</sup>

212. Usually we find the subject of a transitive preterite put in the oblique case. Thus, e.g.: Ysh *pādšān, žucānen, marakā, dukan-dāre(n), žinkikī, akābu'ren* 'što (etc.) 'the king, youth, man, shopkeeper, woman, old man said' (etc.); *žinkikī . . . tərəft* 'the woman stole'; *zinief pīstet* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *ɛes ke Xədəiyen lio* 'whatever God gave'; Yu *və wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought the wife'.

Oblique

With Pers. Pronouns: Y *mən və-to ɛa'dim* 'I threw thee down'; *mən ory ke'ram* 'I worked'; *mun xūvən liščəyem* 'I have seen a dream'; *mən* 'što (Yg *mən štum*) 'I said'; *mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave

<sup>1</sup> This type of construction seems to be more frequent in LSI<sub>m</sub> than in LSI<sub>y</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. T 'ān *xūr* = *mun 'xūr, xūr-um*, IIFL, I, p. 96.

my son an apple'; *mən vto lišcīm*, *Mm mun fta lišk'im* 'I saw thee'; *Mt mun fta žim* 'I killed thee'; *Yg tō v-mən žit* 'thou didst kill me'; *māx v-to žiem-štem* 'we were killing thee'; *mox vōu maščəm* 'we slaughtered him'; *Yg māf v-mən žief-štesf* 'you were killing me'.<sup>1</sup>

With Demonstrative Pronouns: *Ysh, u wən išt(v)o* 'he said'; *wōf 'štot* 'they said'; *yān namašf nāyən liō* 'he gave you bread'; *yūrd vco maraken* 'the man took it'.

Cf. Zar. (p. 126) *Saidan mən luydā ʔrōvd* 'Said took my daughter', *vōd v'rōyaf bškāt* 'the brothers saw', etc.; *LSIm men (ze) žiem, waf (wai) žiat* 'I, they beat', etc.

In a few cases I heard *mən* instead of *zo*: *Yr mən uzir hurco viem* 'I was ill yesterday'; *mən vōu dehām* 'I beat him' (pres.); *Ysh mun no-wən amūno dālēm* 'I give him an apple'. With attraction to a transitive preterite: *Y wən cəyūd, 'što* 'he returned and said'. This construction is due to the influence of Prs. *man*, and, together with the use of *zo*, etc. for the oblique case and the introduction of personal endings in the transitive preterite, demonstrates the gradual dissolution of the ancient middle Ir. system.

213. The Attributive Genitive of nouns is usually expressed by the Genitive Oblique.

Thus, e.g.: *Y pūren pūr* 'grandson'; *pādsān pūr* 'the king's son'; *lasten bod* 'wrist'; *yūen surva* 'the hole of the ear'; *Xadāyən bande* 'the servant of God'; *feskaf surv* 'nostril'; *vco ʔoi pūraf nām* 'the names of his sons'.

But we also find examples of the nominative used as a genitive. E.g.: *Y mən tāt kyāi* 'my father's house'; *sūi n-ou maya kyāin* 'he went into the house of that man'; *pādsā pūr* 'prince'; *wazīr luydo pādsā pūr pisto* 'the vizier's daughter asked the prince'; *last bot* 'wrist'. It is not always possible to draw the line between such expressions and nominal compounds.

<sup>1</sup> *Yr mōx (l) v-mən žief-ištāf* and *Yzh max (l) ēi va-maf (l) da'haf* 'don't kill us' must be mistakes.



The *iḡāfat* construction occurs in fixed formulas and compounds borrowed from Pers. Thus, e.g. *Y ba nām-e-Xudā, ba hokm-e-Xadāyen* (with obl.) 'at God's command'; *ḡarx-i-falak*; *dārū-i-bihuṣi*; *sar-i-dil*; *dil-i-ḡigar*, etc.

Of the pronouns the common gen.-obl. case, or the special gen. form is used:

*Y mən pūr rīza* 'my son is small'; *yo mən ida* 'this is my slave'; *yo mun v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *mən tra zil astet* 'it is in my heart (= I desire)'; *mən čuwa astet* 'I have nothing'; *mən larza kit* 'I have fever'; *mun yū wulo astet* 'I have one wife'; *wo to kyei* 'that is thy house'; *to yār wos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' *to cis nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *tō čand ləydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' *zə və ta (!) gap yū lārəm* 'I listen to thy word'; *amax tat (pādsā)* 'our father (king)'; *magam max<sup>1</sup> yū pādsā astet* 'but we have a king'; *amaf taten kyei* 'your father's house'; *nō amaf tāt* 'to your father'.

*Yzh āyen dawlet* 'this man's riches'; but, with pronominal adjective: *wo yūyen nām Z. vīo<sup>2</sup>* 'the name of the one is Z.'; *Mm wo hādamen lu luydi viat* 'the (that) man had two daughters'.

Note the genitive with *rīm-* 'to please': *mən rīmet*, *mən rīmdo*.

214. The Predicative Genitive of nouns is expressed by the oblique case: *Y yo vira mən šifien čēs* 'this burden is not my husband's'; *yo kyei mištarān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'; <sup>3</sup> *galavānen čir wulē šut* 'the cowherd had four wives'; *Z širay v'royaf širay muš kāyi viyat* 'three brothers had three calves'.

Reg. *šo* with genitive function cf. § 217.

The predicative genitive of pronouns is formed by adding *-kən* to the ordinary genitive (which may also be used alone). Thus, e.g.: *Yzh mo kyei ta-kan-a?* *mo kyei mən-kən* 'is this house thine?'

<sup>1</sup> For \**magam amax*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 211.

<sup>3</sup> Or is *mištarānē* a possessive adjective?

'this house is mine'; *mo lāmo a'maf-kan-a?* 'is this village yours?'; *Ysh yo 'vira ta-kan* 'this burden is thine'; *Yr kyei ta-kān 'xāna-i-tūst'* (inexact transl.). *Yzh mo kyei aman-kan-a?* 'does this house belong to this one?' *mo (wo) lāmo a'maf- (o'of-) kan-a?* 'does this (that) village belong to these (those) men?' *Ysh yo (mo, wo) kyäi äyēn (amən, awən)- kan; yänd (mind, wənd) kyäyi äyef (aməf, o'of)- kan.*

This predicative genitive is probably an original possessive adjective<sup>1</sup> as appears from *Ysh: yū wulo, loh pūrē mən-kāne molo viet* 'I had a wife and two sons here'.

215. The indefinite object is, when a noun, put in the 'nominative' Accusative (or, perhaps better 'casus indefinitus'). Thus, e.g.: *Y you yalbil kenəm* 'I sift grain'; *zo yawo avāzəm* 'I bring a cow'; *amboh māl avār* 'bring much goods'; *yū ādamen xūben lišē* 'a man had a dream'; *yūr uziaudum* 'I extinguished a fire'; *no xoi pūrəf wulo ēə avazəm-ā?* 'should I not bring my own sons a wife?'

But the definite object is expressed by the 'nominative' sg., or the obl. pl. preceded by *vo (wo?)*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, with the object in the sg.: *Y wən vo piško yurd* 'he seized the cat' (which has already been mentioned); *vo mən yap yurā* 'hear my word'; *vo wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought his wife'; *zo va yūra uziaudum* 'I extinguish the fire'; *vo parizāto suwār kər* 'he put the fairy on horseback'; *nuwərum vo 'kēro* 'I took out the knife'; *vo šir mašcet* 'they killed the lion'; *Z waf vā wən nēna mošk'at* 'they killed his mother', etc.

With plural object: *Y vo čirief yurd* 'the seized the apricots'; *vo čurwakəf āvər* 'bring the unripe apricots'; *vo māləf avrēt* 'they brought the goods'; *wo (= vo?) xoi zəmonəf lišē* 'he saw his own boys'; *pisto wo ziniəf* 'she asked her daughters-in-law'; *Mm və luydaf yuruvd (štə)* 'he took (he told) his daughters'.

Note especially: *Ysh qissa yurdeyum* 'I have brought a tale', but afterwards *wo (= vo) qissa yurd* 'he brought the tale'; *lažino deh* 'make

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Par. gen. of proper names in *-ān*, IFFL, I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. definite acc. with *wa*, IFFL, I, p. 51 sq.



a pile of wood', but *və lažino ʒafaū* 'put fire to the wood-pile'; *Z šküra muškəy ʒə xūt* 'a camel does not eat a calf', but *wə ta škürin və mən muškəy xurə* 'thy camel has eaten my calf'.

*Y pa kačio vrūtəf dea* 'cut the moustache with a scissor' may have been misheard for *\*və vrūtəf*.

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are, of course, always used as definite objects. Thus, e.g., *Y tu čī və mən dehə?* 'why dost thou beat me?' *Ysh tu və mən ʒiit*, *g tō və mən ʒit*, *r tū və mən ʒiit*, *Mm tə və mən ʒiet* 'thou didst beat me'; *Y zo vto pʁsəm*, *zo fto pʁsəm* 'I ask thee'; *və to wulo vənəm* 'I bring thy wife'; *vʉ to xai vrai yurdum* 'I seized thy own brother'; *Mm fta winəm* 'I see thee'; *zo fto döam* 'I beat thee', *mun fto ʒiim* (= *Ysh fto ʒiim*) 'I beat thee' (pret.).

*Yzh zo vāi daham*, *tu vōu de* 'I beat this one, beat thou that one'; *Ysh zo vēi (vēf, vōf) dəhām*; *Mm za vāi (vum, vōu) duham*; *Ysh tu wum isa* 'bring this one'.

As an adjective the inflected form occurs in *Yu mən wēi oʁ kəra* 'I have done this work'; *Ysh zo wum hory kenəm*; *Yu wov loh ʒiŋkəf avezdo* 'he brought the two women'. But also *Ysh yo vira . . . škəyə* '(he) sent this burden'.

216. The 'Dative' of nouns is formed with *no* and the oblique.

'Dative'

Thus: *Y mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave my son an apple'; *wə alāno liə no maraken* 'she gave the pomegranate to her husband'; *na pādšāan liet . . .* 'they gave the king . . .'; *no zənief ʒto* 'she said to her daughters-in-law'; *no mən zəmanakəf del* 'give it to my boys'; *no abeli pūraf* 'to both sons'. The purely local significance of *no* remains in e.g.: *Y šūi no bāzāren* 'he went to the bazar'; *nə kiyn asəm* 'I come to the house'. It denotes the aim in the infinitives: *Y no xurān*, *no āyastān* '(food) to eat, (clothes) to put on'; *na tagbiren oim* = *na tagbir kəran oim* 'I come to make a plan'. Note: *no yu mižen* 'in (the course of) one day'.

Very rarely *no* is used with a noun in the nom.: *Y na to tāt* 'to thy father'; *wə no wulo ʒto* 'he said to his wife'; *na tā-duniā* 'to the underworld'.

The dative of personal pronouns occurs frequently, the accentuation (*nāmən*, etc.) indicating that such forms are felt to be one word. Examples are: Y *tu nāmən kētiū del (da'le)* 'give me a book'; Yān *nāmən na'yeŋ liō* 'he gave me bread'; *nāmən da'pīr* 'before me'; Mm *vrōi nōmən* '(he is) a brother for me'; Y *zo nā-to ūwāb (kētiū) dālīm* 'I give thee an answer'; *na-to cēi pēāmum* 'I entrust something to thee'; *spāc na-tō* 'after thee'; *zo na to 'istom* 'I said to thee'; *na to trō lās kōrum* 'I put it in thy hand'; M *na-to išti-va dālīm* 'I give thee something'; Y *yān nāmax (na-maf) na'yeŋ liō* 'he gave us (you) bread'; *na-max del* 'give it to us'; Mg *wai vrōi nāmoy astat* 'they are brothers for us' (= our brothers); *wū vō (l) nāmoy vrōi* 'he is our brother'; Y *na-maf cē zarūr?* 'what need is there for you?'; *zo da'lem no-māf, mun na-mof amūno dālīm* 'I give you an apple'.

Examples of the dative of demonstratives are: Yzh *mən na'wən (nā'man, nā'yeŋ, nō'wōf, nā'mof, nā'yef) na'yeŋ līm* 'I gave him (etc.) bread'; Ysh *mun nō'wōn (nē'en, nā'mof, nē'ef) amūno dālēm* 'I give him (etc.) an apple'; Yu *līm nōn 'dādam ba ū*'; Mm *'numan yū rūpai līiyum* 'I gave this man a rupee'; *nōyān (nōwan) lu (š'roī) rūpayagī līiyum* 'I gave this man (him) two (three) rupees'.

Note the possessive use of the dative, e.g. in Ysh: *zo na to tāt, tu mun pūr* 'I am thy father, thou art my son'.

217. A kind of ablative is formed with *šo* and the oblique.

Ablative

From nouns (and adverbs), e.g.: Y *ši Ūtrēyen* 'from Chitral'; *š'im kyayen* 'from this house'; *šo lurayan* 'from afar'; *ši dalen āyōi* 'he came from there'; *zo ši malen* 'I am from this place'; *š'tāhān ēe mazān* 'below the table'; *šo ašeraš'ief yū trōft* 'he stole one from (= of) the gold-pieces'. With possessive force: Y *yo amūno ēe pūren astel* 'this apple belongs to the son'; cf. Z *wā sahōb ša muškāayan* 'the owner of the calf', etc.; LSI *m ēe spi yaspan zin* (but LSI *y spi yaspan palan*) 'the saddle of the white horse'.

Note Y *šōi lāmo* (= *lāmo* or *lāmen?*) 'from one village (*az yak*



deh)'; cf. LSI<sub>m</sub> *že čāh*, *že yu saudāgar*, but LSI<sub>y</sub> *že čahēn*, *že yu dokandaren* 'from a well', 'from a shopkeeper'.

From pronouns: Y *tu ža-mun ustur*, *zo ži'mān ustur* 'thou art bigger than I, I am bigger than he'; *ž-tō zuščē* 'smaller than thou'; *yō kyei žō-mōn* 'this house is mine'; *žā-mōn yū pūr astet* 'I have one son'<sup>1</sup>; *yō (wō, wōi, yēi) kyei ž-ēn (žō'wōn ž-ēf, žāmōf) astet* 'this house belongs to this man' (etc.); Mm *wo lāmo žō-wan* 'this village belongs to him'.

218. I kind of Comitative is formed with *lo* 'with', *šolo* 'together' 'Comitative' with, near' with the oblique.

Examples are: Y *lo yoi taten* 'with his own father'; *lo galavānen dārū vīo* 'there was a remedy with the cowherd' (= the c. had); *la pəṇəkaf yurd* 'he seized with his hands'; *lā-mōn čō defa* 'don't fight with me' (*gat-i-man*); *wo dārū lā-mōn astet* 'the medicine is with me'. Note *lo malen* 'half full' (: 'with the half').—Y *šolo dukandāren niāsto* 'he stayed with the shopkeeper'; *šolo pādšāan*; *šola daryāhan* 'pēš-i-daryā'. *šo* (in Ysh *šo dukandarə*) is perhaps only an abbreviated form of *šolo*.

219. Local relations are expressed by the prepositions *do*, *tro* and *po* 'Locative' which take the nom. sg., but the obl. pl. of nouns.

Examples of *do* 'in', 'into' are: Y *na kyēin šūi, da kyei loyoi do* 'he went to his house and entered it'; *do xwōi kyei rəsūi* 'he arrived in his own home'; *šūi dā Oryōčo* 'he went into O.'; *alāno da lāst kəṛ* 'he put the pomegranate into his hand'; *doftad dā hōry* 'they started work'; *do xūben kovūyo goščim* 'in the dream I turned into a pigeon'; *da mažit niast* 'he sat down in the mosque'; *da yū miž* 'in one day'; *da sālā* 'in a year'; M *dā kyoī təyim* 'I enter a house'; Z *šoyat dā bōzōr* 'they went into the bazar'.—Y *wa (= va?) yōn da laxčief yurdam, driem dā čāro* 'I took the grain in the bags, and poured it into the store-room'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *de zaxmaf* 'in the fields' (but *de men tāt kei* 'in my father's house', etc.).

<sup>1</sup> See § 203, and cf. Psht. *jma* 'my'.

The obl. sg. was heard in Ysh *də Čitrāyī rəsi* 'he arrived at Chitral', but this form may have been influenced by the preceding *šai na Čitrāyī* 'he went to Ch.' Y *də kyāyī tīm* 'I enter the house' probably stands for *kyāy*.

From pronouns we find: Y *šəm da to* 'I speak with thee'; *də to apīr* 'before thee'; *də tō barābar* 'equal to thee'; *dum surdo* 'on this shoulder'; *də-ōf* 'about them'.

Examples of *tro* 'into' are: Y *'nā-to trə lāst kərum* 'I have put into thy hand'; *drio tra šile* 'he threw it on his neck (: back)'; *tro kiyēf loyōi* 'he entered into the houses'; *šie tro poškaf* 'he put it into the trays'.

Examples of *po* 'on', 'at', 'with' are: Y *po yū hory dīd* 'on account of some work (*barā-i-yak kār*)'; *pə Šəyoyo noyoy* 'he came out at Shoghor'; *po fiz šer* 'surrounding (lit.: around on) his face'; Z *p<sup>2</sup> kuyka š'yā* 'he killed with a stone'; LSIy *pe lesef*, LSIIm *pe lāsaf* '(he bound) with ropes'.

220. It seems probable that the difference of construction between *no*, *šo*, *lo*, *šəlo* (with the noun in the obl.) on the one hand and *do*, *tro*, *po*, *ro* (with the noun in 'nom.' sg. but obl. pl.) on the other goes back to a time when the first group of prepositions governed the instrumental (or originally the ablative), while the second group governed the locative or the accusative. Cf. Av. *ana* with the acc., but Anc. Prs. with the instr.; Av. *hača* with the abl. or the instr. (rarely with the acc.); *hača* with the instr. But *antarə*, *tarō*, *paiti* and *upa* with the acc. (or the loc.).

At a certain time nom., acc. and loc., at any rate of stems in *-a*, would coalesce, *\*puθrah*, *\*(upa) puθram* and *\*(pati) puθrai* resulting in *pūr*. In the pl. we might perhaps have expected e.g. *\*po pūrē* < *\*pati puθraišu*, but this would have resulted in a three-case system unknown in the sg., and accordingly the instr. was substituted for the acc. and loc. as a general obl. pl. case.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the place-names *Hartef*, *Idyef*, *Twākaf*<sup>2</sup> which had probably originally a locative meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *pə* with nom. sg., but obl. pl.

<sup>2</sup> V. List of Names, s.vv. and cf. § 199.



221. The oblique case is used also as an adverb. Thus, e.g. Y *mižen* 'by day'; *sūharen* 'in the morning'; *jansarēn* 'at daybreak'; *dalen* 'below'; *anīmāf* 'half' (adv.).

### Adverbs.

222. 1) Local: *molo* 'here'; *hu'rō* 'there'; *olo* 'there'; *woko* 'there' (?); *kū*, *kužā* 'where'; *ē<sup>u</sup>kū* 'whence'; *lūro* 'far off'; *noyo'sār*, *dalen*, *š'tāhān*, *past* 'below'; *ka'lāpo*, *sāro*, *fursōro*, *psaro* 'down'; *pas'mino*, *vəlyo* 'above'; *dram* (*da-dram*, *na-dram*) 'inside'; *do-kučō* 'out(side)'; *apīr*, *skapīr* 'before, in front of'; *ēpāč* (*špāč*, *očepoč*, *wa-ēpāč*) 'after, back'; *debāl* 'behind'; *mīr-čōya* 'to this side'; *vračōya* 'to that side'; *drāi* 'hither' (?); *hargeno* 'on all sides' (?).

2) Temporal: *wos* 'now'; *kəla* 'when'; *psāt* 'immediately'; *nawaxt* 'late'; *piro* 'before, earlier'; *bād*, *v<sup>2</sup>ro* 'afterwards'; *dur* 'to-day'; *iziko* 'yestereve'; *wuzīr* 'yesterday'; *žirizen* 'day before yesterday'; *čurmō*, *čir<sup>2</sup>izen* 'three days ago'; *pānjemo*, *pčurma* 'four days ago'; *sāar*, *sabā* 'to-morrow'; *yāmo*, *məzdīra* 'the day after to-morrow'; *sūy-yāmo* 'three days hence'; *yūyyāmo*, etc. 'four days hence'; *asāl* 'this year'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *žirasāl* 'two years ago'; *čurmasāl* 'four years ago';<sup>1</sup> *jausarēn* 'at daybreak'; *mižen*, *dəmalen* 'at noon'.

3) Modal, etc.: *rastē* 'rightly'; *mal'mīn* 'thus'; *čə'mīn* 'how'; *gūya* 'just as'; *magam* 'verily'; *žahānd*, *boh* 'very'; *anīmāf*, *loma'len* 'half'; *nakōi* 'why'.

For particulars cf. Voc. s.vv.--It is not always possible to distinguish adverbs from adjectives or nouns.

### Verbs.

#### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

223. The nominal sentence without a copula is very common in Y—M. Thus, e.g.: Ysh *tu* *ē<sup>u</sup>-kū?* 'from where art thou?' *yo mara* *ē<sup>u</sup> kū?* 'from where is this man?' *zo* *žī malen*, *zo* *žīm kyeyen* 'I am from

<sup>1</sup> The translations and explanations given of the adverbs denoting days and years were often indefinite or contradictory.

here, I am from this house'; *mō kyēi mən-kān* 'this house is mine'; *tō cēs nām?* 'what is thy name?' *mūn yū wō'lō, loh 'pūre* 'I have one wife and two sons'; *yū Mēy yasp, yū Wūi yasp* 'one horse was (called) M., another W.'; *M wō ādam luro* 'that man is far away'; *mai yaši, wai li-ci* 'these are good, and those are bad'. Thus even in the sense of 'exists' the copula may be left out.

224. But very frequently Y employs the original 3rd pl. *astet* (cf. Prs. *hasand*) for the 3rd pl. and sg. According to Bidd. and the LSIy *astet* is also used for the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl., but I never heard *zo astet* 'I am', etc. Examples are: *Ysh ēā-mən yū pūr astet* 'I have a son'; *yō mūn v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *tō cīs nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *yō kyēi ē-ēn astet* 'this house belongs to this one'; *ēā-mən amboh pūre astet* 'I have many sons'; *yēi kyēi ēā-mōf astet* 'these houses belong to these men'; *mīnd ādamen nazdik astet* 'these men are near'; *Yr tō cānd lōydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' (answer: *zīrōi lōydē*).

From M I have only noted *Mg wai v'rōi nā-moy astat* 'these are brothers of ours'. Acc. to Zar. *ast* is sg. and *astat* pl., but he also gives the sentence *lu luydi mən ast* 'I have two daughters'. The LSI<sub>m</sub> gives the full inflexion *ast-am, -ai, -ō, -am, -af, -at*, which is probably influenced by Prs, as shown by the *h-*.

225. In Y I have come across a few sentences where *-ō* and *-ē* are apparently used as a 3rd sg. present of the substantive verb: *Ysh tō yār wos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' (answer: *dō tō apir astet* 'he is in front of thee'); *Yr yaši ādam-ō* 'he is a good man'; *yō kyēi mištōrān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'.<sup>1</sup> I dare not express any definite opinion on these forms, but they may represent an ancient *astī*, cf. Sgl-Ishk. *-ō*.

The negative present 'is not' is Y *čēš*. E.g., *yaši ādam čēš* 'he is not a good man'; *tu Xedāyen banda čēš'a?* 'art thou not the servant of God?'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Or is *mištōrānē* an adj.? Cf. above § 214.



A subjunctive form is preserved in *vii* (< *buyāt*). E.g., *woko eos kimat vii* (or *fərmə*)? 'what may be the price of it?'. Cf. § 254.

The preterite of the substantive verb is Y *viem*, *viet*, *vio*, *viem*, *vief*, *viet*; cf. LSI in *viam*, *viai*, *via*, *viam*, *viaf*, *viat*; Mm 3 sg. *vio*, 3 pl. *viat*.

Y *šom*, M *šiam* 'I went',<sup>1</sup> 'I became' is used as an auxiliary. A present tense is not formed from this root in Y-M, but note Z *zo gīb āyām* 'I am lost', etc.<sup>2</sup> Cf. about the passive § 247.

226. *kən-* 'to do' is used as an auxiliary just as in Prs. and other Ir. languages. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *awāza*, *bāwār*, *rahā*, *salū*, *sucār*, *tagbīr*, *tayār*, *xap*, *xalās*, etc., for examples of compound verbs with *kən-*.

*kən-* is also used with the meaning of 'being able to'. Cf. e.g. Y *ē-kir kəne*, *vo wulo šo-wən ēe vet kəne* 'thou art not able to do it, thou canst not take his wife from him (*na mētānī*, *zan-i ūra na mētānī giriftan*).

### The Present Stem.

227. The verbal system of Y—M, like that of most other modern Ir. languages, is based upon two stems, the Present and the Past.

The distinction between ancient present stems in *-a-* and *-aya-* excepted, the Old Ir. present classes are preserved only in relics and are of no importance for the verbal system of modern Y—M. Regarding the stems in *\*-aya-* and the causatives in *-āw-*, *-āv-* (and *-ān-*, *-ōn-*), see below § 229.

Ancient root-presents are represented only indirectly by *-əm*, etc. 'I am' as preterite suffix and by *ast*, *astet* 'is', 'are' (v. above § 224). *dāl-* 'to give' is an ancient reduplicated present.<sup>3</sup> *as-* 'to come'; *(y)is-* 'to bring'; *prš-* 'to ask'; *yuxs-* 'to learn' go back to

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the inflexion see § 245.

<sup>2</sup> With M *dyəm*: *šiam* cf. Par. *param*: *šēm* 'to go, to become'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shgh. *šāš-*.

present formations in Ir.  $s < *sk$ , while *baxš-* 'to divide'; *nuvōš-* 'to comb'; *nišāš-* 'to show'; *waxš-* 'to grow' represent bases in IE  $*s$ .

*mər-* 'to die' is an ancient stem in *-ya*.<sup>1</sup> Stems in *-nā* are: *ken-* 'to do'; *vəzān-* 'to know'; *yān-* 'to grind'; *xōn-* 'to buy'; *pmōn-* 'to rub', and possibly *wien-* 'to untie'. Infixes or radical *n* occurs in *lib-* 'to card' ( $< *dumb$ ); *āyd-* 'to dress' ( $< *ā-gund$ ); *xtrd-* 'to shave' ( $< *xrind$ ); *xōd-* 'to laugh'; *xap-* 'to fell'; *rad-* 'to tie'; *šib-* 'to rise'; *cēb-* 'to pinch'; *skəd-* 'to break'; *vēzb-* 'to tighten'; *cad-* 'to fall, stumble'.

A few present stems are formed secondarily from ancient preterites. Thus: *bār-* 'to fill'; M *tuyd-* 'to shave' (cf. *tiš-*); *šift-* 'to plaster'. Zar.'s *yōn'g-* 'to grind', *mōg-* 'to rub' appear to be based on the 3rd sg. pres.

228. Of great importance for the inflexion of the 3rd sg. is the distinction between ancient stems in *-a* and *-aya*.

In the first group of verbs the 3rd sg. in *-ati* was syncopated at an early date, and the resulting *-t*, *-d* was assimilated in various ways to the final consonant of the root.

Thus, with *t*, e.g. Y *ist*, Z *yist* 'comes' ( $*ā-isati$ ); Z *pist* 'asks' (*prəsaiti*); Y, M *ništ* 'sits down'<sup>2</sup> ( $*niθati < nišidaiti$ ); Y *waft*, M *wēft* 'weaves'; Z *nješt* 'shows' ( $*ni-čəšati$ ); *yūst* 'brings'. With *d*: Y *avizd* (*avāzi*), Z *avūzd* 'brings' ( $< *upāzati$ ); Y *γurivd* 'takes'; Z *γivd* 'spins'; *lūzd* 'milks'; *neyūyd* 'hears'; Y *p'revd*, Z *p'rūvd* 'finds' ( $*pari-āpati$ ); Y *šamd*, Z *šəmt* 'drinks'; Y *awūzd* 'hangs'; Y *nūld* 'lays down, goes to sleep' ( $*ni-padati$ ); Z *čəyd* 'sows'.

With assimilation of *n + t*: Y *k'vit*, M *yīkit* 'does' ( $< *kunati$ ); Y, Z *wit/d* 'sees' ( $< raēnaiti$ ); Y *kəd* 'digs' ( $< *kanati$ ); Z *livəd* 'winnows' ( $< *dwanati$ ); Z *vəd* 'brings' ( $< *upanati$ ); Y *vezit*,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also *diš-* 'to think'.

<sup>2</sup> LSIy *niš*, m *nīθ* =  $*nič$ ,  $*ništ$ ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 116.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *vən*. The asterisked form is simply intended to be a formula.



Z *vzūd* 'knows' (< \**upa-zūnati*); Y *xīt* 'laughs' (< \**xandati*); Y *xīt* 'buys' (\**xarnati*); Z *bixēd* 'reads' (*buxōn-*) and other 3rd singulars from stems in *-ōn-*.

With assimilation of *r + t*<sup>1</sup>: Y *avīt*, Z *avūd* 'brings' (< *ābaraiti*); Y *ket*, Z *kēd* 'ploughs' (< \**kāratī*); *xūt* 'eats' (< \**xaraiti*); Y *lāt*, Z *lēt* 'holds, has' (< \**dāratī*); Y *stīt* (Z *stīrd* of secondary origin) 'sweeps' (< \**staratī*); Y *novīt* 'takes out' (< \**nižbaratī*); Y *foṭ* 'seizes' (< \**faratī*); Z *ʔkid* 'seeks' (< \**škāratī*); *wužūd* 'regards' (< \**wi-ʔaratī*); *ʔvīt* 'pulls over' (< *us-baraiti*); *giyīt* 'passes' (< \**wi-taratī*); *giyēt* 'lets pass' (\**wi-tāratī*).—Z *žīrd* 'sews', *nīrd* 'enters' (*žīy-*, *nīy-*) have an unexplained *r*.

With assimilation of *d + t* through *ōd > ḍ > l*: Y *dīl* 'gives' (< \**dadatī*); Y *pāler*, Z *pīlēr* 'sells' (< \**pārēl* < \**parādatī*); Z *lūrd* 'flees' (with secondary *-d* < \**rūl* < \**raudatī*), Z *tēl* 'kills' (< \**tardatī*). But *t + t > t*: Y—M *žūt* 'speaks' (< \**ʔatatī*).<sup>2</sup>

With assimilation of *rn + t > \*nʔ > Y kʷ*, M (n')g': Y *yeikʷ*, Z *yēn'g'* 'grinds'; Z *mēg'* 'rubs'.

After *j* the final dental is dropped in Y, Z *trēj* 'binds'. Cf. also Z *nīg* 'pulls out', and Y *wāst* 'places' (*wāst-*).

In some cases M (Z) has 3rd sg.s in *-d/t* where Y has generalized the ending *-ē*. Thus, e.g.: Z *nērīzd* 'licks'; *xīšk* 'pulls'; *šuvd* 'sucks'; *drēt* 'throws'; *avūzd* 'brings'; *čičt* 'falls'. But Y: *nērīzē*, *xošē*, *šuvē*, *drēi*, *avāzē* (and *avīzd*), *tīžē*. On the other hand Z has added *-i* to the apparently suffixless form Y *wast* 'places'.

229. In most cases, however, Y and M (Z) agree as regards the employment of 3rd sg. forms in *-ē*, *-i* (< \**ayati*).

Thus, e.g., Y *i* 'goes'; *āyde* 'dresses'; *mārē* 'dies'; *novē* 'rains'; *rovē* 'barks'; *rasē* 'arrives'; *vrofe* 'flies'; *wuždē* 'washes'; *xīrdē* 'shaves'; *xšī* 'weeps': Z *yī*; *āyudī*; *muri*; *nāvi*; *ra'vi*; *rē'si*; *wurafsi*; *wūene*; *xīdī*; *xšī*. Cf. also, e.g.: Y *anuvē* 'bellows'; *ušunē* 'neighs'; *čadē-ste* 'throws in wrestling'; *košē* 'seeks'; *loynē* 'lies down'; *rukūšē*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 124.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 47 and 47.

'creeps'; *iculē* 'throws'; *waxšē* 'grows'; *šibē* 'rises'; *šūroxē* 'shies'  
 Z *nāmē* 'shows'; *pīi* 'rots'; *wurri* 'boils'; *zīi* 'is born'.

Some of these forms more or less probably go back to ancient forms in *-āyati* (or *-īyati*, *-ūyati*), cf. e.g. *wuzdē*, *zīi*, *xšī*, *pīi*, *nāmē* < *\*awa-snāyati*, *zāyaf(a)i*, *xšīyati*, *pūyati*, *nīmāyati*.

Many others are secondary formations, and, on the other hand, several verbs of the first group originally belong to the *aya-* class. This is no doubt the case e.g. with *lāt*, *lēt* 'holds' and *wad* 'brings', which go back to *\*dārayati*, *\*upa-nayati*, with secondary transfer into the *-ati* class. Such transfer may account for the umlaut which appears in many cases. It is also worthy of note that the causatives in *-āw-*, *-ōw-* belong to the first group. This type of causative has been borrowed by various E. Ir. dialects under unknown conditions from Indo-Aryan, and we should expect that they should belong to the Y—M verbs with 3rd sg. *-ē*, *-i*. The existing type, Z *aydūd* 'dresses (somebody else)', etc., may be due to the influence of forms in original *\*-āpati*, such as *šuvd* and *perūd*. Note also the early lw. Z *giyēt* (from *giyōr-* 'to turn round', trans.).

M also possesses another type of causative, borrowed more recently from Prs., in *bičirōn-* 'to graze', *wurcōn-* (and *wurcōv-*) 'to boil', etc., cf. Y *yaltan-* 'to make fall'. Note the double caus. in G *doraw-āw-ān-* 'to terrify'.



## 230. Present.

			'I do'																	
			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													
			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													
			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													
			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													
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			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													
			Yg, u		Mm	Mt	Z													

231. The personal endings are in general clear. The 1st Sg. in *-am* is derived from *-ami*, the 1st Pl. *-am* from *-āmah*, etc. The 2nd Pl. has adopted the ancient pronominal suffix, probably in order to avoid phonetic confusion with the 3rd Sg. Cf. the similar development in Sgl.—Ishk. Regarding the 3rd Sg. see above. The forms given by Gauthiot as used by M settlers in Wakhan must be of Ishk. origin.

Quite irregular are the Khow. 3rd Sg. forms employed by Ysh: *lapoir* 'glitters'; *aizistai*, *aizisteste* 'bears' (Khow. *ažuran*). I do not know whether such forms are really current among some speakers of Yidgha.—Yg *kenalo* 'works' is a suspect form.

The Present or Aorist is used: a) As an indefinite Present.  
b) As a Future or Subjunctive.

Examples of a) are: *draxtē mūzet* 'the trees are shaking'; *wūi kit* 'the wind blows'; *tu ču žui* 'what do you say?'; *mo ādam nāyēn xut* (*yauyo šamd*) 'this man eats bread (drinks water)'; *nakoi ase tu?* 'why dost thou come?'; *mən larza kit* 'I am trembling'; *tū čopik kenē* 'you are lying'; *mo xap ēi kit?* 'why is he silent?'

Examples of b) are: *čir miš dīd čpāč asəm* 'I shall come back after four days'; *agar Xadai ču mašče vīi oyim rosīm* 'if God doesn't kill me, I shall go and arrive (here)'; *no xoi pūraf iulo ča avazəm-a?* 'shall I not bring a wife for my own son?'; *na-men del tā zo ayim* 'give me, that I may go'; *ico dārū na max del, max xōnam, na tō hūy dalem* 'give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give the price for it'; *na xāin no xuṛān čes, no-man ces dālem?* 'I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give him?'; *vo iulo vānem* 'I shall bring the wife'.

Regarding the use of the Aorist in commands see below § 234.

#### *Durative Present.*

232. A Durative Present is formed in Y by adding *-(ə)sta*, *-(e)ste* to the Aorist. Examples are: *zo hōr kənem-iste* 'I am working'; *yu maṛa hōr kit-iste* 'this man is working'; *ḡḡkiko niāsto, tāam kyet-ista*



'a woman is sitting and preparing food'; *xužbi nāyo-ist* 'it smells (*bū-iš mēāya*)'; *če xšāf-este?* 'what are you weeping over?'; *zə pərsəm-istə, lā-mən če defā* 'I am asking him not to fight against me'; *xoref-este, šamef-este, āydaḡ-este āyen daulet* 'you are eating, drinking and wearing his belongings'; *noyər ke dā Šoyor xšiyet-ste* 'he came out while they were weeping at Shoghor' (historical present); note also: *wos oyim-este sūharə* 'now I am going (: shall go) into the desert'. Cf. *užerəm-este* 'I am looking'; *šəm-este* 'I am speaking'; *oyim-ste* 'I am going'; *šafum-ste* 'I am chewing'; *xəfəm-ste* 'I am coughing'; *kōse-ste* 'thou art seeking'; *kenē-este* 'thou art digging'; *tra awā zyū-stə* 'is flying through the air'; *wəxšē-este* 'is growing'; *mərī-stə* 'is dying'; *naxči-stə* 'is dancing'; *kit-istə (kənaf-st)* 'is doing'.

The derivation of this suffix is uncertain. It is possible to think either of a form of the root *stā*, or of *asti*.

#### *Durative Preterite.*

233. A Durative Preterite is formed by adding *vio* 'was' to the Aorist. Thus e.g., *šfə də Draiūsə vio, muzdurī kyed-vio, wos ruxsat tāliyō* 'her husband was in Drosh; he was serving; now he has taken leave'; *max dārū kwosem-vio, č purviam* 'we were searching for the medicine'; but we did not find it'. Cf. LSI*m ze via* 'I was beating' corresponds in form to Y *zə xūben wīnem-este vio* 'I have been seeing a dream'. Cf. also LSIy *dil-vi-este* 'he used to give'.

#### *Imperative.*

234. The Imperative 2nd Sg. is usually identical with the Present stem. This first type is represented by: *as* 'come'; *kak* 'cook'; *užar* 'look'; *žib* 'rise'; *Mm niž* 'sit down'; *dāl* 'give'; *de(h)* 'beat'; *lār* 'hold'; *Y kən, Z ikən* 'do'; *ləyān* 'throw'; *ai, oi* 'go'; *škōr* 'seek'; *āwər* 'bring'; *xap* 'fell'; *šafau* 'kindle'.

This imperative evidently goes back to the ancient imperative in *-a*.

But besides *de(h)* we also find *dīa(h)*, *dea*, and besides *nīž* also *nīžā*. With many verbs this appears to be the regular form. Thus, e.g.: Y *nīā*, Z *nīya* 'enter'; Y *γur(v)ā*, Z *γirva* 'seize'; Y *sova* (but Z *sōw*) 'smear'; *žā* 'speak'; *zyūa* 'walk'; *dəfa* 'fight'; *taləwā* 'seek'; *isa* 'bring'; *vəna* 'lead'; Z *nīlva* 'sleep'; *pərsa* 'ask'; *yōn'g'a* 'grind'; LSly *mra* 'die', etc.

The distinction between suffixless imperatives and those in *-a* does not coincide with that between 3rd Sg.s in *-d/t* and *-ē*. And, besides, *-aya* could not result in *-a*. If we assume that the form in *-a* goes back to a subjunctive in *-āh*, we should expect *-o'* in Y and Mm. Is it possible that ancient *-a* in the imperative was lengthened in some verbs before the loss of final short vowels, but did not quite coalesce with ancient *-ā*?

Imperative 2nd Pl. ends in Y *-ē*, *-e*, probably < *-ayata* (*-ata* would coalesce with Pres. 3rd Sg. in *-atī*). Thus: *a'vrē*, *avāzē* 'bring'; *pərsē* 'ask'; *a'səf*, *nā-mən mūzdurə kə'nē* 'may you come (subj.) and take service (imper.) with me'; *xošanē kə'nē* 'make merry'; *mailis kene* 'assemble'; *nīžē* 'sit down'. The alternative imperative forms in *-ī* given by Z are no doubt really plurals.

Once *če defa* was translated by Prs. *jang na šawēd*, but the Prs. pl. is probably used by politeness. I do not know whether Mm *maf male nīžit* 'sit down here' is a correct and current form.

The Aorist is frequently used in (polite?) commands and interdictions. Thus: *ts ēi žūi* 'don't speak'; *tu čopik č-kēns* 'don't speak a lie (*na gu*)'; *bā nām-i-Xodā del, wačārum na-mən dālē* 'give in the name of God, may you give me alms'; *na-mən čī dālē* 'don't give me'; *a'səf, nā-mən mūzdurə kə'nē* 'come and take service with me'. Cf. the similar use of the Aorist in Prs. and in Par.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, *-e* in all dialects. Cf. § 198.

<sup>2</sup> HFL; I, p. 90.



## The Past Stem.

235. The Past Stems may be divided into two groups: A) Stems ending in a vowel or -y-. B) Stems ending in a consonant.

## Class A.

This group consists mainly of weak, regular stems in -i (y) (Z also -ay) and -ai (Z -ōy).

I, a): Ancient, in the modern language irregular, preterites in -i(y) are: *ḡi* 'beat' < \**jata*-; *lami* 'rubbed' < \**nimaḡita*-; *lii*, *liy* 'gave' < *dāta*-; *xṣi(y)* 'wept' < *xṣita*-; *vi* 'was' < *būta*-.

I, b): The majority of preterites in -i(y) goes back to original stems in -ita- or to borrowings from Prs. forms in -id. Thus, e.g.: Y *rosi*, Z *resiy* 'arrived'; Y *xadi*, Z *xādiy* 'laughed' (cf. Prs. *xandīd*); Y *tulī*, Z *telwiy* 'sought' (Prs. *talbīd*); Y *baṣṣi* 'divided'; Y *trēṣi* 'tied' (Prs. *taranīd*); Y *ḡibi* 'rose' (cf. Prs. *jumbīd*?).

Other examples are: Y *čadi* (*čad*-); *d<sup>u</sup>ruī* (*d<sup>u</sup>rou*-); *fərxi(y)*-; *fxati*- (*fxot*-); *kak<sup>u</sup>i*- (*kāk<sup>u</sup>*-); *maggi*- (*magy*-); *niṣai*- (*niṣāṣ*-); *nuvōṣi* (*nuvōṣ*-); *pəcəgi* (*pəcəg*-); *vizbi* (*vizb*-); *ḡimeṣi*- (*ḡimeṣ*-); *ḡūyi* (*ḡūy*-); cf. Z *durōy*, *fxatōy*, *kotōy*, etc.

Note *yoḡi* (*yoḡi*-) and *lōrei* (*lōri*-).

236. II, a): A few past stems in -ai, -ōy can be traced back to ancient participles in -āta-. Thus e.g.: Y *yāi*, Z *yōy* 'brought' < *yāta*-; *zənāi* 'bathed' (*zənay*-) < *snāta*-; Y *wuzdāi*, Z *wuznōy* 'washed' \**awa-snāta*-; Y *ustāi*, Z *wustōi* 'placed' (*wāst*-) < \**awa-stāta*-.

II, b). But the majority of Y past stems in -ai consists of secondary formations. Cf. e.g.: *urzai* (*urzu*-); *wurwōi* (*wurw*-); *ustuṣai* (*ustuṣ*-); *uṣinai* (*uṣun*-); *bidaway*, -ōy (*bidaw*-); *bohay* (*boh*-); *cēbai* (*cēb*-); *γəmilai* (*γənil*-); *kunāi* (*i*), Z *kūnōy* (*kun*-); *kuṣmāi* (*kuṣm*-); *k<sup>u</sup>irfai* (*k<sup>u</sup>irf*-); *lowai* (*lōw*-); *libai* (*lib*-); *pufai* (*puf*-); *tuydai* (*tuyd*-); *xofai* (*xof*-); *xuzdai* (*xuzd*-); *zōmai* (*zōm*-); *ḡirγai* (*ḡirγ*-); cf. Z *frisōy* (*fris*-); *kiraxōy* (*kirax*-), etc.

A remarkably great number of the verbs belonging to this group denote some kind of bodily movement or function.

237. III). The rest of the past stems in ancient vowel + *t* are: *ayoi* 'came' < \**āgata-* (*as-*); *loyoi* 'entered' < \**adi-gata-* (?); *šūi* 'went' < \**šuta-* (*oy-*); Z *zūi* 'bore' < \**zāta-*; M *læxy* 'winnowed' < \**dwata-* (Av. *bata-*) (*lovōn-*).

Cf. also *vōdi* 'warmed the hands' (*vōdō-*); *dri*, *drōy* 'poured out' (*dri-*).

### Class B.

238. Stems ending in a consonant in Y—M. They go back to ancient formations with a final consonant *t*.

I). Stems in *r*: Y *imur* 'counted' (*imar-*); *āver* 'brought' (*āver-*); *mur* (M *mur*) 'died' (*mār-*); *nəver* (M *nəver*) 'took out' (*nəver-*); *stār* (M *stōr*) 'swept' (*stōr-*); *škār* (M *škar*) 'sent' (*škōr-*); *xur* (M *xur*) 'ate' (*xār-*); *nəyor* (Z *nəyar*) 'went out'<sup>1</sup> (*nī-*); *užur* (M *wužir*) 'saw' (*užer-*); *kər* (M *kər*) 'did' (*kən-*); *yūr* (M *yūr*) 'ground' (*yān-*); Z *zvir* 'poured' (*zvar-*). Note that Z's *avər*, *mur*, and *nəyar* are at the same time preterite and present stems.

From *lār-* 'to hold'; *fār-* 'to seize'; *wār-* 'to separate'; *xar-*, *xōn-* 'to buy'; Z *giyōr-* 'to let pass', and *bispōr-* 'to entrust' the past stems are formed in *-t*, not in *-r*, *r*. Thus e.g.: *lat*, *fat*, *giyēt*, etc. With *lat* cf. Psht. *lāra*, f. *lārəla* < \**daritā-*.<sup>2</sup> Some of the forms may be recent formations with *t* < *r* + *t*, cf. § 124.

In *bār-* 'to fill' the past stem has been introduced into the present.

Quite irregular are Y *fōčir* 'clef' (*fōči-*) and *vrir* 'broke' (*vrī-*), cf. Mm *vrir*: *vriskʷ*, Z *vrir*: *vrir*. Original \**braiša-*: \**brīšta-* should regularly result in \**vrī*: M *vriskʷ*, Y \**vrīš*. From *vriskʷ*, etc. was formed a new present *vrir* after the analogy of M *giyēr*: *giyāškʷ*, etc., and then again a new preterite Y \**vrir*, M *vrir*. Finally the two dialects made a different selection among the available forms (but Bidd. has '*vrīšča*' = \**vrīšča*):

Y *vrī(y)*: Mm *vriskʷ*.

Mm, Z *vrir*: Y, Z *vrīr*.

<sup>1</sup> Transferred secondarily into this group.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, 212.



- 239 II) Stems in *l* (< *d*), *d* (< *nd*) and *h* have preterites in *st*. Thus:
- a) *zpast* 'fled' (*zpal-*); *wust* 'threw' (*wul-*); *rust* 'fled' (*lur* < *\*rül-*); *prist* 'sold' (*plār* < *\*präl-*); M *nuvōst* 'went to sleep' (*nōliv* < *\*nōvil-*).
  - b) *vāst* 'bound' (*vad-*); *ēast* 'threw over' (*ēad-*); *skōst* 'cut' (*skod-*); *xrist* 'shaved' (*xird-*, *xred-*); *āyōst* 'dressed' (*āyd-*).
  - c) *niāst* 'sat down' (*niž-*); *ēast* 'fell down' (Y *tiž-*, M *čiž-*).
  - d) *xāst* 'threshed' (*xā* < *xwah-*).
  - e) *pist* 'asked' (*prs-*) and *kist* 'searched for' (*kos-*) are secondary formations.<sup>1</sup> Note (*i*)*što*, *šta* 'said' < *\*jasta-*.<sup>2</sup>

240. III) Past stems in Y *šē*, M *šē<sup>y</sup>* are formed from roots in *š*, *r* (< *rt*), *l* (< *rd*), *rz*, *rd*, etc. With the exception of *mašē*, *mōšk<sup>y</sup>* 'killed' (*maz-*) all roots in *z* have given up their phonetically regular preterites in favour of forms in *zd*, e.g. *wīzd* 'spread'; *dīzd* 'buried'; *yazd* 'ran'; *mīzd* 'urinated'; *nerīzd* 'licked'; *avazd* 'brought'; Z *nuyēzd* 'swallowed'. Evidently the phonetic difference between *z* and *šē* has become too great to permit the morphonologic relation to be kept up. Note also the recent formations of the type Y *nišāžī*, M *nījašt* 'showed', *nuvōši* 'combed', etc.

a) *nuvišē* 'combed' (*nuvōš-*); *xīšē*, *xīšk<sup>y</sup>* 'pulled' (*xoš-*); *pašē* 'dug' (*paš-*); *dīšē* 'knew' (*dīš-*); M *nuvišk<sup>y</sup>* (Y *nuūxt*, Z *nēuūxt*) 'wrote' (*nuviš-*). From roots in ancient *š*: *nəyūšē*, *nəyūšk<sup>y</sup>* 'heard' (*nəyūy-*); *fərmīšē*, *fərmīšk<sup>y</sup>* 'forgot' (*fərmou-*).

b) *wuščē*, *wušk* 'knitted' (*wor-*); *piščē*, *pišk<sup>y</sup>* 'farted' (*pil-*); *pōlišē* 'folded up' (*pōlarz-*); *goščē*, *gašk<sup>y</sup>* 'passed' (*gord-*, lw.); *pōtiščē* 'broke' (from a lost present *\*pōtil-*).

c) From roots in *r*, after the analogy of Prs.: *g<sup>y</sup>ēščē*, *g<sup>y</sup>yašk<sup>y</sup>* 'passed' (*g<sup>y</sup>ēr-*, lw.); *kīščē*, *kīšk<sup>y</sup>* 'ploughed' (*kār-*, lw.); *uštūščē* 'jumped' (*uštur-*, from Khov.).

Note *liščē* 'saw' < *dōrōšta-*.

As may be seen above, roots in *l* may form their preterite either in *st*, or in *šē*, *šē<sup>y</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> *\*piščē* < *\*pršta-* would have coalesced with the preterite of *pil-*, cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS, VII, 119.

241. IV) Roots in *-v* and *-b* have past stems in *vd* from *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *nīvd* 'rained' (*nov-*); *rīvd* 'barked' (*rov-*); *šuvd* 'sucked' (*šuv-*); *drūd* 'danced' (*drūv-*); M *γ<sup>2</sup>rūvd*, *γ<sup>2</sup>rīvd* 'seized' (*γ<sup>2</sup>rv-*);<sup>1</sup> *γīvd* 'spun' (*γīv-*); Z *cəvd* 'picked' (*cəb-*); Z *wəzīvd* (Y *vēzbi*) 'tightened' (*wəzīb-*, *vēzīb-*), etc.

This type of preterites is also formed from causatives in *-ā(w)-*, *-ōw* and some other verbs in *w < v*. E.g.: Y *aydāvd*, Z *aydēvd* 'dressed (somebody else)'; *gībēvd* 'destroyed'; *səvd*, *sēvd* 'smeared' (*sāu-*), etc.

We find *xəvd* 'descended' (*xafs-*), but roots in *-f* have secondary past stems in *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *wəft* 'wove' (*wāf-*); *dəft* 'fought'; *xīft* 'coughed', etc. Note the introduction of the past stem into the present of *šīft* 'to plaster'.

In some cases roots in labials have weak preterites. Thus, e.g.: *xəfāi* 'coughed'; *k<sup>2</sup>īrfāi* 'sneezed'; *yufāi* 'blowed'; *libāi* 'carded'; *šībī* 'rose'; *cəbāi* 'picked'; *vēzbi* 'tightened' (but cf. above).

242. V) Roots in *ž*, *xš* and *γ* have past stems in *γd < xt*. Thus: *awəγd* 'hung up' (*awāž-*); Y *trəγd*, M *trəγd* (Y also *trēžī*) 'tied' (*trāž-*); *təγd*<sup>2</sup> 'cut' (*tīž-*); *luγd* 'milked' (*lūž-*); *muγd* 'moved' (*mūž-*); Z *wuγd* 'found place' (*wuž-*); *baγd* (and *baxšī*) 'divided' (*baxš-*); *vədayd* 'mixed' (*vəday-*); *zuγd* 'took' (*zuy-*).

From roots in *x(s)* we find new formations in *xt*: *yuxt* 'heard' (*yuxs-*); *š<sup>2</sup>rox* 'shied' (*š<sup>2</sup>rox-*). Note *wəxč* (?) 'grew' and *vrexč* 'fried' from *wəxš*, *vroč*, possibly with *xč < \*xšč < \*xšt*?

243. VI) Among the numerous roots in nasals only *lēmōn-* 'to rub'; *l<sup>2</sup>vōn-* 'to winnow' and Z *fīršōn-* 'to shake' have retained their preterites in original *-ata*: *ləmī*; M *l<sup>2</sup>etay*, but Y *ləbad*; and *fīršəy*.

All other verbs in nasals have had their past stems re-formed with *n + t > (n)d*.<sup>3</sup> Examples of forms in *-(n)d* are: Y *ləbad* 'winnowed' (*ləbān-*); *l<sup>2</sup>γad* (M *l<sup>2</sup>γēnd*) 'threw away' (*l<sup>2</sup>γan-*); *vəzad* (Mm also *vəzēnd* 'recognized' (*vəzān-*); *ušād* 'churned' (*ušān-*); *yuvcat*

<sup>1</sup> But Y *γur*: *γurd* (Yzh also *γurīvd*).

<sup>2</sup> From which a secondary pres. *tuγd* 'to shave'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *kəd* 'dug' < \**kanita*, cf. above § 238 reg. \**darita*.



'loosened' (*yucan-*); *wiet* 'loosened' (*wien-*); *xō't, xat* 'bought' (*xō'n-, xar-*); *ləyod* 'fell asleep' (*ləyn-*).

The causatives in *-ān-, -ōn* have preterites of a recent formation in *-nd*, e.g.: *γaltand* 'rolled'; *bičirēnd* 'grazed', cf. *vəzēnd, l'γēnd* above.

Verbs in *-m* have past stems in *nd*, or still more recent ones in *md*. Thus: *vriṇd* 'stood' (*vriēm-*); *pižānd* 'entrusted' (*pižām-*); *šamd* 'drunk' (*šam-*); *rīmd* 'pleased' (*rīm-*); *ptṛamd* 'seized'. Z *frakēvd* 'gargled' (*frakōn-*) is irregular. Reg. Y *yāg<sup>vi</sup>i*, Z *yēn'g* 'ground' (but Yr *yir*, Mt *yūr*) from *yān-*, cf. above § 327.

### Preterite.

244. While M has preserved the distinction between the inflexion of transitive and intransitive preterites, Y has generalized the transitive endings. The result is that Y has established a system with two sets of personal suffixes, one for the present and one for the past tenses. But even in M the purely passive construction of the transitive preterite has been given up through the introduction of the accusative as the case of the object in such sentences, and through the partial adjustment between transitive and intransitive endings. Note also the incipient use of the nominative instead of the agent as a subject of a transitive preterite.<sup>1</sup> The tendency towards the dissolution of the ancient system has probably spread from Prs. to M and from Khw. to Y.

The intr. suffixes of the preterite in M are identical with those of the present except in the 3rd sg. In the trans. the 2nd sg., and, acc. to Zar. p. 118, also the 1st sg. have special forms.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1st sg. the ancient pronominal suffix and the auxiliary have been amalgamated, and this fusion has led to the introduction of *-m* also in the 1st pl. pret. of trans. verbs instead of *-n*, which is preserved in Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and Sar.

The 2nd sg. pret. trans. (Y also intrans.) in *-t* contains the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 211.

<sup>2</sup> Pres. and Trans. Pret. 1st sg. *-u/om*, Intrans. Pret. *-am*.

pronominal suffix in a form which points to its preservation as a separate word till a comparatively recent date.<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd pl. the trans. suffix in *-f* has been generalized not only in the pret. of intrans. verbs but also in the present.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the development of the pronominal suffix 2 pl., Av. *vō*, into Y—M *-f*, Sgl. *-f*, *-v*, Wkh., Sar. *-v*, Sogd. *-β* cf. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd., I, p. 121.

Finally, as a result of this partial fusion of trans. and intrans. suffixes, the intrans. 3rd pl. in *-et*, *-at* was introduced also into the transitives.

In the 3rd sg. we find, besides the expected suffixless form, also one ending in *-o*, *-a*. Thus, e.g.: Y *lišē* 'he saw'; *yurd* 'he seized'; *kər* 'he did'; *vrōft* 'he flew'; *avər* 'he brought'; *vət* 'he brought'; *loyoi* 'he entered'; *xavd* 'he descended', etc. But: *līo* 'he gave'; *pisto* 'he asked'; *što* 'he said'; *fāto* 'he seized'; *šīyo* 'he beat'; *nīdo* 'it rained'; *resio* 'he arrived'; *drīo* 'he poured'; *mardo* 'he measured', etc. Note *niāst* and *niāsto* 'sat down'; *lat* and *lāto* 'held'; Y *mər* and M *muro* 'died'.

I have not been able to detect any difference in the use of these forms, nor any phonetic factors conditioning the presence or absence of *-o*. In one or two cases, however, Y *niāst* seems to mean 'sat down' and *niāsto* 'was seated'. But no such distinction can be traced in other verbs, nor is it possible always to take the forms in *-o* to be perfects.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the other hand, Sgl. *-ō*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 230 sq. [In the present *-f* < *-v* is probably derived from the 2nd pl. medium *-diem*. Cf. Par. *-ōr*, *-ēr*, and Khwarizmī (acc. to Henning) *-fi*. — Corr. note.]



## 245. Intransitives.

'I was'		'I went, became'			'I came'		'I sat down'	
Yr	Mm	LSIm, Z	Yzh	Mm	LSIm	Yzh	Yzh	
1 Sg. <i>viem</i>		<i>viam</i>	<i>som</i> (r <i>siyem</i> )	<i>siam</i>	<i>siam</i>	<i>ā yōm</i>	<i>niāstēm</i>	
2 „ <i>viēt</i>		<i>viāi</i>	<i>sūit</i> (p <i>siyit</i> )		<i>siai</i>	<i>ā yōgit</i>		
3 „ <i>viō</i>	<i>vio</i>	<i>viā</i>	<i>sūi</i>	<i>sūi</i>	<i>soi</i>	<i>ā yōi</i>	<i>niāst</i>	
1 Pl. <i>viem</i>		<i>viam</i>	<i>som</i>		<i>siam</i>	<i>ā yom</i>		
2 „ <i>viēf</i>		<i>viāf</i>	<i>sōf</i>		<i>siaf</i>	<i>ā yof</i>		
3 „ <i>viēt</i>	<i>viāt</i>	<i>viāt</i>	<i>kut</i>		<i>siaf</i>	<i>ā yot</i>	<i>niāstet</i>	

## 246. Transitives.

'I brought'		'I gave'		'I did'		'I saw'	
Y	Y	Y	Mm	Y	Y	Y	Y
1 Sg. <i>kim zh, g, žim sh</i>	<i>vōdem</i>	<i>tim</i>	<i>tiyom</i>	<i>kōrēm</i>	<i>lišēm</i>	<i>lišēm</i>	
2 „ <i>kiāt sh, žiāt g, žiāt r</i>	<i>vōdet</i>			<i>kōret</i>	<i>lišūt</i>	<i>lišūt</i>	
3 „ <i>žiyjo</i>	<i>vēt</i>	<i>tio</i>	<i>tio</i>	<i>kōr</i>	<i>liše</i>	<i>liše</i>	
1 Pl. <i>žiem</i>							
2 „ <i>žiaf</i>	<i>vōdet</i>	<i>tōt</i>		<i>kōret</i>			
3 „ <i>žiet sh, žit g</i>							

The preterite is not infrequently used as a *futurum exactum*. Thus, e.g.: *Ysh wōs ke šūt, tro kyēi kəlo ōyōit* 'when thou now hast gone and have entered into the house, . . .'

247.

*Imperfect.*

'I was beating'

	Yg	Biddulph
1 Sg.	šim-stəm	šierm-stem
2 "	šit-stet	šit-stet
3 "	ši-što	šier-sto
1 Pl.	šiem-štəm	šier-stəm
2 "	šief-štef	šief-stef
3 "	šit-stet	šiet-stet

Cf. also Yr 1 sg. *šiem-ištəm* and 2 pl. *šief-ištəf*. Examples of the use of these forms are: *zo vətō šiem-ištəm 'mā tāna zadam'*; *mōx vōmən šief-ištəf 'šumā māna zadin'*; *mən vto šim-stəm, tō vōmən šit-stet, māf vōmən šief-štef*, etc.

Unfortunately I did not succeed in securing a complete and wholly certain paradigm of this tense. It is scarcely probable that forms in *st* and in *št* are parts of the same paradigm, as asserted by Yg, and apparently we have to do with two different tenses, although the material does not permit us to distinguish between them.

In Biddulph's paradigm "*er*" probably represents *ē*, and *m* has been dropped in the 1st pl.

The forms in *st* are probably connected with those of the Durative Present mentioned above § 232.<sup>1</sup> *št* can hardly be compared with Sogd. *'štn*, Yaghn. *-išt*,<sup>2</sup> as ancient *št* should regularly result in Y *šē*.

None of these forms are known from M.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *šit-stet* for *\*šit-st < jata + tai + asti?*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 39.

11 - Kulturforskning.



## Perfect.

248. Just as is the case in most other Ir. languages the Perfect in Y is based upon the Past Participle enlarged by *-ka*.

## Intransitives.

	'I have sat down'	'I have become tired'	'I have become hungry'	'I have become'
	(= 'I am sitting')	(= 'I am tired')	(= 'I am hungry')	
	Yzh	Yr	Yzh	Yzh
1 Sg.	<i>niastəyəm</i>	<i>u'zəyəm</i>	<i>wušiaday-əm</i>	<i>šuyəm</i>
2 "		<i>uzäeyet</i>	— -ət	
3 "	<i>niästo</i>			<i>šüi</i>
1 Pl.			— -am	
2 "			— -əf	<i>šuyəf</i>
3 "	<i>niästi</i>			

## Transitives.

	'I have done'	'I have seized'		
	Y	Y	Y	Biddulph
1 Sg.	<i>kəryəm</i>	<i>yurdoym</i>	<i>žiyəm</i> 'I have beaten'	<i>žigəm</i>
2 "			<i>xuyet</i> 'thou hast eaten'	<i>žiget</i>
3 "	<i>kəro</i>	<i>yurdo</i>		<i>žī</i>
1 Pl.				<i>žigəm</i>
2 "			<i>pərviaɣāf</i> 'you have found'	<i>žigəf</i>
3 "				<i>žīē</i>

249. Other examples are, e.g.: Ysh *x\*šovōyi mīx zo muzdura kəryəm* 'I have worked night and day'; mən *xis'mat ē-kəryəm* 'mā xis'mat na karda-im'; mən *uto žiyəm* 'I have beaten thee'; *štəyəm* 'gufla am'; *lišəyəm* 'I have seen'; *ayoi* 'he has come'; *pistəyəm* 'I have asked'; *ävreyəm* 'I have brought'; *xristəyəm* 'I have shaved'; *sčiyəm* 'I have slipped'; *šuyəm* 'I have become'; *barryəm* 'I have filled'; *fsaiyəm* 'I have risen'; *a'verē* 'he has(?) brought'; *škāre* 'he has(?) sent'; *pəciyyo, pəzgyō* 'has broken (*burrīda šud*)'.

Note Ysh *žinkiko* (*yū akābur*) *niāsto* 'a woman (an old man) is sitting', but *loh šināmī niāsti* (not \**niāstet*) 'two girls were sitting'. Apparently *niāsto* is construed as an adjective, not as a finite verb. Cf. Biddulph 3 pl. (trans.!) *žīē*.<sup>1</sup>

The only corresponding form heard in M was *līyūm* 'I have given', and acc. to LSI 'the Perfect tense is not used in M'. But acc. to Zar. the Perf. in M is formed with *-iyam*, *-əyəm*, e.g. *muriyam* 'I have died'; *nepiskəyəm* 'I have heard'.

### Pluperfect.

250. The Pluperfect is formed from the Perfect through the addition of *vio* 'was'. Thus, e.g.: *šīyəm vio*, *šuyūm vio* = Prs. \**zada-am būd*, \**šuda-am būd* instead of the existing Prs. form *zada*, *šuda būdam*. The Y paradigm is based upon the 3rd sg. *šūi vio* 'šuda būd', where the personal suffix was zero, and could be interpreted as belonging either to *šūi* or *vio*.

The following examples have been noted: Yg *žūyūm vio* 'I had sewn'; zo (*mən*) *v(ə)to šīyəm* 'I had beaten thee'; Yr *drəviyəm vio* 'I had feared'; Ysh *li vio* 'he had given'; *yauyo urwāi vio* 'the water had been boiling'; *ku šuyəf vio?* 'kujā rafta būdīd?' *mo žinkiko ayoji vio* 'this woman had come (*āmada būd*)'.

Note Mm *līyūm vīō* 'dāda būdam'.

### Various Modal Forms of the Verb.

251. A number of finite verbal forms have been noted, but so sporadically that it is only possible to label them quite provisionally. With all reserve they may be called respectively First Conditional, Second Conditional, Subjunctive, Potential and Concessive.

<sup>1</sup> But Ysh 'eulī *a'vāzde* 'he brought wives' (sg. 'eulo *a'vāzdo*) can hardly be a Perf.



*First Conditional.*

252. This form is based upon the Perfect, to which has been added the particle *va* (< \**bawāt*?).<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *Ysh wos a'γōi, wo mən daw'let lišēi-va* 'if he should come now, he would see my wealth'; *yō vira mən šifien kə vī-va, xoyo a'γōi-va* 'if this burden were my husband's, he would have come himself'; *wos ke mən šifə a'γōi-va, lišē-va wo mind ābādief* 'if (or 'that') my husband should come now and should see these cultivated fields, . . . '.

Cf. LSIy *kerrem-va* 'I would have done'; *baryum-va* 'I would have been satisfied'; LSIIm *yikeriam-wa* 'we would have made'; *xūriem-wa* 'we should have eaten'.

*Second Conditional.*

253. This form is also based upon the Perfect, but the particle added is *vīi* (cf. Anc. Prs. *biyā*?). Cf. Par. *kurō bē*, etc., IIFL, I, p. 101.

Thus, e.g., *Ysh agar Xadāi ēv mašče vīi, oyīm* 'If God should not kill me (*kušta bāšad*),<sup>2</sup> I shall come'; *amax tad zindo vīi, ēn muro vīi* 'our father may be alive, he may not be dead, . . .'; *šūi vī, ē' dalen ēpāc āy'ōi* he might have gone away, etc.<sup>3</sup>

*Subjunctive.*

254. We also find *vīi* 'bāšad' alone as an equivalent of *fərme* in *Ysh*: *agar 'štyot ki kimat vīi* (or *fərmə*), *ē-pərviam* 'even if—they said—the price might be (with us), we have not got it' (?). Regarding *fərme* (< Prs. *farmāy*) v. Voc. s.v. It appears to form a kind of Subjunctive in LSIIm *ze ferme ki duhum* 'I may beat'; cf. *Ysh woko cəs kimat fərmə?* 'what may be the price (here?)?' *moi koi-kān fər'ma, kōi yurdo fər'ma?* 'az ki bāšad, ki girifta bāšad?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of this particle in forming indefinite pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. the use of the Past as a Futurum Exactum, see § 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Texts, 39.

*Concessive.*

255. This label may provisorily be put upon the forms in *-yuz*: Ysh *li-yuz Parvardigār, mašču-yus Parvardigār, tu rastē xismat ken* 'may God give (thee wealth), or may he kill (thee, in any case) thou shalt serve him rightly'. It is possible that we ought to analyze *liy-uz, liy* being the Perfect; but *-uz* remains unexplained.

*Potential.*

256. Finally we may mention the forms in *baš*, e.g.: Yu *yasp yazevda baš* 'the horse could be made to run' (?); Ysh *vrūte žie baš* 'the moustache could be cut' (?); *žūya baš* 'it could be sewn'; cf. LSIy *men žia baš* 'I should (?) beat'; *risia-baš* 'may come'; *šuya baš* 'I should be'. This form, which is not found in M, is of Khov. origin. Cf. Khov. *žibiko baš neki* 'it is not to be eaten'; *aželi koriko baš* 'she is going to bear a child', etc. It can have nothing to do with Sgl. *buš*.

*Passive.*

257. The Passive is formed with *š-* (Prs. *šudan*) and the Perfect Ptc. Cf. Zar. p. 123, and LSI<sub>m</sub> *ze žia šiam*, LSIy *zo žia baš šom* 'I am beaten'.

*Interrogative Particle.*

258. In accordance with other Pamir and Dardic dialects<sup>1</sup> Y—M employs an interrogative particle *-ā*. Thus, e.g.: *tu Xodāyen bande ēeš<sup>9</sup>-a?* 'art thou not the slave of God?' *wo maṣa ko dārū avṣe, mōy-a* 'is this the man who brought the wealth?'. Cf. Voc. s.v. *-ā*.

The origin of this particle is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> And also Burushaski, cf. Lorimer, Grammar, §§ 147, 240.



## Nominal Forms of the Verb.

## Participles.

259. The Perfect Participle is formed from the Past Base by adding Y -o (*yurdo* 'seized'), M (Z) -igā, f. -igagā.<sup>1</sup> I have not come across any Present Participle.<sup>2</sup>

## Infinitive.

260. The most usual form of the Infinitive is formed by adding -ān to the Past Base. It may be derived from an ancient infinitive in -tanai, but more probably it is simply an oblique case of a verbal noun in \*-ta- or \*-ti-.

Examples are: Ysh šūi no tūliyān 'he went to seek (*talabistan*)'; no xu'rān na'yeŋ čēs, no āyṣstān pūšāk čēs 'there is no bread to eat and no clothes to put on'; yurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, yurd pušāk no āyṣstān 'he took food to eat and clothes to wear'; no no'ef no xu'rān čē astet 'they have nothing to eat'; niāst šo dukandaro muzdure kə'rā (= kə'rān?) 'he stayed with the shopkeeper in order to serve him'; Yu no tagbīr kə'rān šūi 'he went to make a plan'; cf. LSlm waīna neyer 'he went out (for) hunting'.

More dubious forms are: Ysh loyoda weaxt 'sleeping time (*xuflan*)'; wōs šibe tar oyem 'now I rise and go (: I go after rising?)'; cf. LSIy, m šia 'to beat'. Probably -a < -aka.

## Conjunctions.

ke 'that', etc.

261. Like Prs. *kī* (from which it is borrowed) and Par. *čē*<sup>3</sup> Y—M *ke* is used in manifold ways.

- a) In Substantive Clauses: Y 'to ke 'he said that'; tō čō šūi ke 'don't say that . . .'; ušūr kə yūi k'ei huro astet 'he saw that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Voc. s.v. *uṣṣīy*aday.

<sup>3</sup> HFL, I, p. 104.

his brother-in-law's house was there'; Mm *wužir dā kyoi kə jəhōn rūpāyo* 'he saw that there was much money in the house'.

But Ysh: *wos užerem-este, moi kyeyin dir šūi* 'now I see (that) . . .

- b) In Causal Clauses: Y *wos ālā kən, ke zo na-to tāt* 'now listen, because<sup>1</sup> I am thy father'; *mailis kene ke zo oim* 'make an assembly, because<sup>2</sup> I shall come'.
- c) In Final Clauses: Mm *kədo vā zəmīn ki yū l'vār noyor* 'he dug in the earth, so that a door appeared'.
- d) In Temporal Clauses: Ysh *kə āy'ōm* 'when I came'.
- e) In Conditional Clauses: Ysh *kə . . . ēpāč azəm* 'if I come back'; *xismat kə kəyet dā sālo* 'if thou servest for a year'.
- f) *ke* as a Relative Particle: Mm *jāi . . . ke yū wīya vā* 'a place where there was a willow'; Y *etš ke nā mun resi* 'whatever comes to me', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "as if I were"?

<sup>2</sup> Or: "in order that I may come"?



## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

### I.

(Ysh).

1. Žu'wān 'vīo, yū 'wulo 'vīo, loh 'pūrē vīet. 2. Žu'wān 'šūi no tūliyān, šūi tro 'šāhar, tro kī'yēf lo'γōi.

3. Lo'γōi dā 'kyēi, yū a'kābur ni'āsto; lo'γōi dā 'kyēi, sa'lām kər. 4. "Wā'lēkam wəsa'lām, āi žu'wān! Na 'koi ā'γōit?" 5. "Gadā'i tala'ūm, ba 'nām-e Xa'dā. Wa'čārum 'nā mən 'dēl!" 6. Wa'čārum na 'wən lī'o, na'yən na 'wən lī'o. 7. "Āi žu'wān" 'što. Žu'wānen 'što ke: 'Āi 'tāt, āi a'kābur, gab 'diah!"

8. Akābu'ren 'što ke: "Āi žu'wān, 'γūi 'lār, vo 'mən gap γu'rā! Wos 'ālē kēn, ke 'zo na 'to 'tāt, 'tū mən 'pūr, 'zo ftō nasi'āt ke'nēm. 9. Wōs ke šū'it, tro 'kyēi kə lo'γō'it': 'ba 'nām-e Xa'dā 'dēl, wa'čārum

### I.

(Ysh).

1. There was a young man, who had a wife and two sons. 2. The young man went begging, he went through the town and entered the houses.

3. He entered a house, (where) an old man was sitting. He entered the house and salaamed. 4. (The old man answered:) "And peace be with you, young man. What did you come for?" 5. "I am begging for alms in the name of God. Give me alms." 6. He gave him alms, and he gave him bread. 7. "Young man," he said. The young man said: "Father, grey-beard, please speak."

8. The grey-beard said: "Young man, listen and grasp my words. Now behave as if I were your father, and you were my son; I shall give you advice. 9. Now when you have gone (from here) and have

<sup>1</sup> Written *kə'lo-šy'o*.

na 'mən da'lē'. 10. Agar 'kōi ke li'ēt, 'yašē'; 'kōi ke 'ēi li'ēt, na 'xāyi ki'ō 'kit, 'wos 'ale 'kēn muz'durə kēn, gadā'i lə'yān, 'ēi telə'wā gadā'i, muz'durə kē<sup>a</sup>. 11. Wos ke šūt, no 'yū kua'tinen muz'durə kē<sup>a</sup>. 12. Dukan'dār fər'mē, kua'tin fər'mē; šə'lo 'won ai, muz'dur ken, ha'lāl muz'durə ken. 13. Žə xo<sup>a</sup>'in xušči'en xis'mat ken; agar 'riza 'vīo 'pūr' žā; 'agar də 'tō ba'rābar kə 'vīo 'vrai' žā, 'agar iž 'tō xušče 'vīo 'tād' žā. 14. Ha'lāl 'xismat ken, no xšo'vū xšo'vo 'če žā, xšo'vō tā 'miš xis'mat ken. 15. Xis'mat kə kə'ret da 'sālo, tē 'če 'žūi kə: 'Mən 'min xis'mat kə'rum'. 16. Čes kə Xədə'iye'n lio, do 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yo na 'to rə'sē. 17. Tē 'če žūi: 'Mən xis'mat 'č-kə'ryəm, ha'zār rupā'yī na 'mən 'ēi da'le. Da 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yī ro'sī'. 18. Agar da ha'zār 'miš yū 'surx 'pāisō rə'sī, tē 'ēi žūi: 'Āi Parvardi'gāra a'zawuy-em 'tū, 'mōzē-em 'tū, da'lē-em 'tū'. 19. Wos ha'lāl 'xis'mat ken, 'liyuz Parvardi'gār, maščuyuz Parvardi'gār, tu 'rastē xis'mat ken, xis'mat kə'ret."

entered a house, (then say:) 'Give in the name of God, may you give me alms.' 10. If somebody gives you<sup>1</sup> anything, it is well. If nobody gives you anything, (but) labours for himself, then you must act thus: Take service (with him) and give up begging; do not ask for alms, but take service. 11. Now when you have gone, take service with a rich man. 12. Let him be a shopkeeper, (or) let him be a rich man; go to him, and take service with him, lawful service. 13. Serve one older than yourself; if he is younger, call him 'son', if he is of equal (age) with you, call him 'brother', if he is elder than you, call him 'father'. 14. Do lawful service. Do not call the night 'night', but work by night and day. 15. When you have worked for a year, do not say: 'I have done so much work.' 16. If God gives anything, a thousand rupees will come to you in one day. 17. Do not say: 'I have done no work, please do not give me a thousand rupees; I have got a thousand rupees in one day.' 18. If you get one copper penny in a thousand days, do not say: 'O Creator, thou lettest me be born, thou killest me, and thou givest me (my reward?).' 19. Do now lawful service. (Whether) the Creator give (you a reward), (or) the Creator kill (you), you must serve righteously, (and) you (will have) served (truly).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 205. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 256.



20. Wo rux'sat šui, do xwoi kyēi rə'siy, wo xoi zəmonəf 'lišē, wo xoi 'wulo 'lišē. 21. Wo no 'wulo 'štō: "Ai 'wulo, zo a'im no muzdur'en". 22. Lo naha'ri no 'won 'kəp, 'yurd, ra'hi 'šui. 'Šui 'sahro, šui na Či'träyi, da Či'träyi rə'si.

24. Ni'äst šo dukan'darə muz'durə kə'rā. Yū 'sālā ni'äst, šəlo dukan'daren muz'durə kəp. 26. Xə'sə'vō tā 'miḡ nə 'pəč 'što, no 'yox 'što, no p'xuftəm 'što, no ušiyādəm 'što. 27. Wos 'što ke: "Ai dukan'dār, 'wo mən rux'sat ken, 'mun yū wu'lo a'stet, loh 'pūrē a'stet, no noōf no xu'rān 'čē a'stet, no n' āyə'stān 'čē a'stet, 'hāč 'kuči 'čēš. 28. Wo 'mən rux'sat kən, wa 'mən 'muz'durə 'na mən 'dəl, 'tā zo a'yim, kə mun zəmo'nak-k-ə' (?)<sup>1</sup> mun 'wulo šilo'xo šui 'vīo. Wos wa šui nə 'tat kyəyin-ā, da kyēi ži fərmi-ā?"

30. Dukan'darə(n) 'štō ke: "Ni'yā də kučio". 31. Nə'yoḡ do kučio. 32. Woz dukan'dār 'yurd yū a'lāno, nə'vur do kučio līe (līo?) nə žu'wānen. 33. Žu'wānen 'yurd, dukan'dār 'əpāč šui na du'kānen. 34. Žu'wānen wa a'lāno da 'lāst kəp 'fsāyo hu'ro.

20. He took leave and came to his own house, he saw his sons and his wife. 21. He said to his wife: "O my wife, I am going away to (seek) service. 22. (She) made two loaves for him; he took them and started off. 23. He went into the desert, he went to Chitral and arrived there.

24. He stayed with a shopkeeper in order to serve him. 25. He stayed one year with the shopkeeper and served him. 26. Night and day he did not say that it was hot, nor that it was cold, he did not say that he was tired or hungry. 27. Then (at last) he said: "O shopkeeper, give me leave, I have a wife and two sons; they have nothing to eat, nor anything to wear, they have nothing (at all). 28. Give me leave and give me my wages, that I may go, because my children and my wife have become destitute. 29. Now has she gone to her father's house? Or may it be that she is still (?) in (my) house?"

30. The shopkeeper said: "Go out into the street." 31. He went out into the street. 32. Then the shopkeeper took a pomegranate, brought it out into the street and gave it to the young man. 33. The young man took it, and the shopkeeper went back into the shop. 34. The young man put the pomegranate in his hand and stood up there.

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = u.

35. Išto kə: "Āi Xa'dāi, x<sup>u</sup>šo'vōyi miš zo muz'durə ku'γum, yū 'sālə 'sūi, ča'min ke'nəm? Nā mun yū a'lāno ro'se! 36. Āi Parvardi'gar, mun 'ces gu'nā, ces xatā'i, ces 'āib? Wo 'mun mal'min čə ke'nē-este?"

37. Wos 'γurd wa a'lāno, 'zlo da av'γuš, ra'hē sūi. 38. 'Sāhara sūi, sūi də Orγo'čo. 39. Yū 'maja ži da'len ā'γoi, 'guya da Dra'wuso 'vīo. 'Šūi vi, ži da'len ēpāč ā'γoi. 40. 'Woi ā'beli žoi 'lāmo v'et. 41. 'Wən čə'γūvd, 'što kə: "Āi žu'wān, tə na'γen xurjet-ā, 'yāxio xurjet-ā, kə to wos zamo'ne, wu'lo mal'min šilaxe sūi?"

42. No xur'ān na'γen 'čes, no ā'γə'stān pū'sāk čes. 'Tu ča'min wo xoi nafs ke'ne? Də a'ž'āl 'xabar 'čes-ā. 43. Yā pū'sāk škōr, yā na'γen škōr. Tu Xa'dāyen 'bandə 'čes'-a? Tu Pai'γumbaren 'ūmed 'čes'-a? Tu do'of 'xabar 'čes'-ā? 44. Agar 'što kə: 'Āi vrāi, wos 'gūya ken', o'γim-əstē 'sāharen, wo 'mən xuz'dāi, po yū 'hory dið, kə wa-ēpāč 'čir miš 'ēpāč asəm. 45. 'Čir miš 'dið 'ēpāč asəm.

35. He said: "O God, I have worked night and day, a year has gone. What shall I do? I receive a pomegranate (for wages)! 36. O Creator, what is my sin, what is my fault, what is my error? Why dost thou treat me thus?"

37. Then he took the pomegranate, put it into his lap, and went off. 38. He went into the desert, he went to Orguch<sup>1</sup> 39. A man came from below, as if he was [; had been] in Droah. He might have gone away, (and now) he came back from below. 40. They were both from one village. 41. He (who) returned, said: "Young man, have you eaten bread or ashes, since your children and your wife have now become so destitute? 42. They have neither food to eat, nor clothes to wear. How do you treat your own family?<sup>2</sup> Have you no news about your family? 43. Send them either clothes or food. Are you not the slave of God? Have you no hope in the Prophet? Have you no news about them? 44. If you say: 'O brother, do now thus,'<sup>3</sup> (you must know) that I am going into the desert, (somebody) has sent me<sup>4</sup> on a certain errand, from which (?) I shall come back after four days. 45. After

<sup>1</sup> I. e. to a place as far from his home as O. is from Chitral where the tale was told (some 5 miles).

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Your own soul.

<sup>3</sup> Pres.: āh ani kārī bukm.

<sup>4</sup> Pres.: mara raicdn karda ast.



Kə āγ<sup>o</sup>ōm ži 'mol v<sup>o</sup>ro, u xəo 'miḡ zə nə k<sup>o</sup>i'yeŋ asem. 46. 'Cis ke 'nā mun re'si, wo 'xoi (mən) 'muzdure γū'rum, a'səm nə kyē'yeŋ. Wos o'yim-əstē 'sāharo."

47. Wo a'lāno lio no 'maṛaken. Išto ke: "Tu wum i'sa no mən k<sup>o</sup>ēyeŋ, no mən 'zəmana'kef 'del. 48. Mun zamanakē<sup>1</sup> (da k<sup>o</sup>ēi) žē[t] kə: 'A'max 'taḡ 'zindo vii, ēu 'muṛo vii'; xu'sānē ke'net. 49. 'Zo əm o'yim, ro'səm; agar Xa'dāi ēu 'mašče vii, o'yim, ro'sim."

50. Wo a'lāno γurd, šōi sāaro, na Dra'uso šōi. 51. Wo 'yū 'maṛa āγōi wel'γōo. 'Šūi, pə Šəyo'yo no'γor. No'γor ke də Šəyo'yo xš'i'yet-ste. 52. Išto ke: "'Āi 'vrāi, čē 'xš'ief-este?". 53. "Agar nə max 'štet ki'o za'rūr 'šūi, 'xšiyem-esto no xoi zarūrien; ki tu ni'xā malo." 54. "Na maf 'ce za'rūr?". 55. 'Išto ke: "Āi vrāi, na max za'rūr šūi, kə 'magam max yū pād'sā astet, pād'sā lur'vū šūi. 56. 'Dir 'pād'sāan žo lura'yan 'kāγəz kəpo, 'škār-ən: 56. 'Āi ādamē<sup>2</sup>, agar

four days I shall come back. And when I have come<sup>3</sup> I shall come to (our) home six days later. 46. Whatever I get I shall take as my wages, and come to (our) home. Now I am going out into the desert."

47. He<sup>4</sup> gave the pomegranate to the man and said: "Take it to my house and give it to my boys. 48. My boys (in the house) will say: 'Our father must be alive and not dead;' and they will rejoice. 49. I shall also go and arrive there; if God does not kill (me), I shall go and arrive there."

50. He took the pomegranate and went out into the desert. He went to Drosh. 51. And the other man came up. He went and appeared at Shoghor.<sup>4</sup> He appeared there when they were lamenting at Shoghor. 52. He said: "O brethren, why are you weeping?" 53. "If it is necessary for us to speak,<sup>6</sup> we are weeping at our distress,<sup>6</sup> so that you must now stay here." 54. "What is your distress?" 55. They<sup>7</sup> said: "O brother, our distress is that we have a king, and he has fallen ill. 56. Another king has written a letter from afar and has sent it to us. 56. (Its contents are as follows): 'O men, if

<sup>1</sup> Prob. *okē* (pl.).

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: When I have come from here.

<sup>3</sup> The man who had served with the shopkeeper.

<sup>4</sup> Name of a village in Lutkoh.

<sup>5</sup> Pres.: *Agar ba mē gap zadan zarūr iuda ast.*

<sup>6</sup> *zarūri.*

<sup>7</sup> He (?).

pādsā i'ziko mu'ro, i'ziko va malk yu'ram; agar sa'har mu'ro, sa'har yu'ram.' 57. Wos a'max 'pādsā lər'wū šūi."

58. Wos yaspē ya'zəvdet, və'det 'sāro. A'nīməf su'wār šut val'γō, a'nīməf šet 'sāro. 59. Yū dām šūit, a'γōt əpāč, rə'siet hu'ro.

Marakā 'št'o: "Ku 'šuyəf vī'o?" 'Št'o: "Max dā'rū k'o'sem vīo. 'Drust malk 'nāse" nəvu'ram, č-pur'viam."

62. "Wokə cəs dā'rū vī'o, 'woko 'cəs 'kīmat vīi,<sup>1</sup> kə 'wōu č-pər'vīa'γāf?" 63. Agar 'št'ot ke: "Kīmat 'vīi, č-pər'vīam." 64. 'Št'o kə: "Wo dārū'i la mən astet." 65. Wōf 'št'ot: "Wō dā'rū na max del; 'max xō'nam, na'to 'hūy da'lem. Čan ke 'tū ke'nē 'hūy da'lem; čand kī'mat ke ke'nē, 'max wo 'yuram." 66. 'Štyo kə: "Zə da'lem no 'māf. Tārā'zū a'vrē, 'mām də tārā'zū."

(your) king dies to-night (?),<sup>2</sup> I shall seize the country to-night; if he dies to-morrow morning, I shall seize it then.' 57. Now our king has fallen ill."

58. Then they let their horses gallop,<sup>3</sup> and brought them down. Half the horsemen rode upwards and half of them rode downwards. 59. They suddenly went off, returned and arrived there.

60. The man said: "Where have you been?"<sup>4</sup> 61. They said: "We have been searching for some medicine. We have travelled all over the country,<sup>5</sup> but we have not found it."

62. (The man said:) "What was the medicine there,<sup>6</sup> and what might the price be, that you didn't get it?" 63. [If]<sup>7</sup> they said: "(Although) we may have the money to pay for it,<sup>8</sup> we have not got it."

64. He said: "I have got that medicine." 65. They said: "Give us the medicine; we shall buy it and give you money (for it). We shall give as much money as you demand, we shall take it for the price you fix." 66. He answered: "I shall give it to you. Bring some scales and let us weigh it."

<sup>1</sup> Or *ferma*.

<sup>2</sup> The construction is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *aspara davāndan*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuja rafta būdid* 'where had you gone'.

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: We have pulled it out completely (Prs. paraphrase: *sar-ba-sar gaštīm*).

<sup>6</sup> *woko*, Bad. Prs. *uko*.

<sup>7</sup> *Agar* seems superfluous. But cf. sentence 44.

<sup>8</sup> Translation uncertain. Cf. § 254.



67. A'vret, dri'et, mav'det. 68. Maṛa'ken da tāra'zū drī'o, mav'do, ba'rābar ǝi nōy'yor. 69. Wən 'st'o kə: "Yə to hūy kəb nō'yor, zo wo xoi dārūi ǝi dālem. 70. Wos oī<sup>h</sup>, am'boh māl a'vāl; zo wo xoi dārūi u'gah dālem."

71. Wōs šut, wo mālef a'vret, risə(v)det. Wo dārū lī'o. Yāt; wo dārū yāt, na pād'sān lī'et.

73. Pād'sā tāza šūi ba hokm-e Xa'dāysn. Ādamē xo'sān šut. "Wo maṛa drāi a'vāze." Wo maṛa və'det šəlo pād'sān. 75. Pād'sān pī'stō: "Wo maṛa 'ko dārū a'vret, 'mōy-a?" 76. Zōpa, būṭə lī'o; wōro lī'o, pīra'hān lī'o; kuṭ lī'o, ǝā'dur lī'o; dō yū bō'žei ašera'fī lī'et.

77. Tūrd wo 'maṛaken, vīrevdo, ra'he šūi. 78. A'γōi, rə'sēi, na xoi kyēin ǝūi, šūi n'ou maṛa 'kyēin. Šūi, lo'γoi da 'kyēi. 79. Wo vira la'yadə da 'kyēi: "Žinkī'ko", wo 'vira γu'ra<sup>h</sup>." 80. Žinkīko 'styo kə: "Ya ǝəs min vira? Yo 'vira 'kōi-kān?"

67. They brought (the scales), put (the money into them), and weighed it. 68. (Then) the man put (the medicine) into the scales, weighed it, but the weight did not come out as equal. 69. Then he said: "This money of yours<sup>1</sup> has come out (appeared) to be too little, I will not give you my medicine." 70. Go now, bring much money, then I shall give you my medicine at once."

71. Then they went, fetched the money<sup>2</sup> and brought it there. 72. He gave them the medicine. They took it; they took the medicine and gave it to the king.

73. By the command of God the king recovered, and the people rejoiced. 74. (The king said:) "Bring that man here." They brought him before the king. 75. The king asked: "Is this the very man who brought the medicine?" 76. He gave him clothes, boots, trousers, shirt, coat and turban, and they gave him gold-coins in a bag.

77. The man took it (all), loaded it (on his horse), and departed. 78. He came and arrived (at his village); he did not go to his own house, but he went to that man's house. He went there and entered into the house. 79. He threw down his burden in the house (and said): "Woman, take the burden." 80. The woman said: "What burden is this? Whose is this burden?"

<sup>1</sup> Sg. for pl.

<sup>2</sup> Or goods.

81. Wo maɾaken 'štə kə: "Yo 'vira ta-kan." 82. "Yo 'vira nā-mən 'kōi škār?" "Ta 'šifien 'škār." 83. "Wo mən 'šifien 'vira škār, 'xoyo 'kū 'šūi? Yo 'vira mən 'šifien 'čes, tu čə'pik kene." 84. Č<sup>a</sup> 'fxatiyo. "Yo 'vira mən 'šifien ke vi-va, 'xoyo aɣōi-va, tu čə'pik č-kēna." 85. O vira l<sup>a</sup>yado, 'šūi, 'štə kə: 86. "Yo 'vira ta 'šifien nā to škara. Yū a'lāno li viə, mən wo 'prəstəm, 'ɣurdum aš'ra'fi, wos a'vɾum na to. 87. 'Na tə trə lās kərum, zo 'oyim no xoi 'kyein." Šūi no xoi 'kyein.

88. Žiŋkiko u'zɾ 'yū miš, lo<sup>b</sup> miš, 'maɾaken dərak č-sūi. 89. Žiŋkiki (y)'nɣah žə aš'ra'fiəf yu t<sup>a</sup>rəft, 'yal no ba'zāren, 'lio da ba'zār, 'ɣurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, 'ɣurd pu'šak no āɣə'stān, a'vər no xoi 'kyein. 90. 'Sko yū aš'ra'fen 'mind dan'lat šūi.

91. "Wos na xa'in lə'zo kə'nium." 92. Wos 'xabar kər no āda'məf: "A'səf nā mən muz'durə kə'nē, no yu 'mišən 'pānj ru'pāya da'lam." 93. 'Adamē ā'ɣot, pər 'šət, 'ambo<sup>b</sup> ā'ɣot dəftəd də 'hōry. 94. Do

81. The man said: "This burden is yours." 81. "Who has sent me this burden?" „Your husband has sent it." 83. "Has my husband sent that bundle? Where has he gone himself? This bundle is not my husband's, you are lying." 84. She did not take it, (but said:) "If this burden had been my husband's, he would have come himself; do not tell lies." 85. The man threw down the bundle, went away and said: 86. "This bundle your husband has sent to you. He had given me a pomegranate, I sold it, got gold-coins (for it), and now I have brought them to you. 87. I have put them in your hand, and now I go home." And he went home.

88. The woman kept watch, one day, two days, but she did not catch sight of her husband. 89. Once the woman stole one of the pieces of gold, took it to the bazaar, sold it<sup>1</sup> there and brought food to eat and clothes to wear, and brought it all to her house. 90. Such riches came from one piece of gold.

91. (Then she thought:) "Now let me build a castle for myself." 92. Then she made known among the men: "Come and work for me, I shall give five rupees a day in wages." 93. The men went, they went in great numbers, many came and started working. 94. They

<sup>1</sup> Litt.: gave it.



'yū mæx xalās kə'ret, li'zo kə'ret, ta'yār šūi. 95. 'Bāya kə'ret, 'hargeno 'haule<sup>2</sup> pəzgi'et. Miwa'yē ž'et, gu'lē kšči'et.

96. 'Sāile šūi, 'žinkiki 'šte kə: "Ai darī'x, a'žəp 'sāile kə'γum.

97. 'Wos kə mən 'šife a'γōi-va, 'lišče-va wo 'mind ābādīaf. 98. 'Wos 'pāze ta'yār šūi, no 'xoi 'pūraf 'wulo 'čə avazəm-ā?"

99. 'Wulo a'vāzdo, no a'beli 'pūraf 'wuli a'vəzde, ni'āst sko dau'let; dau'let, pu'šak, na'γen bi'nās šūi. 100. 'Wōs xalās šūi, 'štyo kə: "Ai Xə'dāi, wo mən 'šife 'č-avazi-ā? 'Wos a'γōi, wo mən dau'let lišči-va."

101. 'Šfə də Dra'wusə vīō, muzdu'ri k'ed vīō, 'wos rux'sat tūli'yo.

102. "Wo mən 'muzdure del," išto, "tā zo o'im."

103. 'Yū piškō no 'won li'ō; 'γurd, ži'e de a'γus. 104. Ra'he šūi, da 'pādo a'γōi, žiyo čigāli, nə'vur mē'di. 105. 'Štyo kə: "Ai Xə'dāi, na xāin no xu'rān čəš, no 'man 'ces delum?" 106. 'furd, lə'γado da laxči'ō, 'drio tra šile, ra'he šūi.

finished it in one month, they built the castle, and it was ready (for use). 95. They laid out a garden and they made<sup>2</sup> a wall on all sides. They planted fruit-trees and sowed flowers.

96. It became a wonderful sight, and the woman said: "What a pity, I have prepared a wonderful sight. 97. Oh that my husband came, oh that he saw these cultivated fields! 98. Now it is all ready, should I not bring wives<sup>3</sup> for my sons?"

99. She brought wives,<sup>3</sup> she brought wives for both her sons, and she settled down with her wealth. Her wealth, her clothes and her food were copious. 100. Then it was finished and she said: "O God, why dost thou not bring my husband here? If he came now he would see my wealth."

101. (Meanwhile) her husband was in Drosh, he was working, and he asked for leave. 102. "Give me my wages," he said, "that I may go."

103. (His master) gave him a cat; he took it and put it in his lap. 104. He left, came out into the road, it scratched him with its claws, and he took it out.<sup>4</sup> 105. He said: "Oh God, I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give it?" 106. He took it, put it into a skin-bag, placed it on his shoulder, and went on.

<sup>1</sup> Or mēli?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s. v. *hargeno*.

<sup>3</sup> Litt.: a wife (: for each of them).

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: *az bayal ba-dar (šūn) kad*.

107. A'γōi da pādo, "u'sio kər. U žūr kə yū<sup>1</sup> k'ei huro astet. Šai, lo'γoi do k'ei. 108. U<sup>1</sup> žinkiko ni'āsto, t'ām k'et-isto. 109. Kər, nə'vur da ra'ža, 'bayd wo žie tro poš'kef, ta'yār kər, a'vər, us'tai no 'maraken da apir.

110. Wos pārye no'γoret, ā'γot no poš'ke. 111. Žio wōf, wos van šui da lax'čio 'nigio. Wo p'sko la-kər, fāto wo paryaf.

112. Žinkiko xalās šui, na'γen xupet. 113. "Šabaš," žinkiki štyō, "šabaš, wo 'mən xalās kəret! 114. Yo 'cas min žān'dar wo mən xalās kəret? 115. Wos wū' nā mun 'del, nā to 'hūy dā'lem."

116. Lio no 'wən, γūrd, fəcinəvdo. 117. Ā'γōi, yū bōžei aš'rafi a'vər, lio no 'maraken.

118. Maraken γūrd, vīrəvdo, ra'he šui. 119. Ā'γōi, rə'si də xoi k'ei. Lo'γoi də k'ei; u'žur kə yū žinkiko, loh šināmī ni'āsti.

120. Žinkiko: "Čai šam," pisto wo zin'ef: "Āi zə'nī, yo 'mara

107. When he came on the road, he became hungry and he saw that there was a house there. He went and entered the house. 108. A woman was sitting there, she was cooking food. 109. She prepared it, took it out on the platform, divided it and put it into the dishes, made it ready, brought it, and placed it before the man.

110. Then the mice came out and came to the dish. 111. He struck them; then he stretched out and opened the skin bag. He let out the cat, and it caught the mice.

112. The woman got rid of them, and they ate the food. 113. "Well done," said the woman, "well done. You have rid me of them. 114. What kind of animal is this? You have rid me (of the mice).<sup>2</sup> 115. Now give it to me, and I shall pay you for it."

116. He gave it to her, and she took it and hid it. 117. Then she came with a bag of gold-coins which she gave to the man.

118. The man took it, loaded it (on his horse), and went off. 119. He came (home), arrived at his own house, entered it, and saw one woman and two girls sitting there. 120. The woman (said to him:) "Drink tea," and she asked her daughters-in-law: "My daughters-in-

<sup>1</sup> In sandhi: *k'ei (y)ā*.

<sup>2</sup> One would expect *kər* 'it has'.



ž<sup>a</sup>kū wā'i pər'sə!" 121. Zi'nief pīs'tet: "Ä' tāt, tu ž<sup>a</sup>kū?" 122. "Äi 'luydeo, 'zo ž-im 'k'eyen. Mo 'k'ei mən-kān. 123. Zo šu'yum vī'o no muzdu'rīen; ža'hānd sāl sūi, wo ā'γ<sup>o</sup>m. 124. Yū wu'lo, lo<sup>b</sup> 'püre mən-kān-e 'molo 'vīet; wos a'γ<sup>o</sup>m no 'xoi k'eyen. 125. Wos uzerem-este, moi kyeyin dir sūi, wos 'bayake sūi. 126. Zo na'žan 'wīnum kə: 'Moi 'kōi-kān fər'ma, 'kōi 'γurdo fər'ma?' 127. Zə pər'səm-istə, 'lā-mən čə defə, zo 'xabar γurum."

128. Žiŋkiki na zən'ef 'sto: "Äi zə'nī, wāi pər'sə: Tu ž<sup>a</sup>kū sūi?" 129. Zənief pīs'tet. "Zə ži 'malen, ž-im k'eyen. 'Mun yū wu'lo, loh 'püre."

130. Wos žiŋkiki 'sto: "Ä' 'maja, to 'eas nām?" 131. Wo 'γoi nām lī'o, wo 'γoi 'pūrəf nām lī'o, wo 'γoi 'wule nām lī'o. 132. Žiŋkiki 'st'o kə: "Äi zə'nī, yo mun 'šifə. O<sup>th</sup>, wo mun 'pūrəf u'šāwa." 133. Wo 'pūrəf u'šavdet, ā'γot. 134. "Äi 'püre, 'mō a'maf tāt. 135. Mō dau'let kə as'tet, a'maf ta'ten. 136. Xorəf-este,

law, ask this man wherefrom he is." 121. The daughters-in-law asked: "O father, from where are you?" 122. (He answered:) "My daughters, I am from this house. This house is mine. 123. I had gone away to seek service; many years passed, and I came back. 124. I had a wife and two sons here; now I have come (back) to my own house. 125. Now I am looking about. There has been a change in this house,<sup>1</sup> it has become a garden. 126. Being unknown I see it (thinking:) 'Whose can this (house) be? Who can have bought it?' 127. I am asking; don't quarrel with me;<sup>2</sup> may I be informed."

128. The woman said to her daughters-in-law: "O daughters-in-law, ask him from where he has come." 129. The daughters-in-law asked him. (He answered:) "I am from here, from this house. I have a wife and two sons."

130. Then the woman said: "O man, what is your name?" 131. He told his name and told his sons' names, and his wife's name. 132. The woman said: "O daughters-in-law, this is my husband. Go and call my sons." 133. They called the sons, and they came. 134. (She said:) "My sons, this is your father. 135. This wealth which we have got, belongs to your father. 136. You are eating, drinking

<sup>1</sup> Translation uncertain. Litt.: (something) other has come to (?) this house.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: With my wish.

sāmeš-este, āydeš-este ā'yeŋ dau'let. 137. Wos lo 'yoi taten xo'sānē kə'ne! "

138. Xo'sāne k'et, bo<sup>b</sup> tpe dau'let, an'jām, sarfērā'ze; də 'yoi k'ei ni'astet. 139. Zo ā'γōm.

II.

(Yu).

Tu bi'land-a 'kūh bi'land.

Sul'tān ba'rāmad 'rū-i 'band.

Gūvd: "Dar ba'yal ēi 'dārī?"

"Ki'tāb-i 'pər ya'zal."

"Barār tā 'buxānim."

"Nə 'dārad 'sar n 'bar."

Qūm'qūm-i-fūxta,

har'dū 'ja'mālīs 'bāfta.

Qissa-i mā dūr-i<sup>1</sup> di'rāz

'sūfi'āra dar na'māz.<sup>2</sup>

and wearing his wealth. 137. Make now merry with your own father."

138. They made merry. There was great plenty of riches, clothes and ornaments. They settled down in their own house. 139. And I came here.

II

(Yu).

You are high, and the hill is high.

The king came out onto the dyke.<sup>3</sup>

He said: "What do you have in your lap?"

"A book full of songs."

"Bring them that I may read them."

"It has neither head nor tail."

(It is like) a ringdove's throat,

both its curls<sup>4</sup> are plaited.

My tale is far and long, for sūfis in prayer (?).

<sup>1</sup> Probably for dūr u.

<sup>2</sup> This introductory verse is in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> band for bām?

<sup>4</sup> jamāl-iš was explained by mūi 'hair'.



1. Yū 'ādamen 'xūben lišē: Imo'γō do 'urjug<sup>1</sup> suv'dō, mīra-'čām do 'čap suv'dō. 2. Wo 'qissa 'γurd, nē sāharen sūi, nē tag'bīr kə'rān sūi. 3. Šāhar bar šāhar, kūh bar kūh, bi'āban bar bi'āban, xi'āban bar xi'āban, 'pādsā-i bar'bād, 'xirman-i bi'bāt.

4. "Assalām alēkum." "Wa 'āliku salām." "Qissa γurdogum,<sup>2</sup> na tag'bīren o'im." 5. Yū galavān vi'ō, gālavānen vo naql 'γurd, sūi. 6. Šūi, da yū 'šāhar 'xavd, da yū ma'zīt sūi. 7. Da ma'zīt ni'āst. 8. Išto ke: "Hai da'rix! 'Wos či ilāj kenem? Zē da šeri'et mu'xālīšē.<sup>3</sup> Vo 'māl hāl lim nōn."

9. Yū 'pādsā 'pūr da ma'zīt lo'γoi, ū<sup>4</sup> wazīr luy'do da ma'zīt lo'γoi. 10. 'Pādsān 'pūr: "Ās, tā lūrōum." 11. Yū 'Mēy yasp, yū 'Wūi yasp. 12. "Zē vto lūrōum."

13. Vo 'yaspə pa'lān ži'ō. 14. (Skō) 'yū yasp 'pādsā pūr su'wār sūi, yū yasp wa'zīr luy'do su'wār sūi. 14. Šēt nē sāha'ren. Wa'zīr

1. A man had a dream. (He saw) the moon on his right shoulder and the sun on his left. 2. He took the tale with him, went to town to get an explanation. 3. He went through town after town, hill after hill, desert after desert, flower-garden after flower-garden, to the overthrown king, to the windless threshing floor.<sup>5</sup>

4. (Then he met a cowherd and said:) "Peace be with you." "And peace be with you." "I have brought a tale, and I go to find an explanation of it." 5. There was a cowherd, he took the tale and went off. 6. He went and descended into a town, he went into a mosque. 7. He sat down in the mosque. 8. Then he said: "Alas! What remedy shall I find? I am . . . (?)<sup>6</sup> in the law of Islam. I have given him my possessions."

9. Then a prince, and a vizier's daughter entered the mosque. 10. The prince (said to her): "Come, I will carry you off." 11. (He had) one horse (called) Cloud, and one horse (called) Wind.<sup>7</sup> 12. "I will carry you off."

13. Then he saddled his horses. 14. The prince rode one horse and the vizier's daughter the other. 14. They went into the town. The

<sup>1</sup> Or *urjug*?

<sup>2</sup> Or *γurdogum*?

<sup>3</sup> Read *kom*?

<sup>4</sup> = *yū*?

<sup>5</sup> Pres. formula.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of *muxālīšē* is unknown to me.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Parachi *A'ir* and *Tāphōne*, Tajiki *Abr* and *Bed*. V. HFL, I, 165.

luydo pādsā pūr pisto: "Mō čamīn žaya? 15. Yasp ya'zevda baš?"

16. Wo 'xap ke. 17. Wa'zīr 'luydo što: "Mo xap 'ēi kit?"

18. Šut da ū 'šahēr 'xavdet. 19. Nə 'pādsān nə salāmat šut, salām k'et. 20. Pādsān 'pūr vi'ō. 21. A'voi wo pisto: "Ku 'ēi?"

22. Wən 'što ke: "Wu'lo a'vezdam." 23. Mən 'što ke: "V'to xai v'ai 'yurdum." 24. 'Pādsā 'pūren no xoi k'ēyen a'vezdo.

25. Wo 'yūyen nām Zan'yulām vi'ō. 26. "No širen 'škūr ke'nam."

27. Wən 'što ke: "Tašē." 28. No žang'al'en šut, no širen škūr šut, vo šir māščet. 29. 'Pādsān 'pūren 'što ke: "Vo wulo v'e'nem."

30. 'Pādsān 'što ke: "Č-kir kənē, vo wulo žo wən čē 'vet kənē."

31. Wo 'wulo što: "Da Kun'jikaf oi! 32. Žē 'čirien vā čūrwakaf āvēr, ža a'mun vo 'gəl āvēr. Də 'bāy da-dram č-oi." 33. Wo 'što ke: "Bī'aql žinkiko! Də 'bāy 'ēi č-o'im?" 34. Də 'bāya šūi, lə'yot.

vizier's daughter asked the prince: "What kind of place is this? 15. Can the horse be galloped?"<sup>1</sup> 16. He kept silent. 17. Then the vizier's daughter said: "Why does he keep silent?"

18. They went and alighted in a town. 19. They went to salute the king; and they saluted him. 20. The king had a son. 21. He came and asked: "From where have you come?" 22. He<sup>2</sup> said: "I have brought my wife." 23. The other said: "I have taken you as my brother." 24. The prince<sup>3</sup> took them to his own house.

25. One of them<sup>4</sup> was called Zang-Ghulam. 26. (He said to his host:) "Let us hunt the lion." 27. The (second prince) said: "Very well" 28. They went to the forest and hunted the lion, and killed it. The (second) prince said (to his father): "Let me take his wife." The king said: "You cannot do it, you are not able to take his wife from him."

31. The wife said: "Go to Kunjikaf.<sup>5</sup> 32. Bring the unripe fruits from the apricot-trees and the flowers from the apple-tree. But don't enter the garden." 33. He answered: "Stupid woman! Why shouldn't I enter the garden?" 34. He went to the garden (of Kunjikaf) and entered it.

<sup>1</sup> Pers. paraphrase: *jāi xūb ast davāndan* 'is the place fit for making the horse run?'

<sup>2</sup> The first-mentioned prince.

<sup>3</sup> The second prince.

<sup>4</sup> The first-mentioned prince?

<sup>5</sup> A corruption of *Kōhikaf*, the Fairy-Mountain.



35. Hu'rō de 'baya barzange nā'yor, vo barzange 'mašē. 36. Vo 'ērief la 'pəp<sup>1</sup>kaf, la 'vorȳen 'yurd, ra'hā kər, 'šūi. 37. Parizāt nā'yor. 'Što: "Vo mun və'na." 38. Vo parizāt<sup>2</sup> su'wār kər, 'yurd, 'šūi.

39. Šūi, do xoi k'ei re'sio. 40. 'Pādsā 'pūren što: "Və to 'wulo 'vānem." 41. Vo<sup>3</sup> 'taten što ke: "Am'boh peže 'xap, la'žino 'deh, rūyun da burž deh, və la'žino žafa'ū." 42. Vo la'žino 'deft. 43. Pād'sān 'što: "Da āxerat žə mun 'taten 'xabar yu'ra." 44. Wo što ke: "To tat ta'zō<sup>4</sup> təndu'rust as'tet." 45. Pādsā 'guvd, xalās šūi. 46. Žə pād'sān vo wu'lo 'vət gala'vānen. 47. Gala'vānen 'ēir 'wulē šut.

48. Gala'vān wa'zir luydo do 'v'yuš žio, lo'yot. 49. Wa'zir luydo 'kōviyo gošč, na as'mine<sup>5</sup> šūi. 50. Da as'mino ča'tir vio, da ča'tir loh šināmi vi'et. 51. Wo žin'kiko da ča'tir šūi. 52. Išto ke: "Mailis kene, ke zə o'im, ke 'banda-i xāki aŋ'gāhi." 53. Lo gala'vānen

35. There, in the garden, an ogre appeared, but he killed it. 36. He picked apricots together with leaves and fruits,<sup>4</sup> started and left. 37. Then a fairy appeared and said: "Take me." 38. He made the fairy mount (his horse), seized her, and went off.

39. He went, and arrived home. 40. The prince said: "I shall bring your wife." 41. His father said: "Fell much timber, build a wood-pile, pour clarified butter over the tower, and set fire to the wood-pile." 42. The wood-pile took fire.<sup>5</sup> 43. The king said: "Get news about my father in the next world."<sup>6</sup> 44. He said: "Your father is sound and healthy." 45. The king caught fire, and was finished. 46. The cowherd took the king's wife. 47. The cowherd got four wives.

48. The shepherd took the vizier's daughter in his embrace and entered. 49. The vizier's daughter turned into a dove and rose to heaven. 50. There was a tent in heaven, and in the tent were two girls. 51. The woman went into the tent. 52. She said: "Make a feast, because I am coming, so as to awaken the slave of the earth."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *wo?*

<sup>2</sup> = *tazā u*.

<sup>3</sup> For *asmīno* with palatalization before *š*?

<sup>4</sup> Or 'foliage'?

<sup>5</sup> Uncertain translation.

<sup>6</sup> Or: in the end, at last.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. 'human being'?

dārū-i bihušī vi'ō. 54. Wo a'γoi, də k'ei rə'sio. 55. Gala'vānen išto ke: "Zə 'xūben 'winem-este vio. Do 'xūben ko'vīyo goščim." 56. Wo žiŋkiko vispač šui. 57. Wov loh žiŋkəf avezdo. 58. Šut, gala'vānen 'pānj 'wulə a'vezdo. 59. "Wo 'xūben ku liščut?" 60. Wən išto: "Imo'γō 'dum suvdo, mīra-čam 'dum suvdo, 'stāri po fiz žer šut."

### III.

(Yu).

1. 'Skandar pādšā nā 'tā-duni'ā šui. 2. Da 'zaγa šui, šela dar'yāhan lo'γot. 3. Yū kur'mo 'ptrəmdo. 4. 'Skandar pādšā vo kur'mo pis'to: "Čen-este?" 5. Kur'mo što: "Nā-mən yū až'der nər, va mun xut." . . . (Unfortunately the narrator was interrupted, and he left me without continuing the tale).

53. The cowherd had a narcotic drug. 54. He came and arrived in the house. 55. The cowherd said: "I have been seeing a dream. In the dream I turned into a dove." 56. The woman went back. 57. He brought those two women.<sup>1</sup> 58. They went; the cowherd (now) brought five wives. 59. (He asked): "Where did you see the dream?" 60. He answered: "I saw the moon on this shoulder, and the sun on that<sup>2</sup> one, and stars surrounded my breast."

### III.

(Yu).

1. King Alexander went to the Lower World. 2. He went to a place, and in the neighbourhood of a river he entered (the Lower World). 3. Then he caught a tortoise. 4. King Alexander asked the tortoise: "What are you doing?"<sup>3</sup> 5. The tortoise answered: "A dragon to me . . .,<sup>4</sup> it will eat me.

<sup>1</sup> Or: the two.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: 'on this one'.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. čika mēkini.

<sup>4</sup> nər? Meaning unknown.



## IV.

(Yr).

You ɣal'bīl kenəm; xosto lyadəm da xu'rum; ɣau vastəm; polmo  
 sūi; ɣau lo kərəm; wōu lə'badəm; xosto žə yo'wən wōdɣo sūi.  
 ɣal'bīl ɣūrdam; wōu ɣal'bīn<sup>1</sup> žiam; paz'γō sūi. Və 'yōu rās kərəm;  
 wo yōu da laxčief ɣurdam, driem da 'čəro.

## V.

(Yp).

Māmə<sup>2</sup> šəšo<sup>3</sup> do Warto da pe'žō  
 nuvə'rum vo kə'ro, tālum vo pə'žō.  
 Kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm;  
 ispač na dūlen zo ro'sum.

## IV.

(Yr).

I sift the barley; I put the straw on the threshing-floor; I harnessed  
 the ox; (the grain) became crushed;<sup>4</sup> I let the ox loose; I winnowed  
 the corn; the straw was separated from the barley(corn); I took the  
 sieve; I sifted the barley, it became clean. I heaped up the barley; I  
 took it in baskets and poured it into the store-room.

## V.

(Yp).

The old woman . . . is at the log in Wart.  
 I pulled out my knife, I whittle the log.  
 Wherever thou hast gone, I shall come,  
 I shall arrive behind the mill-hopper.

<sup>1</sup> wōu = vo you? ɣalbīn for ɣalbīl.

<sup>2</sup> Expl. *kamptr* 'old woman'.

<sup>3</sup> Expl. *nām na dārad, hamtari yak-gap ast, mā ba tū āteq tudam*. "it has no  
 name (meaning?); a word is like that. I fell in love with you." I can make  
 nothing out of this explanation.

<sup>4</sup> Litt. "soft".

## VI.

Šāl'xān zax'mo Ov'xizo,  
 Mästiko 'pälef 'dizo.  
 Šāl'xān šui di'ärē  
 Mästiko šui xi'älē.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. Vio yū ā'dam. Wo 'hādamen lu 'luydi vīat. 2. Jə'hōn ā'jiz ādam 'vīo, bī'čāra. 3. Yu čad 'mixi 'gyašk'at, guzarān 'či šui. 4. Və 'luydaf yu'ruvd, ba'dār šui, jo'hōn 'jāi šui, ke yū 'wiya vīo. 5. 'Ūra ni'āst, və 'luydaf 'šta kə: "Maf 'male 'ni'xit,<sup>1</sup> za da 'sāh'ro ayum, 'bada hasum." 6. Mə šui, šui-u 'či a'voi. 7. Mai 'luydi ni'āstat 'wuro, 'woxrōgi, 'uē ku 'či vīo. 8. Bad žo 'wan wo yuk'e'gin

## VI.

Shālkhan<sup>2</sup> is wounded in Ovkhizo,  
 Mastiko<sup>3</sup> is squatting.  
 Shālkhan is looking about,  
 Mastiko is thinking.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. There was a man who had two daughters. 2. The man was very poor and destitute. 3. Some days passed, and he had nothing to live on. 4. Then he took his daughters and went away; he went to a very (far off?)<sup>4</sup> place where there was a willow. 5. He sat down there and said to his daughters: "Sit you down here, I shall go out into the desert and then come back." 6. He went away, went and did not come (back). 7. The daughters sat down there, they were hungry and had nothing. 8. After that one of them dug in the earth, (with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 234.<sup>2</sup> Sher Khān?<sup>3</sup> His wife.<sup>4</sup> Or: to many places, in one of which there . . .



'k'edo və zə'min, ki yū lə'vər no'yor. 9. šui da'rūn də k'oi. 10. Wu'zir də k'oi kə jə'hōn rūpā'yo. 11. Bād ni'āst 'wuro; wo au'qātis giyašk'.

*Variants of Gramophone Text.*

1. 'ādamen, vī'āt. 4. ba'dār 'šū, k'yū. 5. 'šta, ni'xit, 'sāh're aṣayum (?), 'bāda. 7. uni'āta (?) woxrōgi. 8. bād žo, 'yukye'gin 'k'edo, k'yu lə'vor. 10. rūpā'yō. 11. 'bād.

the result) that a door became visible. 9. She went into a house. 10. She saw in the house that there were many rupees. 11. Afterwards she settled down there and found a livelihood.

## VOCABULARY

The words are arranged in order of their consonants, the vowels coming into consideration only as a secondary factor. *y* and *z* are put after *n*. *š* has not been distinguished from *ʃ*, nor *q* from *k*. For words in *ʃst* etc. see *st*. Note *-ši*, *-ši*, not (with *Z*) *-šy*, etc.

Y(idgha) forms are placed before M(unjī) forms. Within Y preference is given to Yzh, in the second instance to Ysh, in M to Mm.—"Y" after a word means that it was noted in identical form from Yzh, sh (v. § 4) and two other informants.

Forms from Z(arubin) and G(authiot) are given for the sake of facilitating comparison; more rarely I quote B(iddulph) and M(ullah) F(aiz) B(akhsh) (= Shaw).—The Khovar translations given by my Y informants have in many cases been added, sometimes these Khov. words are dubious, or at any rate unknown from other sources.—"\*Prs." denotes that I do not know the word in question in the form or with the meaning given here.

The etymology of genuine Y—M words has been briefly indicated, even when known before, or obvious. Cognate words from Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and the Pamir dialects in general have been quoted more fully than such as belong to other Ir. languages. To a large extent I have, however, mentioned forms of interest from recently published material, and in some cases I have ventured upon etymological digressions at greater length. I believe in the usefulness of suggesting possibilities of derivation in a work of this kind, if only to stimulate other workers in the field to propose something better.

### Vowels.

ā Interrog. particle.—*no xoi pūrēf wulo*  
*ē avazm-ā?* Ysh shall I not bring  
 my sons a wife? *tə na'yin xoyet-ā?*  
 have you eaten bread? *yāxiō xoyet-a?*  
 have you eaten ashes? *wos wa šūi*  
*nə tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi šī fermi-ā?*

has she now gone to her father's  
 house, or is she in (my) house? *wə*  
*mən 'šifə 'ē-avazī-ā?* don't you bring  
 my husband? *tū hōr(y) kənē-a,*  
*ē-kənē-a?* Yg do you work, or not?  
*tū do'f 'xabar ēšū-a?* don't you



- know about them? Cf. Wkh., Khow., Burushaski *-a*, (Sgl. -i). The origin of this particle is unknown, v. § 258.
- āi*, *ai* Ysh, *hai* u, *ē* Z "O".—*āi žurān*, *āi parvardigūra*; *āi Xedāi* Ysh, *hai dariz* u. Prs.
- c* Ysh, u *izāfat*.—*ba nām-e Xadā*; *banda-e xākī* 'slave of the soil, human being'. Prs. V. § 213.
- u, *ə*<sup>m</sup> Ysh and. — *mən zomo'nakk ə<sup>m</sup> mən* 'wulō my son and my wife. Prs.
- ā'ib* Ysh fault. — *mən cēs ā'ib?* Ar-Prs.
- ābādī* Ysh, *ābād* G cultivated field, cultivation.—*līšā-va wə mind ābādīlef* if he saw these fields. Prs.
- ā'brū* *čog'gō* Ysh a kind of wild pear. < \**hamrūtā*; Z *amrūt* from Prs. *amrūt*. Cf. also Brahui *amrūt*, Shgh. *marōd*, etc.
- ā'būya* Yzh, *o'būa* p, *ābiy* M(g) moraine, 'aboy m. Z rock.—Cf. Ishk. Gr. *ambol* moraine, Sar. *amūt* hill (LSI). Poss. < \**ham-paišaka*, cf. Skr. *sampeṣa* pounding, crushing.
- āčar'dinē* Yzh, *əni* sh wedge for fastening the ploughshare to the plough. Khow. *āčārdīni*.—V. *yuvazgo*.
- īdā* m. Yzh, sh, *īda*, p, *īda*, *ī'dak* Z, *īda'ka* G slave; *īda* LSI m, *yuda* LSI boy.—*yo mən īda* this is my slave; *īda a'iztai* a boy is born. V. *īdiko*, *hadē*.
- ī'dou* m. Yzh, g, *io* sh, *yio* Mm, g, *ī'daw* Z, *yī'ddu*, *ya'ddā* G fever. — Cf. Khow. lw. *andāu*, Wkh. *andav* < \**han-tapak*, cf. Av. *han-tapta* hot, *tafnu* fever.
- ī'diko* f, Yzh, sh, *yudike* LSI slave girl. Cf. Psht. *īnga* female who accompanies a bride < \**uindg* + *ā* < \**han-takī*? V. *īda*.

*ā'damə*, v. *ha'damə*.

- ā'dəm* Yzh, r, *ā'dəm* sh, *ā'dəmə* g, *ā'dam* Mm, *ə*<sup>m</sup> g, *ā'dam* G, *ə*<sup>m</sup> Z man, homo.—Ysh *yo* (h) *adam*, *yēi adame* this man, these men; *ādame xō'kān šat* the men became happy; *āi ādamen* O men; *no āda'məf* to the men; *ye ādame ory knet* Yr these men are working; *yū ādamen xūben līš* Yu a man saw a dream; *vio yū ā'dam*, *wo hādamen lo* 'loydi vī'at Mm there was a man, the man had two daughters. *mo ā'dəm*, *myend ādame* Mm; *mə ā'dəm*, *myend ādami* Mg. — Ar-Prs.
- af'senə* Yzh, u, *yufse*<sup>m</sup> no Mm, *f'sēne* g, (g), *tī* whetstone.— < \**abi-sān(y)ā*, cf. Prs. *af'sān*, Wkh. *pisūn*, Sgl. *varīn*, Khow. lw. *u'sanu*.
- af'sinjo* Yzh, *af'sonja* Mti ladder.— < \**af'siŋgā* < \**af'siŋgā* < \**upa-* or \**abi-siŋnakā*? Cf. W. Oss. *asinā*, v. EVP p. 78 s.v. *šol*. Note also Tokh. *kliis* stair.
- af'srēnē* Yzh, *af'sor'nē* sh, *ə'ornə* r, *ə'ornə* g summer-wheat.— < \**upa-* (or *abi*?) *srdnaka*? V. §§ 127, 165.
- af'tōvo* Yr, *af'tōvoga* Mm bucket. Prs.
- ag'idro* Yzh, *ag'o* sh, r, g, *ag'lero* Mm, *ag'lera* t, *ag'lo* g, *ag'lirā* (g), *ə're* ti, *ag'l'ra* G grape.—Cf. Shgh., Prs. (as spoken by a Yarkand Turk) *angūrd*, Prs. *angurda* a single grape. Cf. § 127.
- u'gah* Ysh instantly, *hamī sāt*, *yak sāt*.— *zo wə xoi dāruī wə dalem* I shall give my medicine at once; *liŋkikī wə zə ašerafief yu Prəft* the woman instantly stole one of the gold-coins. — Prs. \**ū-gāh* = *ān gāh*.
- ag'mīn* Yzh, *ag'mīn* sh, r, *agr'mīn* g, *ag'mīn* Mm, G, *ag'mīn* Mg, *agibīn* B honey (Mm also 'bee'?).—Cf. Phl.

*angpên* (Frah. i Phl. *angmên*), Brahui *hangumên*, Psht. *gabîna*, Wanechi *angin*, etc. Not necessarily lw., as supposed by G and Horn s.v.—Prs. \**ang* bee (v. Horn), is supported by Kurd. *hang*, cf. Talish *bîzang* (*bîz* goat).—Transsyv. Gypsy *yahjin* honey may be an It. lw. V. *sât*.

*ag'mîn-kur'miki* pl. Ysh. *agi'men kurmiko* g bee. V. *ag'mîn*, *kurmiko*.

*ag'mîn'yêx* Yzh bee-hive. V. *yêxio*.

*d'gungv* Mm, *d'gunj* (g) dough.—< \**han-garšana*-. Cf. Psht. *āyafəl* to mix, knead (and Prs. *yurēnāk* a herb used in washing?). V. *lovaza*, *gūy*.

*agar* Ysh if.—*agar kâi ke liêt, yâšê* if somebody gives you, it is well; *agar rizo vîo* if he is small; *agar da hazâr miš yû surx pâisê vâst* if you get one copper coin in a thousand days; *agar îsto (îstov) ki* when he (they) said that . . . Prs.

*o'gušča* Y, *'āguškya* Mm, *'oguškyā* t, *'oguškva* g, *'oguškvā* (g), *o'guškya* ti, *'āgušk'a* Z, *ayūšk'va* (?) G *uguške* LSI'm finger.—Prs. *angušt*, etc. Cf. *coromî oguščiko*, *malanê oguščigo*.

*āyē* Yzh, r, sh, g, *āyost* zh, r, *āyust* sh, g, *'āyud* : *'āyust* Mm, *'a°* t, *ā°* Z to put on clothes, to dress oneself. — *āyēm* 1 sg., *āyē* 2, 3 sg. Yzh; *āyēfeste* 2 pl. sh, no *āyostān* inf. sh, *zōpō āyēm* r, *'āyudem* Mm, *ayudam*, *a'yustēm* Mt.—Cf. Psht. *āyustəl* to dress, E. Oss. *ayūd* cover, shell, Phl. Turf. *āyūst* bound, Skr. *gudh-* to conceal, bind (cf. Charpentier, Act. Or. VII, 181).

*aydā(w)* Yzh, sh, r; *ay'dāvd* sh, *āūd* r, *aydōv* : *aydēvd* Z, *aydar* LSI'y to dress (cans.).—*ay'dāum*, *ay'dāvdēm*.

*a'yām* Yp stubble.—Khow. *ayām* (Lor.) land specially kept for self-sown lucerne grass.

*d'yury* Yzh, *o°* sh, r, g, *ar'yūy* Mg, (g), *ēr°* t, *d'yurx* (sh), *ar'yūg* m, Z, *ōūk* G. *orgūh* B egg.—\**ā-gaura-*, cf. Rosh. (Lentz) *yur* egg. Skr. *gola(ka)* ball, glans penis? Cf. the following word.

*d'yurya* Yzh, *o'yakē* pl. sh, *o'yūryakō* r, *a'yōr°* g, *'yarkvo* Mm, *°kye* g scrotum.—Cf. Sgl. *yor*, Wkb. *yūr*, Shgh. *yarin*.

*o'yuzo* Yzh, sh, *°o* r, *o'yūzo* g, *'āyuzo* Mm, *'ōyuzā* g, *'ōyūsā* (g), *'āyūsā* f. Z walnut.—\**āgauzā-*, cf. Prs. *gūz*, Psht. *yūz*, *ūyā*, *yūoz*, Talish *vīz*, Maz *ayuz*, Hebr. lw. *ayōz*, etc.

*d'jiz* Mm poor.—*jā'hēm d'jiz 'ādam vîo*, *bī'cāra*. Ar.-Prs.

*u'kōb* Mm eagle (?). Ar.-Prs. V. *karyz*.

*a'kābur* Ysh old man, *a'kābur* Mm rich.

—*yū akābur niāsto 'yak mū-safid . . .*;

*a'kāburen 'isto* the old man said.—

Ar.-Prs. *akābir* pl. rich, powerful.

Also Khow. *akābir* old man.

*a'kadē* Yzh, sh, *°o* r, *°i* pl. g, *d'kodiy* Mm,

*'akondī* ti, *āk'ōndī* (g) thorn, bramble.

—Cf. Sgl. *kandāk*. Connection with

Skr. *kaṇṭa-* improb. V. *vury-ak'ōndī*.

*°kōk* M(g) groan.

*au'qāt* Mm, existence, condition.—*wo*

*a°-iš giyāšk'v 'guzarān-iš šūd*. Ar.-Prs.

*ālō* Ysh so much (?), *ōmtarikār* (?). —

*woš alō ken, ke zo na to lat 'now*

*do it in this way, because I am your*

*father (?)*; *woš alē 'kēm. muz'duro*

*kēm*.

*'ālū* Yzh, *'ālū* Mm plum. Prs.

*olo* Yzh there. — *olo dā' kyri 'd'amū xāna*. — Av. *avada*.

*ilāj* Yu remedy, medicine. — *woš ci ilāj kenem?* Ar.-Prs.



ālq Mt throat (interior), alqa Z. Ar.-  
Prs. V. *kāyko*, *stūya*.

a'lāno Yzh, sh pomegranate. — *dukan'dār*  
*yurd yū* a° the shopkeeper took a  
p.; *wo* a° *llo* no *maraken* he gave  
the man the p. — < \*ā-dānā, or  
\*ha-dānā, cf. Psht. *anang* (ouelink  
de Morgan), Afr. Psht. *nāngrōnsa*  
(‘p. tree’), Waz. Psht. *wōlang*, id.,  
Av. *hadānāš-patā*. (v. Tavadia,  
*Šāyast-nē-Šāyast*, p. 133). Prs. *anār*,  
*rānā* can scarcely be a dialect form  
< \*ā-dān. Cf. Chin. *tan-žo*, acc. to  
Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 283 fr. Ir. \*dānak.

i'lir Y, 'Alir Mt, 'rō (g), *yī'lar* m, oer  
LSIm belly (exterior). < Av. \*udara-.  
Cf. Sak. *ūra*-, Psht. *lōrai*, etc. (v.  
KZ, 61, 32 sqq.).

ilira Ysh, 'lōro Mg, ti, 'lōro (g) calf  
of the leg, *ilira* B muscle. — Cf.  
Wkh. *ishkamba-i-pā*, Par. s.v. *ishkambek-i*  
*pāi*, and also the Romance forms of  
Lat. *ventriculus* mentioned by Gold-  
berger, *Glotta*, 18, 37.

a'larsinē Yzh, *oenī* p, *larsenē* sh, o° r, g,  
'alarsen Mm, 'alor° t, ti, 'alārsin (g)  
threshold, Yp also footboard of  
spinning-wheel. — 'siri, *ta'hē* a° zh  
upper, lower th. — < \*adara-sayanaka-  
lying below? Resemblance with Khw.  
*amborcorēni* accidental. V. *yūvōrsen*.

a'l'cān Ysh, in *yūr* a° *šēm* I extinguished  
the fire.

*alevōstu* v. *avlēsto*.

alira MFB ribs. If correct, cf. Sgl.  
*wofoz* ribs.

am encl. pron. I sg. V. § 205.

am Ysh, Z also. — *so* am *oytm*. Prs.

ambōy Yr cowife. Prs. *ambāy*, cf. Khw.  
*ambōxān*. < \*ham-bāgā-? Cf. NTS,  
V, 47.

am'boh Ysh, r, g, u, o° zh much,  
many. — *yauyo* a° the water is deep;  
a° *pūre* many sons; a° *ayol* many  
came; 'mind a° *kyā'yī* these many  
houses; a° *pež xap* fell much timber;  
*amboh-ēni* (?) *hor kəret* they did much  
work. — Khw. *amboh* fr. Prs. *ambūh*.  
*ambu'ro* Y, *Ambo'ro* g pincers. Prs.  
*am'brōz* *čog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. —  
Khw. *ambrōz* fr. Prs. \*am(b)rōd,  
cf. "Prs." *ambarūd*, *arbū*, *xarmul*, etc.  
V. *dbrūo*.

'amed Yzh, sh, *umēd* G hope. Prs.

umid'cāro Yzh, *umid'cār* sh, *imid'cōr* r  
pregnant. Prs. V. *uōzō*.

imo'yō Ysh, *ūm*° sh, 'yimayd Mt, (g)  
linseed, transl. *zayir* (prob. *brassica*  
*campestris*, cf. Vavilov, *Agricult.*  
*Afghanistan*, p. 114).

imo'yō Y, i'mōyo u, *yumago* Mm, *imay'ka* t,  
*i'mayakā* (g), *yu'mayika* g, *yimayeka* ti,  
*yu'magā* t, Z, *yuma'ga* G, oega LSIm  
moon. — Cf. Wkh. *šō'mak*, Sgl.  
*oulmēk*, Psht. *wōngiž*, *gumakai*, etc.,  
Kurd. *hūo* (\*ušm). — < \*uxš-māh-(kā)-  
(not \*uxšya-, v. Benveniste, JA, 1930,  
cf. *Morgenstierne* NTS, III, 298).  
Psht. *wažmai*, Sogd. *uxšym-x* <  
\*uxš(y)a-.

d'muno Yzh, sh, r, o° g, a'mun u,  
'amingyo Mm, o° g, 'āmingyā (g),  
*amin'g'a* Z, *amin'ga* G, MFB apple,  
(Yu apple-tree?) — *šō* a'mun *vo gal*  
*āvōr* Yu 'bring the flower from the  
apple-tree'. Cf. Sgl. *miēr*, Wkh. *mur*,  
and v. EVP s.v. *maga*.

i'mār: imur Yzh, sh, *yumar*- Mm, t,  
*yūmra* B to count. — *i'mārēm* Yzh,  
*imā'rēm* sh, *yumarem* Mm, *yu'maram*  
t. — Av. pres. *hišmar*- (*mar*-).

i'mār (f) Ysh number. V. *i'mar*.

am'sāyo Yr, oyaga Mm neighbour. — Prs. V. gram'bešu.

a'maxno Yzh, ʔ sh, 'amaxnā M(g) sloe.

— \*āmarnaxā demin. of ā'muno?

Cf. Psht. māyū, V. § 96.

āi'no Mm, ʔa G mirror. Prs. V. šišōyo.

'ino Y, B, '(y)ina Mt, 'yino m, ʔe g,

ʔā (g), ʔe ti, ʔa Z, ʔa G blood. —

Cf. Sgl. wēn, Wkh. wužen, Psht.

wine, etc. V. Henning, ZII, 9, 226 sq.

(\*vohūn- > \*chūn- > vīn- etc.??).

ind Yzh, r so much, ikada. — mox ind

ory kerəm Yr we have done so much

work. — Cf. mind. V. § 210.

an'diša M(g) thought. — Prs. V. diš.

an'jām Ysh dress. — Khov. (from Ir.,

cf. Prs. jāma).

a'nimef Ysh half (adv.). — a° suwār šot

wēl'yo, a° šot 'sāra one half of the

horsemen rode upwards, the other

half rode downwards. From nim.

anār Mm, anār LSim pomegranate. —

Prs. V. a'lano.

amue- Yzh, sh to bellow. — yaro a'nueš zh,

yawo a'nueo sh. — Cf. Skr. ā-nu- to

roar towards?

a'naxno Yzh, ʔ sh, ʔaxnā r, ʔaxn g nail.

— Prs. nāxun, etc., but why a-?

V. § 96. Cf. nāxun.

aŋ'ga(h) Yzh, r, g awake. — a° šam zh,

aŋ'gāhi u, you awaken (them); šo

'xēvōn aŋga šnyəm r. — Khov.

aŋgah, aŋgā, from Ir., cf. Wkh., Sar.

(Sh.) agah, agāh fr. Prs. Cf. bičāre.

aŋgahu: aŋgahavd- Yzh, aŋgāh- u to

awaken (trans.). — aŋ'gāhi r 3 sg.,

aŋga'hum, aŋgahavdum zh. — Khov.

aŋgahav-

iŋgūt Yzh halter, headstall of a horse.

— Khov.

a'pīr Yzh, sh, Mm, a'pīr Z before, in

front of. — 'nā-mən d-a'pīr Yzh in

front of me; dā tō a° astet sh; ušdāi

no maŋaken dā a° sh he rose in front

of the man, pēš-i ū. — Doubtful

whether with Z < Av. pairi (not

pairi- or para-), or < paōirya- in a

local sense. V. skapīr.

ar'bāb Yzh headman of a village. —

Ar.-Prs. arbāb lords, used as a sg.

also in Taj. (Semenov, Mater. II,

44). V. dārwal.

'āričo Mm, t shrub with eatable berries,

strawberries(?). — Scarcely < \*ārinčā,

(cf. Brabui ārcin 'wild almond', Prs.

arjan, etc.).

'ārdi Yzh floor. — Khov. (Lor.) ardī

middle part of a room. (But Kurd

ard floor < Ar.).

ir'yo'yo Yzh, sh, u° r, yu° g, yir'yaga Mm,

ogo m, ir'yaga Z lucerne, riška. —

\*uyarakā- (?), cf. Sgl. yurāk, Shgh.

yorj, etc. (v. Z s.v.).

a'raq Mg, m, Z, G perspiration. — Ar.-

Prs. Cf. xul.

a'raq Yzh a kind of wine, made in Shoghor,

a'rak sh fruit-juice. — Ar.-Prs.

d'runyo Yzh, sh, o'runyo r, g light,

brightness, arungo B light, arūnwo B

lightning. — \*ā-rauxānakā. Cf.

ru'sān.

ar'ra Mm, Z saw. — Prs. Cf. gir.

ara'rōy Yzh, 'yōruya M(g) eructation. —

a° kenem = Khov. āra'rōy koman.

The Khov. word with redupl. from

Ir., cf. Prs. ārōy, Sgl. arāk, Sar. rōy.

V. EVP s.v. arāī.

ārusō Mm, d'rūs Z bride. — Ar.-Prs.

Cf. šābuk.

aršō'min Yzh, sh barley bread. V.

aršōmin, kaskōn, yadmin, maymun

and yēršō.



*urw-*: *urwai* Yzh, sh, *urw-* r, *urw-*: *urw'wōi* M(g), *urw-* Z, *urw-* G to be boiling (Z caus. *urw'wōn*, *urw'wōe*). — *yduyo ur'wai* Yzh, *yauyo urw'wōi* r, *ur'wō* sh; *yduyo urwai* rō (pluperf.), *wō axleno šūi* zh. — Cf. Sgl. *wārv*, Sar. *wāraw*, Shgh. *wūrv* (v. N. Shgh. s.v.), Par. *yarw* < \**warb* < \**barw*.

*ur'iz-*: *ur'izd* Yzh, r to spread manure, *pāruva parišān mekinam*. — *ur'izēm*, *ezdēm* zh, *Am* r. — < \**awā* (or *wi*?) *razaya*, cf. Av. *raz*.

*ur'z-*: *ur'zā* Yzh, *urwz'yeud* M(g) to stretch the arm. — *ur'zum*, *ur'zāim* Yzh, *urwz'yeudum* M(g). V. *urwz'ye*, *ur'zāy* Yzh, *hurzāy* sh, g, *ur'zāy* r, *ur'zug* (l) u, *ur'zug* Mm, *oz* g, *urwz'ye* (g), *ozog* G, *urwzug* Z, *hurzūh* l right, straight, true. — *urwz'ye kerem* M(g) I straightened; *do ur'zug (ēp)* *sur'dō* Yu on the right (left) shoulder. — < Av. *urzu*, not with G < \**wyz*. Cf. Khw. *horak* id. fr. Ir. \**urzu*k. Not with Benveniste (JA, 223, 227) (*urwzug* < \**vi-rūzaram* = Sogd. *urzio*).

*arz'amin* Yzh, sh millet bread. Cf. Prs. *arzanin*. V. *aršamin* and *yūrcan*.

*ar'ziz* Yzh, r, g lead. — Prs.

*ar'yeedē* Yzh wood-carving. — Prob. from the past ptc. of a caus. verb. — From Khw.??

*as-* Y, M, Z, G: *āyōi* Y, M, *a'yōy* Z, *a'yāy* G to come. — *asēm*, *as*, *a'yom* Yzh, *asom*, *as*, *a'saf*, *ā'yōm*, *āy'ōi* ōi, *kōla a'yoyitt*? when did you come? *na kōy āyōit*? whom did you come for? *ā'yōt ēpād* they came back Yzh; *as*, *ā'yōm* r, *ā'yōm* g, etc.; *hasom* *ā'yeyam*, *a'yōi*, *āyōit* Mm, *asom*, *ā'yeyam* t, *a'ywai* LSf. — \**ā-is-*:

\**ā-gata*, cf. Sgl. *is-*: *āyad*. — Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 25, 53.

*is-*: *yāi* Yzh, sh, *yis-*: *yāy* Mm, *yīs-*: *yāy* G, (y)*is-*: *yāy* Z to carry (an inanimate thing). — *i'sim* Yzh, *isom* sh, *'yisam* Mm; *i'sa* imper. 2 sg. Ysh; *'yāim* Yzh, sh; *yāi* sh, *'yāyam* Mm. — *'tu wum i'sa no'men* *'kyēyan* Ysh take this to my house; *wō dārī yāt* Ysh they took away the medicine. — Cf. Yazgh. *ayas-*: *ayed*, Shgh. *yās-*: *yād*, Ishk. *uss-*: *wud*, etc. to take away, Psht. *yōs-* to carry, Av. *yāsa* (Meillet, BSL, 24, 116).

*as'kân* Yzh, sh, B easy. Khw. *as'qân*, fr. Ar-Prs. *isqân* giving repose; cf. Kurd. *askân* ease. Cf. *ā'sân*.

*ā'sāl* Yzh, sh, *ā'sāl* Mm, t, *yim'sāl* G this year. — Cf. Sgl. *ā'sāl*, Shgh. *asld*, Par. *āsuf*,Orm. *asul* etc. < *ā-s(a)rda*. *yimsāl* < \**ima*.

*as'mino* Yzh, r, u, *ōino* sh, g, *asmuno* Mm, *as'mūna* f. Z, *asmā'na* G (lw.) sky, heaven.—*na as'mīne*, *da as'mīno*. Prob. ancient lw. — V. *pasmino*.

*ā'sân* Mm easy. — Prs. V. *as'hân*.

*aspolan* Yzh, sh, r stable. — < \**aspa-* *dāna*, cf. Av. *aspastāna*. V. *axta'xāna*.

*ast-*: *vi* Y, M to be. — Y in all persons *ast'tet* (v. § 224). *mōn yū kōtyū astet* I have a book; *mōn yū wōulo astet*: *kōiste* who are you? (?)

*as'tio* Yzh, *āstiah* B abuse. — *a' kō'nem*. I abuse (Khw. *diš lū koman*).

*ustāda* Yzh, sh, *uō* g spider. — Prs. *ustād* is not used in this sense, but cf. Par. Voc. s.v. *dhen'rūk*, *jo'lāk*, *ya'fak*; Sköld, Materialien, s.v. *džalo-k*. Cf. *ustāt*. V. *dorzkuyūz*, *zariškyo*. *as'tano* Yzh, sh vestibule. — Prs. *āsitan(a)*.

*ustušē* : *ustušcai* Yzh, sh, *ustušcah* B to jump. — *ustušēam* : *ustušcaim* zh, *ustušcam* : *ustušcam* sh. — *ustušē* is prob. originally the past stem of \**ustur-*, from which Khow. *uřur-* 'to flee, run'.

*ustāt* Ysh, *ustād* G carpenter. — Prs. Cf. *ustada*.

*uřxūbon* Yzh awake. — \**us* + *xūbon*. V. *angah*, *bidār*.

*ūš* encl. pron. 3 sg. V. § 205.

*ūš* M(g) porridge. — Prs. *āš*.

*ūšō* Yzh, *ā°* p, *āš°* sh, r, g, *ōš°* Mm, g, *°a* sh, *°* (sh), *°ē* t, *ōškvā* g, *āškva* G, *ā°* Z, *āškie* LSm eight. — Av. *āšta*.

*ūšō* Y, *ōš°* Mti, *ō°* t, g, *yēškig* m, *yīškig* G, *ōik* Z roof. — *dā īšēly* Yzh under the roof. — < \**ušō-kataka-*, cf. Sgl. *kiskut*, Wkh. *iskakut*, Yazgh. *škūd*.

*ūšō-mēš* Yzh week. — Cf. *Bajni wař-mēš* (Škōld), but Shgh. *ūř-mēš*. Sogd. *ptmyš*. V. *mēš*.

*ūšōm* Yzh, *°in(ō)* r, *°inō* sh, *īšōm* g, *yīškōma* Mm, *īškyin* g, *yī°* ti, *škyino* (g), *škyin* t, *līškyin* G female breast. — Av. *štāna-*, Kurd. *štān*, cf. Meillet, BSI., 23, 100, Benveniste, MSI., 23, 405. V. *pīstān*.

*ūšōno* Yzh, *uškyeno* Mm place for keeping hay and straw (*jāi ki kū mendāzi*). — Cf. Sgl. *ūšin* hayrack, Or. *uřtōn* < \**uřstra-dānd*.

*ūšk* Yzh, g, *ušsk* sh, r, Mm, G, Z, *uř°* Mg dry. — Av. *hūška-*.

*ūšk-māřiko* Yzh ankle-bone. — Numerous Ir. and IA names of hard and protruding parts of the body are compounded with a word denoting 'dry' ('thirsty', 'tinder', etc.). Thus, e.g.

Bal. *wisk hařq*, Badakhshi *kāk-i-pā*, Khow. *cuřu'dēki*, Lhd. *sukpañd* 'shin-bone'; M *šārek-i-sar* temples; Prs. *xušk nāy* throat, windpipe, etc., etc. V. *uškiostia*.

*ūšk'sāl* Yzh year of drought, *sāl ki barf na kard*. — Prs. *xušk sāl*.

*ūšun-* : *ūřināi* Yzh to neigh. — *yasp uřunē*.

*ašera'f* Ysh gold coin. — *sko yū aštra'fen*, *šō ašera'f*. — Ar.-Prs.

*a'sasto* Yzh, *'ašosti* pl. M(g) small shrub with red berries resembling grapes.

*ūštun* B voice. — Acc. to Tomaschek (p. 200) < Av. *staeman-*, but prob. misunderstood for *'štun* I said.

*ūštu* Yzh, *°ū* B brick. — Khow.

*ūš(y)ār* Yzh, *hu°* sh, *uřyār* Mm wise. — Prs.

*uřā-* : *uřard* Yzh, *uřāc-* : *uřard* sh, r, *uřar-* : *uřard* Mm, *uřāc-* (g), *ūšāc-* G, *uřāc-* : *uřārd* Z to call, shout. — *uřāum*, *uřardum* Yzh, *uřācam*, *uřādam* r *'faryād mēkunim*; *wo mōn 'pūřf uřācā* sh call my sons; *wo pūřf uřardēt* sh they called the sons. — < Av. \**us-sravaya-*, cf. Orosch. *šōy* to read, Yazgh. *ašaw-*, Psht. *šōruł* (q.v.) to teach, show (cf. Kashm. *hāwun* id.), Prs. *surādan* to sing, etc. Cf. Wkh. *širaw-*.

*uřān-əm* : *uřād-əm* Yzh to churn. — Cf. *řrēn-* to shake.

*ařl'ē* Yzh, *°ele* sh porridge, *āš*. — Evidently an IA lw., but no direct corresponding form in Khow. or elsewhere. Is Prs. *atāla* 'a kind of porridge' also of IA origin?

*'arda* Mg. (g, *āb'da* (sh) seventeen. — Prs.

*ōrd*, *ōrd* Mg, (g) ford. — \**ā-bda-* place



where one can place the foot? Cf. Wkh. *wēdek* 'path' < \**ābda*? Mskr. Bal. *badūk* 'beach impassable at high tide'; Av. *abda* (v. s.v.).  
*avdo*, <sup>1</sup>ā° p, *av'dō* sh, r, <sup>2</sup>ā° g, *ov'dō* Mm, g, <sup>3</sup>a sh, G, <sup>4</sup>ā M, (sh), <sup>5</sup>ā t, <sup>6</sup>ovds (g).  
<sup>7</sup>a Z, seven. — Av. *hapta*, etc.  
*av'yūš* Yzh, sh, u, *'yigūš* Z embrace, lap. — *tio da av'yūš*, *dō 'v'yūš* he put in his lap. — Cf. Sogd. *'pkīy* 'flame' (Benveniste); Shgh. *bejuš* armpit. < \**upa-kaša*, or \**upa-gauša* (cf. EVP s.v. *yēš*, etc.)?  
*av'eli* Yzh, *ā'beli* sh, *abeli* B, *avel'yi*, etc., Z both. — *wōi ā° šōi lāmo riet* Yzh they were both from one village; no *a° pūrēf* to both sons. — Av. *uvaya* (avaya-) + *du-* (duye?).  
*av'lānd* Yg hem of a cloak. — \**upa-dāmanta*? Cf. *lōmadā*.  
*av'lāsto* Yzh, sh, *alvosto* Mm, <sup>8</sup>ōs'ta t. Z sleeve. — \**upa-dastā*, cf. Or. (Lentz) *abdōst* leather glove.  
*āver-*: *āver* Yzh, sh, g, *'āver*: *'āver* Mm, *āver*: *āver* Z, *ā'var*- G to bring (inanimate obj.). — *āverom* Yzh, *šēti-ra 'avram* Mt I bring something; *avēf* Yzh, sh he brings; *vō čēpēakz* *āver* Yu bring the apricots; *amboh māl avāf* Yzh bring much goods; *tāvarāš a've* Yzh bring the scales; *avum* Yzh; *a'vōr no xoi kyēin* Yzh she brought it to her own house; *io mālāf a'vret* (a'veret) Yzh they brought the goods; *āverēm* Yr I have brought; *a've* Yzh he has brought. — Av. *ā-bar*; cf. Sgl. *āctr*, Shgh. *vār*: (a'vūd, Sogd. *βr*. Orm. *war*-.  
*a'vāz*: *a'vazd* Yzh, sh, *a'ved* u, *ā'vāz*-um Mm, *avēz*: *avēzd* Z to bring (animate obj.), to fetch. — *zo 'yāco*

*a'vāzom*, *a'vazdm* Yzh, *yāco-a'vāzom* sh, *niškē a'vāzom* sh I yawn; *'uio arāzom*, *a'vāzdo* sh; *io mōn 'šifē č'avari ā?* why don't you fetch my husband? *avēd* zh he brings; *a'vāz* imper. 2 sg., *a'vāze* 2 pl.; *'uio a'vezdom* u, *ga'a'vānen pānj 'uio a'vezdo* sh. — Av. *upa-ar*, but Psht. *bōz* (bōllōl) to lead away, Shgh. *bāz*, Or. *abēz* to send (away) < \**apa-ar*.  
*av'zāno* Yzh, sh, <sup>9</sup>āno p, *'yivzāno* Mm wooden ladle. < \**upa-zācanā*?  
*av'zaniko* Yzh small wooden ladle.  
*av'zino* Yzh, sh first watering of the fields, *zākāva*. — Av. \**upa-zayanā* following the winter (cf. Av. *upa-naxtar*), cf. Yazgh. *zīn* winter (Sköld). V. *livēd*, *'xōkova*.  
*av'lān* Yzh, sh, r, *av'lānd* g (cf. *av'lānd*), *av'lān* B single bridle. — Cf. Psht. *mūna*, *ulina*, Wan. *av'lān*, Sar. *vīddān*, Yazgh. *avdēn*, Kurd. *zānā* (Soane), Sak. *ryānā*, Sogd. *βd'nh* (Benven. JA, 233, p. 241), Oss. *uīdō'n*, Av. <sup>10</sup>aiwī-dāna. Cf. Wackernagel. KZ, 43, p. 282. V. *lo'jem*, *qīza'gi*.  
*a'warzo* Yzh flame. — With dissim. fr. \**arēdēz*, cf. Av. *uraāzra* (\**erāzra*) heat?  
*a'wusp* Yzh, sh, a° Mm, *a'ūsp* Yg. *cius'to* (?) r, *a'wusp* Mm plough-beam. — Cf. Sgl. *āwōsp*, Wkh. *wōsp*. — Cf. Av. (*upa'iri*;) *spā* to place at the top of?  
*a'wusto* Yzh, *du°* sh, <sup>11</sup>ō° r, g, *'awusto* Mm, <sup>12</sup>a t, <sup>13</sup>ā (g) dark-leaved willow. — With *icu* < *vu*, fr. \**ā-paustā* having bark?  
*a'wāz* Yzh noise. — *yāgo ha'wāz kit* the stream is roaring; *awāza kit* (the trees) are songhing. — Pru.

owe zōn Mg hanging. — o° *kerim*. — Prs. a'wēl-im: a'wēyl-im Yzh to hang up. —

a'wēlīd 3 sg. — Prob. < \**awa-hanj*, cf. Old Prs. *fra-hang* (v. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. årsskrift, 1934, 2, p. 69 and Henning, ZII, 9, p. 198), Prs. *āwang(ān)* hanging, etc. The relation to Prs. *āwēz*, *āwēxtan* is uncertain, but this form may be a cross between \**ā-waīc* and \**awa-hanj*.

i'xā Yzh, r, 'xoo sh, 'yxa M, i, ti, °o m, °ā (g), 'yxa g. LSlm, 'ixa Z, 'y'xa G, 'y'xo B, 'yaxa MFB (°: \**خود* = \**yiroh*?) sister. (I cannot trace the source of G's Y form *yixudh*.) — Poss. < \**yaxud* (cf. Sgl. *yō'xai*, Shgh. *yax*) < \**h'ahud* < \**h'eahā*. i'xēgo Yzh, 'ixēgo sh, 'yē° g husband's brother's wife, g also co wife. — Fr. \**xwahici* + °o and secondary suffix -go? V. *yana*, *yūi-wulo*.

i'riko Yzh, 'yirigo g sister (demin.). V. 'ixē.

ax'len Yzh, °en r, °eno (f.?) g, 'yax'len sh, 'len Mm, 'yix'len g cold. — *yduyo* uricai vto, *wos axleno šūi* Yzh the water had been boiling, now it became cold. — \**axa-dāna*, cf. Prs. *yax*, etc.?

ax'rio Y, °i pl. p, 'axriā Mg, 'axriyo t, 'axrikyo m wild rose, briar, Khov. *gilgitok*. — Cf. Or. a'šar. Shgh. (Sköld) šar id. (but note šf, Khov. xū'ri (lw.) wild rose, Prs. xār thorn. Skr. *khara* rough; thorny plant. V. *axri-gula*.

ax'rūr Yzh, sh, r, °ur g, ā'rūr Mm, ā° ti manger. — Prs.

a'xri-gula Yzh wild rose (flower), axri-ku'luxa fruit of the briar, hip. — V. *axrio*, *k'pax*.

āx'rāt Yu in the end, finally. — da ā°. — Ar.-Prs.

ax'sš Y, °š p, ax'sš Mm, g, °a sh, °o (sh), ax'sš (g), ax'sš t, ax'sša Z, āxše LSlm six. — axšo miš Ysh. — Av. *axšaš*. Cf. §§ 94, 168.

ax'sān Yzh, °en sh, r, °en g, āksān B blue. — Av. *axšaēna*. V. *kabūt*.

ax'sēn-s'rē m, Yzh, ax'sš-serē sh a kind of large duck.

axšow: axšērd Z to chew. — Z compares Ishk. *šāw*, Wkh. *šāw*, cf. also Prs. *xasāidan* to chew, *xatāidan* to bite.

axta'xāna Mm stable. — Prs. (also in Wkh. and Shgh.), from *axta* gelded, bull, horse. — V. *aspolan*.

āya B perhaps. — Originally an optative 3 sg. of the verb substantive??

ay-, šūi, š- Y, āy: šūi, š- Mm, t, āy-: šay Z, āy- G to go, to become, Z also to come. — *oyim*, *oyim*, o'im Yzh, sh; o'ih), oih V imper.; šom. šūi Y; *dyum*, *hdi*, *šiam*, šūi Mm, t; *wos do šūy oyom* Yr 'āli da kūča mērim'; *zo sa'bā o'im* g I shall go to morrow; *ku ōi n* where do you go? *da kyoī ayum*, *za da sāhoro dyum* Mm. Cf. §§ 85, 229 sq. — *oy-* from \**ayaya-* (or ā- + *ayaya-*), a secondary -aya- present of the root ai- to go, cf. Par. šē- to come. Scarcely fr. \**ā-hat* (cf. Yazgh. *bad-* to go < \**upa-hat*), and not, with G, borrowed from Prs. V. šūi.

izē Yzh, 'ize sh, 'yijya Mm, 'ejyo g, 'yizio ti, 'ijiva Z goatskin bag used for carrying sour milk in, *mask*. — \**iziyaka*, cf. Orm. iz 'mussuck', (Bal. *hiz* leather churn). V. EVP s.v. *zai*, and cf. Paht., Bal. *zik* skin for ghee.



*ázáda-po'lang* Mm a kind of leopard. —

\*Prs.

*iz'iko* Ysh, zh yester-eve, *bēgā*. — Cf. Sāmn. *izl*, Wkh. *yez*, etc., cf. Horn, s.v. *di*.

*iz'mā* Yzh, sh, g, *iz'ma* r, *'yazma* Mm, *'yazmo* ti, *yiz'ma* G, *'iz°* Z (m.) firewood. — Cf. Av. *ašama-*, Prs. *hēzum*, etc.

*'ziānē*, v. *ziānē*.

*a'zōr*, v. *hazār*.

*a'zito* Y, *'a°* Mm, *'āzītū* (g) Berberis chitria. Prs. *zaryūl*, *zarang*, *zārīj*. Khw. *čōwēl* (: *čōwēj*) jungle plant with red, useless fruit, (Lor.). — \**ā-zarītā*, v. *zīt*.

*a'zuzyo* Yzh, sh, o° g, o'j° r, *'u'jizya* Mt, *'uē°* (sh), g, *'uē'jizyā* (g), *'uē'juzgo* m, *'uē'uzga* t. Z, o'ēga G frog. — *'uē'uzga* < \**'uē'uzgo* < Av. *uazayā* + *kā*. Cf. e.g. Gilaki (de Morgan) \**yuzyā* ("rhous-rhā"), but Mazand. (Barfush) "*wik*" < Old Prs. \**wađa-yaka*.

*iz* m, Y, Mt, Z, B, *yiz* Mm, g, (g), *yīš* (?) (sh) snake. — Av. *āzi*; cf. Maz. *āzik* 'ver de terre' (de Morgan).

*'aīda* Mg, (g), o'°da (sh) eighteen. — Prs. *a'īder* Yu dragon. — Prs. (similar forms in Khw., Bar. and Shina).

*aiz'yāl* Y, zh, sh, *a'ēga'l* B family. — *de a° 'axabar ček-ē?* Ysh have you no news about your family? — Khw. *aiz'yāl*.

*a'šōp* Ysh wonderful, *ajib*. — Av.-Prs. *u'šer*: *u'šur* Yzh, sh, *u'šar*: *u'šir* r, *u'šār* M(g), *u'šār*: (*u*)*u'šir* m, *u'šār*: *u'šir* Z, *u'šar* G, *u'šēr* LSlm to perceive, to look. — *u'šer em estē* Ysh I am looking, *u'šar'am*, *u'šar* r, imper. 2 sg.: *u'šir ka yū kēi 'huro astet* Ysh

he saw that there was a house there; *šingiko u'šur 'yū mīš, loh mīš* sh the woman looked out for him for one day, for two days; *u'šir de kyoi kō jō'hōn rūpā'yo* Mm he saw that there was much gold in the house. — \**uē* (\**uēa-šēar* (cf. Prs. *niguridan* etc.) or \**šar* (cf. Yaghn. *yār* to regard, look)? Psht. *gōrēl* may go back either to \**han-kār* or to \**han-gār*.

*d'šuryo* Yzh, o'j° r, *d'šur'yo* sh, *š'š'ur'yū* M(g) burning coal, ember, *qarib-i murda ki šud*. — Apparently fr. \**ā-šaur*, \**ā-qaur*, cf. Wkh. *šagūrg*. *a'istai* Yzh, p *āis'tai* sh is born, *a'jista* B to be born. — *a'ist-estē* is being born, Khw. *ašuran*; *olo dāi kvei ida a'istai* Yzh there, in that house a boy is being born. — Khw.; note the remarkable retention of the Khw. inflexional form. Cf. § 231.

*a'šawuy* (?) Ysh to bear a child. — *a'šawuy-e m tū* you are bearing me, *tu mara paidā mēkunī*. — Khw.

*'āšūt* Yzh, *ū'šūt* sh, *ū'jut* B, *u'jud* LSlly belly (interior). — Khw. *'u'jjut*, *'ajot* the privates.

## B

*ba* Ysh in. — In the Prs. formulas: *ba nām-e Xadā, ba hōkm-e Xadāyēn*. — Prs.

*bai* Yzh, g, B, LSlly, *bōi* Mm, (g), *bāi* LSlm uncle, *tāya*. — Cf. Shgh. *bāb*, Wkh. *bōē*, etc.

*bāi* Yzh rich. — Turk.

*bū* Yzh, sh, r, g, *'bū* Mm, g, *būm* Z owl. — Prs. *būm*, *būf*; also Khw. *bū*.

*būi* Y, Z, G smell. — Prs.

*būi'gon* Mm stinking. — Prs. \**būy-i gand*.

*bu'buka* Yzh, <sup>u</sup>uk g, *'babūa* a black and white bird, Khov. *bu'buk*. — Cf. Prs. *bōbak* hoopoo, pewit, Wkh. *bibuk* cuckoo.

*bi'āban* Yu desert. — In the Prs. formula *b° bar b°*. — Prs.

*bo'burē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>sh, r, <sup>o</sup>o g wasp, *bo'bor* M (sh), *'ba°* g, *'bē'ber* (g), *'bambur* m humble-bee. — Prob. fr. Khov. *b'ūmbur*. V. *surx-boburē*.

*bi'bāt* Yu windless (in Prs. formula).

*bi'ēara* Mm helpless, destitute. — Prs.

*bi'irān-*: *bi'irēnd* M(g) to graze. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *bedārān-* and Z *bipēcān-* to twist, *bispēr-* to entrust and other lws with generalization of Prs. *bi-*. V. *bedaway-*.

*bu'čayī*, <sup>u</sup>u' Yzh, <sup>a</sup>a' sh bud, flower. — Khov. *bučū blossom* (O'Brien), *bučūžik* to flower.

*bād* Mm afterwards, after. — *b° zo wan* 'bād az ū', *bāda hasom* 'bād mēayam', *bād niast*. — Ar.-Prs.

*bod* Yzh, *bot* g, B closed. — Early lw. fr. Prs. But cf. Khov. *botik* to bind.

*bo'da* Yzh dyke, dam; ankle-bone; *bond* Mg ankle-bone, *'banda* m knuckle. — Prs. *band*. Cf. *bot*, *trōboda*.

*bā'dām* Yzh, *ba°* sh, *bo'dēm* r, *bā'dām* Mm almond. — Prs.

*bo'd'rui* Yzh, <sup>ri</sup>ri g, *bad'rui* r ugly, bad. — Prs.

*ba'dār* Mm off, away. — *b° žūi* he went off. — Prs. *ba-dar*.

*bi'dār* Mm awake. — Prs. V. *biwāre*. : *bo'daway-am* Mm, *bidac-*: *bidawēy* Z to run. — Prs. V. *yāz-*.

*bū'qir* Yzh large hammer, sledge. — Khov.

*bā'gāna* Yzh foreign, strange. — Prs.

*bāya* Yzh, *bāya* sh, u, B, *bāy* Mm, G

garden. — *da bāya žūi*, *hu'rō da bāya* Yu; *'bāya kō'pet* sh they made a garden; *da bāy da dram č-oi* Yu don't enter the garden. — Prs.

*'ba'ake* (pl.?) Yzh a small garden. — *ba'ake žūi* (sg.) there had grown up a garden (gardens?).

*ba'ālē* Yzh walnut-shell.

*bu'y'moz* Yzh, *bo°* sh grape-juice, *bō'maz* B wine. — Cf. Prs. *bigmāz* wine, *ba°* drinking-glass.

*ba'az* Yr bellowing, bleating. — *yawo*, *vzo b° kit astē*. — Cf. Z *bēy* to bellow, Ishk. *ba-* etc., Khov. *ba-*; Sgl. *ba'yas*. Cf. § 193.

*boh* Yzh much, very. — *boh ži'pi dau'let* very great riches. — Khov.

*boh-um* Yzh : *bokay-em* r, *bōy*; *bōy* Z, : *bahāi* LSIm to kiss. — Cf. Sgl. *boh*, Khov. *bā*, *bah*, Bur. *ba*, Wkh. *bā*, etc.

*bo'hor* Mg, m, *ba'hōr* Z spring (season). — Prs. — V. *fsidro*.

*bīhu'si* Yu fainting. — *dā'rū-i b°* a remedy against f. — Prs.

*'bāja* Mm wife's sister's husband, <sup>je</sup>je g brother's wife (?). — Cf. Sgl. *bō'jā*. Kab. Prs. (< Turk.?).

*bī'aql* Yzh, sh, <sup>ql</sup>ql u, *bēaql* Z stupid. — *b° ži'niko* u. — Ar.-Prs.

*bakrō'da* Yzh, <sup>onda</sup>onda g, <sup>ēnd</sup>ēnd r, *nar-ba'kēnd* sh male calf, 1—2 y. old. — IA; Cf. Sgl. *baken'qī*, Gawar-Bati *bākeqds* etc. Not known from Khov. — V. *ju'āna*.

*bīl* Yzh, sh, *bāl* g spade. — Prs.

*bōl* Yzh the Pleiades. — Khov. (orig. "The Host, Army", cf. e.g. Hind. *Kacpaciya*: *kucpac* 'crowd', etc.).

*bīlō* Yzh, p small spade, especially one used for roasting upon. — Prs.



*baī'aydo* Yr female cousin. — V. *baī, laydo*.  
*baī'yam* Yzh mucus from the mouth,  
 phlegm. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Sgl. *baī'yām*.  
 V. *neč'yo*.

*baī'ko* Yzh *°lko* sh, *baī'ka* r, *baī'ko* Mm  
 hammer. — Cf. Khw. *baloka, balka*,  
 Sgl. *baī'kī*, Par. *baī'kā*, fr. Turki  
*bolqa*.

*baī'lūlo* Mm the mouthpiece of a black-  
 smith's bellows (?), *kūra* (cf. Prs. *kūr*  
 a smith's forge?).

*baī'lūd* Yzh, *°and* sh, r, g, Mm, (g),  
*baī'land* Z, G high, tall. — *jāhānd b°*  
*as'let* Yr he is very tall. — Prs.

*baī'lār* G to love. — ?

*bi'axša* Yzh, *blax* sh n. of a wild  
 vegetable, growing in the hills, *sanza*.  
 — Cf. Bad. Prs. (Lor.) *bilaxša* thin?

*bi'a'cā-um* Yzh to collect. — Khw.  
*blacēīman*, imper. *blacēīuc*.

*bam'bofi* Yp beard of the maize-cob. —  
 Said to be a Khw. word. Acc. to  
 Lor. *bambedi* (δ = f) is of uncertain  
 meaning, but possibly refers to crop-  
 plants. Cf. Psht. *bambal* 'heard of  
 corn' from Lhd.

*bām-se'rio* Ysh n. of a shrub. V. *se'ziyo*.  
*'bande* Y slave. — *'banda-i xākī* human  
 being; *tu Xadāyēn b° čes-a?* art thou  
 not God's slave? — Prs.

*banda'icā*: *banda'icēd* Yzh, r, *banda'vā*:  
*°vord* sh to command. — Khw.  
*bandēīman*.

*ba'na'fio* Yzh, sh violet (flower). — Prs.  
*banj* Yzh, Mm, *bānj* M(g), *bānš* Yg  
 holly-oak. — Khw. *bānj*.

*bi'nās* Ysh copious, complete. — *daw'let*,  
*pu'sāk*, *na'yēn b° šūi 'pur šud'*.

*baq'dax* Yzh, p, *baq'dax* sh hollow in a  
 large stone used as a hand-mill (for  
 pounding rice in, sh). — IA?

*baq'dax'čuxo* Yp wooden apparatus for  
 pounding gun-powder.

*'baī-pūr* Yzh, sh male cousin. V. *baī*.  
 Cf. *vraī'min*.

*bar* Yu ou. In Prs. formula *šakar bar*  
*šakar*, etc. — Prs.

*bar'bād* Yu desolate, waste. — Prs.

*ba'rābar* Ysh equal, similar. — *da to b°*  
 like you; *yā b°* alike; *b° čī up'wōr*  
 it was not equal (in weight). —  
 Prs.

*ba'rābar xšovo* Ysh, *kšovo b°* B mid-  
 night. Cf. Shgh. *barābar 'šab* (Sköld).

*barq* Mm, ti, Z, G leaf. — Prs. V. *paqik*.

*'brāyiko* Yzh, g, *bra'* sh, r, Mm, *'brāyika* g,  
*b'ra'* f. Z sparrow. — < \**mray* <  
 \**myg* (v. BSOS, VI, 440). Cf. Sgl.  
*māyōg*.

*barq* Mm, g lightning. — Ar.-Prs. V.  
*'velūco*.

*'bārik* Yzh, *bā'rik* G, *bā'* Z thin. — Ar.-  
 Prs.

*bā'rān* Mm, g, G, *bā'rān* Mti, Z rain. —  
 Prs. V. *wāri-š*, *novē*.

*bū'rinj* Mm, *bo'* G, *br'* Z husked rice. —  
 Prs. V. *gōrinj*.

*brūt* M(g) moustache. — Prs. V. *brūt*.

*bra'xā-um* Yzh to knock. — Khw.  
*braxēīman*.

*bar'zengē* Yu demon, *dēu*. — *hu'rō dā*  
*baya bar'zengē no'yōr* an ogre emerged  
 there into the garden. — Cf. Or.  
 (Lentz) *bārzāngā*.

*bur?* Yu tower (?), sh corner of a house,  
*dār-bur?* B four-cornered. — *rūyan*  
*da bur?* *dēh* Yu pour ghee over the  
 tower. — Prs. *burj* tower; cf. Shgh.  
*burj* wall (Sköld).

*'bořiko* Yp small, round basket, made  
 of thick twigs (v. Fig.). — Cf. Khw.  
*beřu, bořu* reed (pipe) (Lor.)?

*bār*: *bary* Yzh. *bar* g. *bar*: *bary* r, *bār* Mm, : *bary* LSIy to be satisfied; *barav* LSIu to fill, satisfy. — Cf. Av. *ham-par*, Sak. *hambaga* filled, Prs. *ambāridan* to fill. *r* from past stem, cf. § 227.

*brök* Yzh, sh, g knuckle, hipbone, *brök* sh bud. — da *pīscan* b° g. — Khov. *blōy*, *blōk* bud.

*bos kən* Yzh to weep (??).

*bist* Mm, t, ti, (sh), *bist* g twenty. — Prs. V. *wisto*.

*bāstiko* Yzh shearers. — \**ham-basta*, cf. Skr. *sambaddha* joined, bound together (Prs. *ambast(a)* bound, stiff, etc.)?

*bāš* Yzh, n, LSIy a particle giving the verb a subjunctive force. Khov. V. § 256.

*bāša* Yg, *bāšo* Mm falcon. — Prs.

*bu'sā-um*: *bu'sard-o* Yzh to win, to be victorious. — Khov. *bū'fēiman*

*bū'fo* Yzh boots. — *bū'fo* (pl.?) W'o. — Engl. (through Hind., Khov.).

*bi'vāre* Yg awake. — b° *šom*. — Prs., but older borrowing than *bi'dār*, q.v. Cf. *angah*, *usābōn*.

*bluco* Yr, °*aya* Mg, °*o'go* m widow. — Prs. V. *icd'srneo*.

*bdiwar* Yzh belief, trust. — b° *kenem*. — Prs.

*bu'xōn*: *bixēd* Z to read. — Prs.

*boxš* Yzh dividing, distribution. — Prs.? Cf.:

*baxš-um*: *bayd-em* and *baxš-um* Yzh to distribute food at a feast; *baxš-um*: *bayd-um* sh, *boxš-am*: *boyd-um* Mm, t, : *bayd* LSIy to divide, distribute. — *tāam bayd* sh he distributed the food. — Prs., or genuine < \**ham-baxš*.

*baxšiyo* Yzh, in *yduyo* b° a stream di-

vided into many rivulets. — Perf. of *baxš*. Cf. Khov. *bāš*, *bašoy* minor channel of a river < Ir.

*būz* Mm female markhor. — Prs. Cf. Wkh. *buz* t. ibex.

*ba'zār* Yzh, *bō'zōr* Z bazar. — do b° in the b; *yai no bazāren* he brought it to the b. — Prs.

*bo'zāi* Yzh, *bō'zēi* sh bag, sack. — do *yū* b°; *yū b° ašōrafi* sh one bag full of gold coins. — Cf. Psht. *bōjai* from IA (cf. Hind. *bojh* load?).

## C

*cē* Yzh, sh, *cī* u R what? — *na maf cē zarūr* sh what need is there for you? *icos cī ilāj kenem* u what remedy shall I use now? — Cf. Psht. *cē*, Sgl. *cē* what; Wkh. *cā-waxt*, Shgh. *cā-waxte* when < Av. *ēt* (used as an indefinite particle). Cf. *cē'min*.

*cēb-um*: *cēbāi-m* Yzh, *cēb-um*: *cēbai* r, *cēb-um*: *cēd-am* Mm, Z, *cēb-um* Mt to pinch (e.g. with the fingers), *gazidan*. — Ir. \**čimb/p* (cf. Wkh. *čip* to pick?), or fr. IA., cf. Nep. *cepanu* to press, squeeze, *čimfanu* to pinch (v. Nep. Diet. s.v.v.), Kshn. *čipiñ* pinching? V. *cepio*.

*ci'gyerē* Yzh mushroom, Khov. *brangālu*. — V. *xarpušt*.

*c'kon* Yzh, r, *ckon* g, *skon* Mg, *skin* (g), *skon* m, *škon* Z puppy. — Cf. Wkh. *šken*, *skon*, Sgl. *škonok* and v. Z s.v. and Tomaschek, p. 761, who compares Slav. \**šteno* (Russ. *ščenok*, etc.) < \**sk*° (of Asiatic origin?). Y c appears to be secondary. Cf. the folk word.

*c'ke'na* Yzh, *ck'na* g, *ck'nakē* (pl.?) sh puppy.



*calan'durē* Yzh window. — From Khov.

*calax'duri* id., crossed with *caren'daru* door-frame.

*cō'min* Yzh what? — *cō' trik astet?* 'ēi ēiz ast?' *cō' zūi?* what do you say?

— Cf. *cē* and *min*.

*cēpio* Yzh, *cē°* sh pincers for pulling out hair. — Cf. *cēb*, v. *mūl-ēino*.

*cēpō-um* Yzh to wink. — *ēamaf cō°*.

*cō'ra'ū* Yzh, *cō'pū* sh, r. g. *cō'roug* Mm.

*cō'roug* g. *cō'ouy* (g) male markhor, "trouco" B wild goat. — Prob. horr. from Kafri, cf. Waigeli *cōue* < *\*cōue* (?). Kati *šū'ru*, etc.

*cō'roug-wō'zo* Mm female markhor. — V. *matōyo* and *būz*.

*cō'rax* Yzh, *cū'roydā* (perf. ptc.?) g spark. — Common Hindukush word, cf. Khov. *cō'rax*, Wkh., Wershik. *cō'rax*, Ishk. *ceraxak*, Sgl. *čeryazek*, but also Oas. *čā'xān*.

*carō'yo* Yzh, *sa' (?)* r bustard (?) (*kabūtar rang, kā mēzura. halāl ast*). Prs. *čarda*. — *čarda* not in Prs. lexx., but v. Borhān ud-Dīn, Kattaran u Saṣaxman p. 122 چرخ پهناس پهناس pheasant, and cf. Prs. *čarz*; *čāl* bustard, partridge *čarda* a bay horse, etc., *čarad* bay colour < *\*gel-to*?. Cf. Walde—Pok. I. 440 sq.). Cf. Psht. *cārai* 'bustard'.

*cēs* Yzh what? — V. § 210.

### Č

*čāi* Yzh tea. — *čō° šēm* drink tea. — Prs.

*čai-m*; *čaid-əm* Yzh, *čōi-m* M(g) to sprinkle, *čōy*; *čōy*-Z to sow, scatter. — < *\*hača-hāy*?

*či*, *če*, *čō*, *č* Yzh, etc., *či* Mm, G, Z not, nothing, don't. — *ču mūro vūi* he may not have died; *mən xīsmat*

*č-kəpəm* I have not done any service; *kəne-a č-kəpā-a* do you do it, or not? *yāšī ādam čī-ō* Yr he is not a good man; *čūi* = *č-šūi* 'na ruft'; *vō mən malmin čē kənē-este* Ysh are you not making me like this? *pīlf no-ō'ra čīi* sh (the river) cannot be forded; *čī ayoī* Mm; he did not come, *uč kū čī tlo* Mm 'hēc čīzī na bāt'; *no no-ōf nā xū'pān čē astet* there is nothing (for them) to eat; *to čē zūi* (subj.), *čē zūā* (imper. don't say; *č-kənē* don't do, say (na gū); *na'xaxt č as* don't arrive late; *čī dalē* don't give; *čī tōlucā gaddī* Ysh don't beg. — G s.v. compares Prs. (*hēc*. Is *či*, etc. an early lw. from Prs., or has a parallel semantic development of *\*aica-čit* taken place in Prs. and Y—M? Cf. Gypsy *či* anything > nothing. V. *čes*.

*čē*, *čī* Yzh, sh, u, I.Sly what? why? *čī* B why? — *čē xāšf-este?* why are you weeping? *do bāy čī č-ōim* Yu why shall I not go into the garden? 'ba čī na mēravim?' *mo xap čī kīt?* u 'xap ba čī mēkina?' *tu čī va-mən de'hē?* zh, *tu va-mən čī dehe?* g why do you beat me? *tu čī hory č-kənē?* zh why don't you work? *tu čū zūi?* *maf čī zūf?* *č-kē* = *cō'min* *zūi?* Yzh what (?) do you say? — Prs. — It is often only the context which permits us to distinguish between *čē* 'not' and *čē* 'what'.

*čēi* Yr something, *čīzī*. — *na to čēi pēčamum* I entrust something to you. — Cf. Madaglashti Prs. *čūz* thing.

*čō*: *čōd*-Yzh, sh, r, *čō*: *čūd* g, *jūr*: *jurd* Mm, *jū*-t, (g), *jūr*: *jurd*-Z

to pick, *čavda* B to choose. — Cf. Wkh. *čip*, *čip*: *čōd* to gather, Sar. *čee*, Khov. *capiman* to pick, collect. *čāč* Yzh a kind of beetle, *čāč* r, g a long and slender, black and white wasp. — Khov. *čac* grasshopper, *malax* (unknown to Lor., who has got *čāč* buzzing). Scarcely orig. Ir., cf. Orn. *čand* 'bee, flea'?

*čad*: *čast* Yzh to fall, stumble. — *čast(ām)* 'čaltid(ām)'; *čadem* 'mēčalt-ām'. — Cf. the following words. — Scarcely connected with Phil. Psalter *čnd* 'to shake', Bal. *čandag* Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 822. But note: *čandag* < Sindhi *čandh*.

*čad-ām*: *čad-ām* Yzh to throw in wrestling. — *čad* rto *čadem*, *čur*, pres. 3 sg. *čadeste*; *mān* vto *čadīm*, *mo* 'ādam vto *čadī'o*. — Possibly < \**hačā-hand* to make to sit down? Cf.: *čad-ām*: *čad-īm* Yzh, sh to pour out. — *ydu-ō* *čadem* zh, sh I let water into an irrigation-channel.

*čadūr* Yzh, sh, r, g. (sh also *čādūr*) turban, *čōdūr* Z veil. — Khov. *čadūr* turban fr. Prs. *čadar* veil.

*čof* Yzh ceiling made of reeds.

*čogōō*, v. *kyogo*.

*čogulo* Yzh, *čog* r, *čog* (pl.?) zh, *čoguli* g hoof. — Cf. *čigali*. V. *šomb*.

*čigali* Yzh, sh, *čig* r, *čigali* g, *čaggoti* M (sh), *čaggol* g, *čagg* m, *čagg* Z claw. — *čigo* č° Yzh 'zad bu čagg'. — Cf. Sgl. *čingāl*, Or. *čingāl* fr. Prs. *čangāl*.

*čugurē* Yzh, *čik'ri* M(g) rhubarb, *čugurē* Yzh sorrel (*čigiri*), *čigiri* r a plant with an acid taste. — Cf. Prs. *čukri* sorrel, Khov. *čuku'ri* small, sour cherries; Orn. *čuk'ri* rhubarb.

*čōyū-um*: *čōyud* Yzh, *čōyūd* sh, *čōyuo*: *čōyud* Z to return, 'pas galtan'. — *mir* *čōyū'a* zh return here, Khov. *učhi yari*; *čyūa* (f) as sh return and come; *wān* *čōyūd* 'pas galt'. — Cf. Sar. *icāzib* < \**icāz-gaip*; Or. *icāzib*: *icāzib*. V. *yi* and *čōyū*.

*čayul* Z pit, ravine, gully. — From Prs. *čayal* plait, fold, wrinkle, and not *ayil*, *nayil* sheep-fold as suggested by Z.

*čkalpi'ō* Yzh, g golden oriole, Khov. *mayōn*.

*čkyūgo* f. Mm, *škūga* Z urine. — < \**čskyō* < \**častūkā*, cf. Sgl. *čip*? V. *mūyo*.

*čulo* Yzh, *čul* sh mane. — Khov. *čul*. *čul* Mm, *čul* g forty. — Prs.

*čaul'i* Yzh, sh, *čli* g stirrup, B horse-shoe. — *yū* *čaul'i* zh. — Cf. Prs. *čaul* crooked.

*čula* Yzh, sh, *čul* Mg, m glans penis; *sar-i-kir*; *čul* Z, G penis. — Prs. *čul*, *čul* penis, cf. G s.v.

*čil'gānē* Yp apricot kernel. — V. *čir'malē*.

*čil'kyō* Yzh, r, g, *čilki'o* sh weeping willow. — Khov. *čiliki*.

*čal-kirmo* Mg n. of an insect, *kormuk*. — Cf. Prs. *čalāk* black beetle?

*čilim* Yzh waterpipe. — Prs.

*čaliya*, v. *kaliya*.

*čam* Yzh, g, p, LSIy, *čām* Yzh, r, LSI. *čām* Mm, G, *čom* Mg, ti, Z, *čō'm* M, *čām* (g) eye. — Av. *čalman*, etc. Note Chr. Sogd. *čm*; cf. Oss. *čam*, *čam* window, mask.

*čamō* Yzh, sh, *čamo* B round brooch worn at the breast. — Khov. *čama* (also in Kalasha, Bur. and Shina).

*čim'derio* Yzh, *čim'derio* sh, *čum* p,



trying pan. — Khow. *čindōri*, *čūndōri*, *čon'dēri* (čumur iron + dori ladle).  
*čāmin* Y how? how much? *čemin* B how, because. — *č° kenēm?* sh 'čiqadī, *ittāri* (= *či-fauri*) *bukunam?* *čiko kenēm?* 'tu *č° vo xōi nafs kenē?* sh how do you deal with your own family? *mo čāmin 'čaya?* a what kind of place is this? 'i *ittāri čā?* 'č° *čūi* zh how do you speak? what do you say? *čēmin lūro* B how far? — *čē + min*.

*čumur'sū* Yzh spit. — Khow.  
*čimitheryo* B maid. — Khow. *čumuf'kēr*.  
*čūmax* Yzh, *čax'mox* Z firestone, flint.  
 — Turk. Prs.

*čan* Ysh. r *čā'na* m, zh, g. 'čā° Mm, *čano* g newborn kid. — IA., cf. Khow. *čhānī*, Kati *čā*, Pashai *čhanik* f., etc. V. *nar'čam*, *čānoyo*.

*čen* Yu? — *čene-ste* (= \**č-kene-ste?*) 'čika *mākinī*.

'*činė* Yzh, °ni g. *čtinino* Mm cup. — Prs.

*čua'no* Yzh, sh, Mm, *čūo'nō* Yp threshing fork. Cf. Sgl. *apčūn?*

*čand* Yzh, sh, B, *čad* Mm, *čēd* G, *čed* LSIm how many? how much? some. — *čand paisa yurdet* Yzh how much money did you take? *čand ādame?* *čand kī'mat ke ke'ne max roo 'yuram* sh we shall buy it for the price you fix = *čan ke tu kenē, hūy dalem* sh; *tō čand pūre (leydē) astet?* r how many sons (daughters) have you? *yū čad mīž* Mm a few days. — The Y-form is prob. infl. by Prs.

*čānoyo* m, M(g) male kid, one year old.  
 — V. *čā'na*.

*čī'nār* Y, °ār Mm oriental plane, chenar.  
 — Prs.

*čī'nur'yo* Yzh, sh, °r'yo r, g, 'čnur'go (r?)  
 Mm, 'čindērya g starling, *maina* (acc. to zh = *brūyiko* sparrow). Cf. § 44.

*čū'na* Yzh lime. — IA.

*činto* B whip. — Prs. *čanda* (lex.)?

*čop* Y, *čop* u, *čap* Mm, g, Z, G left (hand), Yzh, sh also untrue, lie. — *do čop suv'dō* Yu on the left shoulder.  
 — Prs. *čap*.

*čō'pl* Yzh, sh, B, *čopik* sh, g lie. — *tu čō'plik kene* Ysh; *tu čō'plik č-kē'ne* don't lie; *čō'plik kyt va-mōn* Yg you lied to me. — V. *čop*.

*čapē* Yzh, sh, *čā'pi* pl. p door-frame.  
 — Cf. Prs. *čamba* a large bar, spar, *čām* curved, *čafta* curved, a vaulted roof.

*čpāč* Ysh, *čēpōč* Mm, *čēpōč* Z after, back (adv.). — *dukan'dār č° čūi* the shopkeeper went back; *kō wa-č° čir mīž č° asēm* if I come back after four days; *čī dalem č° āy'čai*. — Cf. Wkh. *sibas*, Sar. *zabō, zabūč*, Prs. *sipās* < \**hača-pasčā* (not with Z < \**hača-parštal*), cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, p. 212. — V. *čpāč, wa-čpāč*. Cf. Ishk. *čpōšt*.

*čū'pān* Mm, *čū'pōn* Z, LSIm shepherd. — Prs. (č < *fa*).

'*čāro* Yr store-room for grain, *ambār*; p hollow, pit in the *čār'sār* (q.v.); *čora f. Z* pit for storing grain. — *driem da č°*. — Prs. *čāla* vault, depository for grain, *čār* potter's kiln; Khow. 'čari pitted from small pox < Ir.

'*čirē* (čī'rē) m, Yzh, °rī sh, g, Mm, g, Z, G, 'čirī Yr, °i Yu, Mti apricot (*prunus armeniaca*). — *ro čirief yurd* Yu; *šō čirien* u from the apricot-tree. — Cf. Yazgh. *čī'rai*, Prasun *čī'rē*, Kati *čirē*, Ashkun *čī'rā*, Kshn.

cer, Bhadrawahi 'cīrō. But note also Armen. *ciran*. Cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 540. V. *cīryāšē*.

*cār* Yp cross-bar separating the strings of a pellet-bow. — Khov. *čār*.

*cōrda* Mg, (g) fourteen. — Prs.

*cār'grinj* Yzh, sh milk-ricē. — Khov. *čhr + grinj*.

*cīr'vīzen* Mt three days ago, *se rūz šud*. — \**cādru + azanya*. Cf. *širizen*, and v. *čurmō*.

*cār'ly* M(g) a kind of cultivated grain or seed, *dōna*. — Possibly linseed from which lamp-oil is prepared (v. Vavilov, Agricult. Afgh., p. 114). Cf. *čirūy*.

*cīrūy* Z, *č'lan* G lantern. — Prob. an early lw. from Prs.

*cār'yāšē* Yzh dried apricots. — Cf. *čīrē* and Prs. *kīsta* dried fruit, esp. apricots (v. Vavilov, p. 452), Psht. dried apricot.

*cīrk* Mm, Z dirty. — Prs. V. *kīl'yo*.

*čoromī*, v. *č' ogušēiko*.

*čur'mō* Yzh, sh, 'čūremo Mm three days ago. — < \**cādru + ama*, not < \**cādrēara + ama* as in most dialects (v. Gauthiot, MSL, 17, p. 161). Cf. *čirgyizen*, *pčūrma*, *čurmosāl*, *čoromī*.

*čar'mak*, *čār'māk* Yp the wool on the spindle. — Prs.

*cīrom* Yzh, in : na *č' no šuya* near the river, *pčē-i daryā* (?).

*čoromī o'gušēiko* Ysh, 'čor' o' g index finger. — *čoromī* fourth, cf. *čur'mō*. V. *čaray'gušē*.

*čurmo'sāl* Yzh, sh three years ago. — V. *čur'mō*.

*čaray'gušē* Yzh the index finger; g the four fingers, *č'gāt* sh id. — \*Prs.

*čār-pā'yālyo* Yp stone lid of the *cāro* (q.v.).

*čārpa'yā* Mm, *čārpā'yā* G bed. — Prs. V. *žen*.

*čār'sēr* Yp elevated platform made of brickwork, in one corner of the house.

*čār'wēt* Yzh headman of a village, *čārbū*. — Khov. *čār'wēlū* headman of several villages (O'Brien). — V. *arhāb*.

*čir'wašk* Yzh, *čār'* sh resin, gum. Khov. *tum*. — Prs. *čarwēk*, *čarbīs* fat? V. *rūyno*, *wāziyo*.

*čār'woyi* pl. Mm, *čār'wōy* m. Z small cattle. — Prs. *čār-pāya*, Taj. *čorvō* sheep. Cf. LSI m *čūr-pālaf* (obl. pl.) cattle.

*čarx* Yzh, g, p, Mg, *čorx* m spinning-wheel. — \*Prs.; cf. *čarē*.

*čār'zo* Yzh avalanche of stones. — Cf. Wkh. Shgh. *čarza* id. < \*Prs. — Khov. *čokāl* id. (\**čakāra*-la) is a parallel formation.

*čarx-i fa'lak* Ysh the Milky Way. — \*Prs (cf. Khov. *čār-falak*, acc. to my Gavar-Bati informant). V. *pado*.

*čar'xānuk* Yp handle, crank of a spinning-wheel. — V. *čarx*.

*čūr'nea* Yzh, u unripe apricot. — *čā* *čīrien čūr'wakaš* āvor Yn bring unripe apricots from the apricot-tree. — Cf. Sgl. *ču'wēl*, Wkh. *ču'wēn* apricot.

*čes* Ysh whatever, *čes* B, *čēs* LSIy what? — *čes* ke *Xadāyen* lio 'čīzi ke *Xadāi dād*'. — Cf. *čē*. — *čes* < \**čes* < \**čēsūt*?

*čēs* Ysh, *čēs* Z, G is not. — *hāt kuči čēs* there is nothing, 'hāt *čīzi nēt*'; *yo čira mon dīfen čēs* this burden is not my husband's; *tu Xadāyen bande čēs a?* are you not God's slave? *tu do āf xabar čēs ā* have you no news



about them? *no xu'rān na'yeŋ 'ceš* there is no bread for eating. — Cf. *če*, acc. to G compounded with *šš* < Av. *ačša-*, but this is phonetically improbable.

*čəšo* Yzh, *ča°* sh, *čəka* p, *čəš* Mg, *čəša* f. Z the pin of a spindle. — < \**čaštrā/i-*, cf. Paht. *cāšai*, Orm. *tisk* (< \**cišk*), Kurd. *lašī*, *tešī* spindle.

*čətir* Yu tent. — *da asmiŋo č° rto*; *da č° loh kināmi rict*. — Khov. *čətir*, in its turn fr. M. Ir. \**čātēr*, cf. Prs. *čādar*, -ir, Russ. lw. *žater*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 680.

*čətir* Yzh, p, LSly (zh also *čətr*, *č's'tir*, p *č's'tir*), *čir* Ysh, g, t, u, B misheard for *čətr*), *čfir* Mt, g, ti, *čfir* (sh), *čfir* m. LSIm, *č°* Z, G (also *č'fār*), *čəfir* MFB, *čəvir* Y, acc. to G (from what source?) four. — *čir miš* Ysh, *čir uenē* sh, *čfir-pālaf* LSIm (obl. pl.) cattle. — Av. *čəduwārē*, etc. Cf. § 102.

*čəf* Yzh antler. — Khov. (Lor.) *čəf* knob on ibex horn. Cf.:

*čəfē* Yzh knuckle. — Khov. *čəf* knuckle, twig (cf. preceding word).

*čmea* (= \**ču va f*) Yzh something. — *mən č° astel* I have something. — V. *čē*.

*čə'wuk* Yzh whip. — Prs. *čəbuk*.

*čəxt* Ysh piece of wood used for tightening a rope. — Cf. Prs. *čəxidān* to twist.

*čəš-*, v. *fiš-*.

*čəy-*: *čəy* Z to freeze, to feel cold. — Cf. Prs. *čə(h)idan*, Zaza *čā-* to feel cold, Sar. *pa-ci-* to become cold, Orm. *čək* cold, and perhaps Khov. (Ir. lw.?) *čəi.ik*, *čəo.ik* (Lor.), *čəhik* (O'Brien) to be frostbitten. Z compares also Shgh. *čəty-*. V. *pēio*.

*čəy-*, v. *čai-*.

*čəš'ya* Yzh, *č'gak* zh, g, *č'yake* pl. sh,

*čəš'ya* Mm, *čəš'lo-ŋo* (g) *č'ya* Z chicken.

— Cf. Badakhshi *čəča*, Madagl. *čəčik*,

Prs. *čəja*, etc.

*čəi'žul* Yzh, *čəš°* sh tea-kettle. — Prs.

## D

*da*. *də* Y, Mm, Z, *də* Ysh, n, Z, *də* G, etc., into, in, at, etc. — Y: *lo'pōi də kyēi* he entered into the house; *nəwər də kučio* brought it out into the street; *nīā (nə'pōr) də kuč'io* went out into the street; *da yū mā'zīt šūi* he went into a mosque; *šio da ar'us* he put it in his lap; *za də-sāharo dyom* Mm I shall go into the desert; *šūi darūn də kyōi* Mm he entered the house; *šūi na Čitrāgī*, *da Čitrāgī rəš* Ysh he went to Ch. and arrived there; *da ur'jug sw'də* Yu on the right shoulder; *wu'žir də kyōi kə jə'hən rūp'yo* Mm he saw that there were many rupees in the house; *dā itēy* Yzh under the roof; *də tō apir astel* Ysh he is in front of you; *da laxčio nīgio* Ysh he took it out of (?) the bag; *da āxrat* Yu finally; *də tō harābar* equal to you; — Prob. < Av. *antərə* (cf. Prs. *dar*) not with G, < Av. *-da*. Greek *-ds*. Cf. § 219.

*dā* Mm, g, (g), (sh), t, Z, G ten. — Prs. V. *los*.

*dā-um*: *dāed-um* Yzh to smear. —

< \**han-daw*, Prs. *andūdan*, cf. Av.

*frā-daw*. — V. *sā*.

*də'bāl* LSly, *də°* m behind. — Prs.

(early lw.) *dumbāl*,

*dādrām*, v. *dram*.

*diš* (?) Ysh after, on account of — *po yū hory diš* 'barā-i yak kār'; *ēr miš diš* 'ēār rūz bād'. — *š* was not heard in any other word.

*dəf-*: *dəft* Yzh, sh, *dəf-*: *dəft* Mm to clasp, seize; *dəf-*: *dəft* Ysh, Mt, *dəf-* Z, *difla* B to fight; : *dəft* Ysh, u, *dif-*: *dift* Z to catch fire; *dufta* B to begin. — *də'fam*, *dəftum* Yzh, *də'fam*, *dəftam* sh, *də'fam*, *dəftam* Mm, t; *xāpni* 'diftē Yzh I started coughing (*ēāspida kat-i mā*); *dəftəd* *də hōry* Ysh they started working, *ēāspidan*; 'lā mən ēē *dəfa* sh don't fight with me, 'kat-i man *jāng na tawid*; *yūfa dəft* Ysh it caught fire, *dar girift*; *vo* (!) *lažino dəft* Yu the wood-pile caught fire, *suxt*. — Possibly really two verbs: \**han taf(ya)* and \**han-dab* (\**han dəf-*, cf. Z s.v.v.).

*də'gōni* pl. Yr twins. — Prs. *dūgāna*. V. *luāneke*.

*degaza'ye* (pl.?) Yp forked rest for a matchlock. — Prs. \**dūgāza*.

*də'hā-m*: *šī-m* Yzh, sh, r, *də'hā-m*: *šī-m* g, 'duh-um: *šī*-Mm, *dō-am*: *šī-im* t, *dē*, *dē*: *šiy-d* Z, *də'h-*: *šī'va* G, *dēh-*: *šīa* LSIy, m to beat, strike, place. — *vto də'hām* Yzh, *də'hām fto* sh, *zo vto də'hām* g, *zo fto dōam*, *dōam* et Mt; *zo vāi də'hām* Yzh, *zo vēi d'hām* sh, *za vāi də'hām* Mm; *tu ēi va-mən de'hē?* Yzh, *tu va-mən ēi de'hē?* g; *də'haf* zh 2 pl.; *tu vōu de!* zh, 'dea sh beat him; *zo/mən vto šīm* zh, *fto šīm* sh, *mən vto šīm* g, *mūn fto šīm* Mt; *tā v'mən šit* Yr, *tō v'mən šit* g, *tu vō-mən šit* sh, *šit* Mm; *šio wōf* Ysh; *mən vto šiyəm* Yg (v. § 248), *zo/mən vto šiyəm* vto r (v. § 250); *mən vto šīm-stəm* g, *zo*

*vto šīm-istəm* r (v. § 247). — *šio da av'pūš* Ysh, *də v'pūš šio* u he put it in his lap; *lažino deš* Yu build a pile; *vo 'yasp' pa'lān šī'ā* u he saddled the horse; *mreca'ye švet* sh they planted fruitbearing trees; *wōu yalbīn šīm* r I winnowed it; *š'fok də'hām* (pret. *də'hā-im!*) zh I fire a gun; 'soro *də'hām* (š'ēm) sh I manure; *nī'mekikya də'hām* zh I dive; *gab 'diah* sh speak; *vritō šie baš* sh if he cuts his beard; *mən dō yū šo to gap* g thy word struck my ear. — *šī* < Av. *jata-*, with *dah-* etc., cf. Shgh. *de*, etc. (cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 78). Cf. especially Sāngisāri *dē-*: *šē* to beat.

*dūh'qān* Mm, *dēh'qān* LSIy, m agricultural labourer. — Prs.

*duk* Yg the wheel of a spindle. — Prs. *dūk* woman's spindle.

*dō ku'eo*, v. *ku'ēio*.

*dū'kān* Ysh shop. — Ar-Prs.

*dukan'dār* Ysh shopkeeper. — *ai d-*; *dō yūd yū alāno*: *šio dukan'daren*. — Ar-Prs.

*dala* Mt marmot, weasel. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *dala*.

*dāl-rm*: *lī-m* Yzh, 'dāl-rm: *lī-im* sh, r, u, g; 'dāl: *līy* (līy) Mm, t, Z, *dāl*-M(g); *līy*-G to give. — *no'man ces dēlum?* what shall I give him? *no'mōn a'mūno dālēm* Ysh I give him an apple; *namōn də'le*, 'nā mōn *dēl* give me; 'na-mōn 'ēi *də'le* don't give me; *dāl* 3 sg., *dālet* 3 pl., *zo 'yūrē nā'yen dālrm* zh I give him assistance; *mən nā'mōn nā'yen lī'im*; *yūn nā'maf nā'yen lio*, *lī'et* 3 pl., *yū a'lāno 'li* vto Ysh he had given a pome-granate. — Av. *dadā-*: *dālta-*.



- cf. Shgh. *šād*. Reg. the dissimilation in *dāt*, cf. § 52.
- dāl* Yzh, sh, *dāl* p the hopper of a mill. — *na dālen*. — Prs.
- daulā'dār* Mm rich. — Prs. V. *bāi*, *akābur*.
- dōlk* Yzh, sh, t, *dōlk* Mm, *delk* Z, *dōlk* B lean, bad. — Prs. *dalq*.
- dūlmīl* M(g) straw, ear of corn. — Prs. *dulmul* unripe grain, cf. Panjshiri *tut-i-dūlmīl* half-dried mulberries (Andreev, On the ethnology of Afgh., p. 23).
- da'len* Yzh below. — *yū maṛa zi d' āyāi*. — *da + len* < \**adana*. cf. Sak. *dina* below.
- dan'lat* Yzh possessions, riches. — *mīnd d'*; *nī'ust sko d'*. — Ar-Prs.
- dil-i tīgar* Yr n. of some entrail. — Cf. Sköld, Mater., 261 *dil-dzīgar*.
- dām* Mm bellows. — Prs. V. *pu'ine*.
- dām* Yzh, sh, B breath. — *yū dām* sh suddenly. — Prs.
- dāmālen* Yzh at noon. — *dā + malen*.
- dā'māmo* Yzh, *dāmāmo* B large drum. — Prs.
- dāmānē* pl. Yzh foot ('hem') of a mountain, *dāman-i kēh*. — Prs.
- dāna* Yzh, *dā'nā* G wise. — Prs. Cf. *lānawo* B.
- drāi* Yzh hither (?). — *ico maṛa drāi* avāze bring the man hither (?). — Cf. *dram*.
- dri-m* Yzh, *dri-m*: *dri-o* sh, *dri-en*: *dri-m* t, *driū-m*: *dri-um* Mm, *dri-am* (g) to pour into, throw (into). — *yauyo da zu'yum* (= 'dri-m) Yr I pour out the water; *maṛaken hūy da tāra:ū dri'o* sh the man threw the money into the scales; *dri'o*, *driet* sh 'andāxkan'; *you driem da dāro y*

I threw the grain into the corn-bin; *koryo o'yury drēi (driyo)* zh the hen lays (laid) an egg; *yario drim* sh I shave (?) my beard. — But cf. also: *tuy'm* 'dra-im Yzh I sow; *drōyam* M(g) I shoot, aim at; *xirām d'rōim* I throw into the threshing ground, I thresh; *drai* LSly, *derāe* LSīm put ye on; *derje* LSīm threw; *d'rōy*: *d'rōy* to throw. — The material does not enable us to decide whether all these forms belong to one verb (*drāt*: *dri-?*), or not. Note that Khw. *drēik* (< Ir.?) means 'to pour out, to throw, to sow' and also 'to shave'. — Z compares Av. *drācaya* 'to make to run'; better < \**han-d'*. Cf. *d'ro*.

*daro* Mm, *dā* g, *'ra* Z valley. — Prs. V. *ko'sa*.

*d'ro'um*: *d'rū'i-m* Yzh, *dro'um*: *dru'i-m* sh, *drō-um*: *dri-m* g, *d'rō-um*: *dy'e-i-m* t, *d'rō-um*: *d'rōy-am* Mt, *d'rō-um*: *d'rōy-am* G, *d'rōy* Z, *d'rō-um*: *d'rōy-am* G, *d'rōy* B to fear. — *d'rō'ei'am* rto Yr I had feared. — < \**han drō-?* Cf. *dri*.

*dārū* Yzh, *dāl* sh, n medicine. — *d'i bihu'āi* n; *ico d' la mən astet* sh I possess the remedy; *cos dārū rto*. — Prs. Cf.:

*dārū* Yzh gunpowder. — Prs.

*dārē* Yp looking around, vision. — Prs. *didār*.

*dār* Yzh, sh, *dār* B, *yu'dār*, *yū* Mm, *dār* Z other, another. — *dār maṛa* another man; *yu'dār sāl* Mm last year. — < \**antāra* (with *-ā* from *atāra*, *katāra*), cf. Sak. *hamdāra*, Psht. *nōr*, Wkh. (Hayward) 'divikh' (?). Cf. § 100.

*dur* Yzh, g. Mm, *dūr* Ysh, r. B, G, *dor* Mt, *dər*, *dūr* Z to-day. — '*dur* 'luro 'pādo šom Ysh I have gone a long way to-day. — Cf. Sgl. *nēr*, etc.?'  
*da'rīy* Ysh, u alas, *afšōs*. — *hai d°* f — Prs.  
*də'rak* Ysh cognizance, perception. — *mayaken d° ē-šūš* the man did not perceive it, *mālum na šud*. — Ar.-Prs. dark comprehending, finding out: cf. Wkh., Sar. *darak*, Shgh. *də'rak*.  
*dril* Yzh, sh inflated skin for crossing a stream. — Khov.  
*dram* Yzh, u inside. — *da-drām tim*, *da-dram šom* Yzh I enter; *də bāy da-dram ē-oi* u '*dar bāy darūn na rau!*' *dramen* LSIly inside. — < \**antarahmi*?  
*drūn* Yr, g. B, *drum* sh, *drūp* zh bow. — Khov. *drōn*.  
*da'rūn* Mg, ti, Z belly. — Prs.  
*da'rūn* Mm, (g) into. — *šūi d° də kvo i m*; *na da'rūna* (g) inside. — Prs.  
*drast* Ysh all, complete. — *d° malk*. — Prs.  
*drušē* Yzh, sh, *dər°* g, *drzš* to r, *dərīšk* Mm rough. — Early lw. from Prs. *durūšt*.  
*drūv-am*: *drūd-am* Yzh, '*drūv*': *drūd*-sh, r, *druvda* B, *drūdda* LSIly to dance. — *drava* zh imper. 2 sg., *druvda* r inf. — Cf. Sogd. *drwēβ*, *zēb* (v. MSL, 23, p. 126). — *dr*-points to borrowing.  
*dra'wō-am* Yzh, *dra-wēdū-ān* G to terrify. — V. *dPro*.  
*dār'xufto* Yzh covering of the smoke-hole. — Cf. Prs. *xufta* curved?  
*'drazum* Ysh, r, g, Mm silver. — Khov. — Note that the word was also used by Mm.

*draxt* Yzh, g. Mm, B, °to Yr, °tē pl. sh, *d'raxt* Mti, *d'r°* Z, G tree. — *draxte mūžet* Yzh the trees are moved (by the wind). — Prs.  
*dar'yā* Ysh, °yā Mm, G, °yō Mti river. — Prs. V. *gauyo*.  
*dōr*: Yg weaving. — *d° kōnom* I weave. — Prs. *darz* seam.  
*dor:ku'yuz* Yzh, sh, °rūz sh, r weaver, spider. Cf. § 193. V. *utada*.  
*dōsto* Yzh handle, hilt: °ta Mm, Z (plough) handle. — Prs.  
*dust* Yzh, *dūst* Z, G friend. — Prs.  
*diš-im*: *diš-īm* Yzh to think. — \**handišya*, cf. Wkh. *diš* to know, Phl. *handiš*.  
*dašk'* Z steppe. — Prs.; early lw.  
*duš'mon* Ysh, °man Mm, *dō* Z enemy. — Prs.  
*'dūōva* Mm the second watering of the fields. — Prs. \**dō-āba*, cf. Shgh. *dāhār*. — V. *liedē*, \**zōkova*.  
*dūw'ēūe* Mm, *dūw'ēū* (g) torch. — Prs. *dūw'ēūb* deodar.  
*'dūōzda* Mg, (g) twelve. — Prs.  
*diz-om*: *dizd-om* Yzh, '*diz-am*': *'dizd-am* sh, *dizda* B to bury; '*diz-am*, *dizd-am* Mm, : *dizdo* LSIly to gather, collect. — *dezdat* Ysh they buried. — \**handair*, Skr. *sap-dih* a heap, mound.  
*dizō* Yp, in *pālef* d° squatting, '*yak jāi bukunī*'; Khov. *blacawe* 'collect'. — Prob. from *diz*.  
*durd* M(g), Z, *dōrd* G thief. — Prs. V. *yāl*.

## D

*dīqan'wō* Yzh cotton thread. — Khov.  
*dīqōnu* (I.or.) cotton fibre.



## F

*fia* Y, <sup>o</sup>ā Mt, *fīyo* ti, (g) <sup>o</sup>a m, *fīyo* g wooden spade, shoulder-blade, *fīya* G, *fīya* m, Z spade. — < \**fayaka*, cf. *Prs. fih* oar, spade (not with Schwyzer, KZ, 63, 58 < *paθ-l*, Wkh. *pēi*, Shgh. *fe*, Or. *fai*, Sgl. *fī*, Par. *phī*, Sāngiskri *fīfe*, Mazand. *fiē*, Talish *hiya*.

*fēi'ēm*: *fēi'ēm* Yzh to cleave, tear asunder, *fēi'im* M(g) to cleave (a log), *fēi'erd-um* tore asunder. — Cf. *pēgiy*: *pēgiy* Mm to cleave? — V. *potišā*, and cf. § 238.

*fēi'nā-um*: *fēi'nārd* Yzh, *fēi'nā-um* zh to put away, hide, *tāga mēkunim*. — *yārd*, *fēi'nārd* she took (the cat) and hid it.

*fāgyikē* Yzh, *fāgyiko* g, *pa'kiki* (?) r. *fagika* B, *fagikef* (obl. pl.) LSIy song. — *f. iam* Yzh I sing; *f. īa* g 'bait *bōken*'. — < \**aṣhang* < \**abi-hagg*, cf. Georg. *hangī* melody (lw.); Goth. *siggōan*, etc. (regarding 1A forms of the root cf. Bloch, BSL, 31, p. 62)?

*fīyiko* Yzh, r, <sup>o</sup>go sh small, wooden spade. — V. *fīa*.

*fkyīyiko* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>go g, r, *ifkigo* B alone. — (i)fk- < \**ēek* < \**airaka*, cf. Sar. *iuj*.

*fro'i* Yzh chip of wood.

*fro-ū*: *fri-ō* Yzh to melt. — *warfo* (ar'iz): *fro-ū* the snow (the lead) melts. — \**fra ri*, cf. Skr. *li*.

*fār-əm*: *fat-əm* Yzh, sh, r, *far-*: *fat-* g, *fōr-um*: *fīt-əm* Mt, *fatta* B to catch, Khov. *desiman*. — *fāto* *ica* *par-yōf* Yzh he seized the mice; *fōl* zh he seizes. — Cf. Bad. *Prs. fāridan* to want?

*fāru* Yzh, sh mill-broom. — \**frā-rue*, cf. *rufo*?

*far'ba* Mm fat. — *Prs. V. laq'dik*.

*fri-yo* Yzh, r, *f<sup>o</sup>yo* sh, *f<sup>o</sup>riya* Mg, <sup>o</sup>ā (g), <sup>o</sup>igo m, <sup>o</sup>iga f. Z flea. — \**frūsi-kā*, cf. Psht. *werzā*, Yazgh. *f<sup>o</sup>rūz*, etc., (cf. Z s.v.).

*frai-yo* Yzh, *f<sup>o</sup>rāyo* sh yoke-rope. — \**fra-yugā*, cf. Sgl. *foryay* yoke. V. *yūdo*.

*frai'brī* Yzh, sh, r, *froy'biz* Mg, *frayol bīl* m sieve for grain (acc. to Mm used for *mužuk*). — Cross between *Prs. faraxbīz* and *yālbīl*. Cf. Wkh. *frazbīz*.

*fer'yāmā* (= *ēf*) Yzh, *fer* g, *fra* sh, r, *fer-yāmo* B, *fra-yāma* LSIy he-goat; *frayomiy* Mm, g, *frāyōmīyo* (g), *f<sup>o</sup>rayōmzy* Z he-goat, one year old. — < \**fra-gāmaka*; cf. Psht. *war-yāmai* male kid; Par. *rha-yām* spring. Similarly Psht. *manganai* young of sheep or goats born early in the season; *manai* autumn (< summer). — \**pra-gāma*: also in Kafirī; cf. *Prasun pāmo*, Kati *pr'ome*, Waig. *prāmā* kid, one year old; possibly also Pashai *ōlāg* he-goat, Gawar-Bati *plāg* goats (coll.) < \**pra-gāmaka* (not < \**prāyaka*). Cf. the following words:

*feryōmtek* Yr female calf, one year old. — Cf. Wkh. *feryōmē* (lw.?) id., and *ragūm*. Note the place-name *Fergamunj* in Badakhshan.

*frayingo* Mm, *frayenga* g, *frāyengā* (g) she-goat, one year old. — \**fragāmikā*, cf. Sgl. *feryōm*. V. *pre'n'io*.

*fer mi* Yzh it may be, *bākad. eii*. — *ica ica āāi nō tat kyīn-a, da kyīi tī fer mī-ā?* has he now gone to his father's house, or will he be in (my)

- house? *da xāna-i mā bāša*; *dukan'dār fər'mā*, *kua'tin f* . . . whether he be a shopkeeper or a rich man, . . . ; *'uoko cās 'kīmat fərmo* (= *vī*) will there be some money? Cf. LSI *ze ferme ki ā-im* I may be. — *Prōb.* *Prs. imper. farmāy.* V. § 254.
- fərmo'-um* Yzh, : *fər'mišč-om* Yzh, sh, g, : *fər'miškv-om* Mm, *fər'miy-* : *fər'mišk'* Z to forget. — *d'v'rōum ke fərmo'-um* Yzh I fear that I may forget, *fər'mišč-om* r perf. — Cf. Wkh. *ramuš-*, *Prs. farāmuš-* etc. Acc. to Henning (ZII, 9, p. 185) the root is \**muš-*, not *mřš-*, and this explanation would suit the Y—M forms, but note *Orm. š'ramšt*, *Par. nhāmuy*, which point to a root in *y*. Cf. § 132.
- farang'fak* Yzh European rifle. — \**Prs.* *fars-* Ysh to spit, *fris-* : *frisšy* Z to blow one's nose.
- f'rāsply* Mg rafters. — Cf. *Prs. farasp*, *f'rāsab*, *farsāb* the main roof-beam, *Kohrudi rasp 'tir* < \**frā-spā*.
- fur'sāro* Mm, *forsāra* MFB, cf. LSI *psaro* down. — Cf. the formation of Lat. *praeceps*?
- f'rūdē* Yzh muzzle, snout. — *Khov. froš*, in its turn fr. Ir.
- f'rōv'mē* Yzh, ° g. ° *šim* sh, *f'rīšim* r silk. — \**Prs.* cf. with *f-* *afrišim*, and *فرسج* (*Garšāp-Nāma*, 603). — V. *erīšum*.
- f'rāšm-* : *f'rāšy* Z to shake trees. — \**fra-šan-*, cf. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 777. and *Brabui šana*, *šaniki* scattering of comfits. V. *ušan-*.
- f'rax-om* : *f'raxi-am* Yzh, : *f'raxi'yo* g, *f'urx-* : *f'irxay* Z to stool. — \**fra-rīxya-*, cf. Wkh. *rax*, *Lshk. yarx* 'excrements'?
- f'sūy-im* : *f'sūy-om* Yzh, r, : *f'sūy-g-om* sh, 14 — Kulturforekling.
- sū-im* g to stand up. — *f'sai* zh imper. 2 sg.; *špāc na tē f'sai* sh he rises after you; *f'sāyo hu'ro* he rose here — *f'saiy-* is the perf. stem.
- f'sidro* Yzh, sh, g, r, *psl*° B spring (season). — \**upa-sārada-*? (v. §§ 127, 165); cf. EVP s.v. *psarlai* (also with \**sārad-*) and Zaza *casāri*, Maz. *avasor*, Sak. *pasāla-* (with \**sard-*).
- fusf'siya* Mm, *f'uf'siya* g a small insect, locust (which makes a noise, *sadā mēkuna*). — Onomatopoeic word.
- f'skō* Yzh, p, g, *f'sko* sh, *f's'kō* r, *f'ska* Mt, g, ° *ā* (g), *f'ska* m, *f'v*° ti, *f'i*° f, Z, *f'ska* G nose. — Cf. Sgl. *fusek*. < \**fuz-k*, connected with *Prs. pōz*, etc. (v. Horn, s.v.)?
- f'sakaf'suro* Yzh, *f'ska'suro* r nostril.
- f'sii* Yzh very soft, ripe fruit, *f'si* B rotten. — < \**f'siyy* < \**upa-xšila-*, cf. Bal. *šāy* to rub away, Oss. *iāsiin*, *fexsnyun* to be rubbed off (Shgh. *štum* hare < \**xšila-dumba-*?), Skr. *an-upa-kṣita-* uninjured.
- f'sarm* Yzh, g, *šfarm* sh, *šfor*°m Mg, m, *šfdr*°m G, *šerm* B shame. — Av. *fšarēma-*, Sak. *kšārma-* (Bailey); cf. Benveniste, MSL, 23, 402 sqq. — V. *šarm*.
- f'sūr-um* : *f'sūed-um* Yzh to suck (used about a child). — \**upa-šūp-*, cf. *šū'vā*.
- f'sā'i* Yzh, *f'sāyi* sh short-breathed.
- f'sto*, v. tu.
- f'shana-*, v. *f'shinā-*.
- f'xa-um* Yzh, *f'xaw-* : *f'xēd* Mt, *f'xō-um* : *f'xēd-im* ti to shear sheep. — \**apa-xab-*? Cf. Sar. *p'xau-* (and Slav. *xabiti* to destroy?). V. *porxan-*.
- f'xot-* : *f'xat'* Ysh, *xat-* LSI *m* to seize,



- believe; *fxat*:- *fxatby* Z, LSim to agree, consent. — *ē<sup>a</sup> fxatiyo* Ysh she did not believe it, *na girift*.  
*'fāxtaga* Mm, *'foxtago* g ring-dove, *fāxta*. — Prs.  
*fyēt(i)* Mm, *fēl* g lie, untrue; cf. *fēl* LSim intention? Scarcely < \**apa-hadya*.  
*fīz* Yzh, sh, g, u, r, Mg, (g), t, *fīz* ti, t, *fūz* Mm, *fuz* B breast, forepart of an animal. — Cf. Wkh. *p'ūz*, Sgl. *puz* (?).  
*fīz-yasti* Mt collar-bone. — V. *kūko*. *pa'rū-yasti*.

## G

- gab'dā um* Yzh to open (a door).  
*gadā-i* Ysh begging. — *g<sup>o</sup> tōla'um* I beg; *g<sup>o</sup> lōyān* give up begging. — Ar-Prs.  
*gof-um* Yzh, *gaf*:- *gaft* Z, : *gaft* LSlly to kiss. — Cf. *boh*.  
*'gūgurt* Yzh sulphur. — Prs.  
*gāl* Yzh, r, *gēl* sh clay (for pottery). — Prs. V. *mil'yuz*, *xa'laryo*.  
*gul* Y, Z, G, B, *gol* Yu, *gīl* Mt flower. — *zō a'mun* *vo 'gal 'āwēr* Yu pick the flower from the apple-tree; *gu'le kšē'et* sh they planted flowers. — Prs.  
*gīl* Yzh, sh boil, small-pox. — Cf. *gul*, and Khov. *isprū* flower, boil.  
*gūl* Mm, g, Z, G dumb. — Prs. *gōl* stupid. V. *kūr*.  
*gul'gūn* Yr red. — Prs. V. *sarx*.  
*gulra'men* Yzh a kind of poplar. — V. *ra'meno*.  
*gī'lās* Yzh, sh, *ōās* Mm, *ōās* Z cherry. — Prs.  
*gulsambarē* Yzh n. of a flower. — Cf. Khov. *gulsam'bār* red convolvulus,  
*gul-i sambār*, *gul-i jafari*; Palola *gulsambar*; cf. Prs. *sumbul* hyacinth.  
*gala'wān* Yzh, *ōwān* u shepherd. — *yū g<sup>o</sup> rī'ō*; *gīlla'wānen* *vo naql yurq* u. — Prs. *galabān*.  
*gunā* Ysh sin. — *mun cis g<sup>o</sup>?* — Prs. *ga'nasko* (pl.) Yzh straw of wheat or maize. — Khov. *ganask*.  
*gungastē* Yr dumb. — Prs. *gung*. V. *gūl*, *kūr*, cf. *kuy'gastē*.  
*gap* Yzh, g word. — *'gab dī'ah* sh, *g<sup>o</sup> dūh* g speak; *vo mōn gap yurā* sh hear my word; *mōn dō yū zō to gap* speak your word into my ear. — Prs. *g<sup>a</sup>ro* Mm, *ō<sup>e</sup> g*, *ō<sup>e</sup> Z* knot. — Prs. V. *yū'rāz*.  
*gar'rai* Yzh Kafir silver necklace. — Khov. *garāi*.  
*gīr* Yzh, g saw. — Khov. V. *arra*.  
*gard* Yzh, dry, rotten. Khov. *ronj*. — Lor. suggests that Khov. *rōnc* 'a disease of corn in which the leaves wither' is the word intended. Prs. *gard* dust, etc., is not known to be used in this sense.  
*'girdo* Yzh, *gird* Z round. — Prs.  
*gord-um*: *'gošt-um* Yzh, u, *gērd*:- *gašk'* Z to turn round, become, *gaštan*. — *gordē* zh pres. 3 eg., *goštēm* u I became; *koriyo goštē* u she turned into a dove. — Early lw. from Prs., cf. Sgl. *yart* (with *y*, also, if correct, in *yōstēa* B to return). Khov. *yard*, but Prsht. *garzēddēl* to walk about with *g* (< Prs. \**garā*).  
*g<sup>a</sup>rah* Yzh, sh eclipse. — Khov. *grah*.  
*garm* Yr, *gōrm* Mg, Z warm. — Prs. V. *pič* and *farmai*.  
*gram'bušu* Yzh, sh, *ōbe'sane* g neighbour. — Khov. V. *am'sāyo*.  
*g<sup>a</sup>rinj* Yzh, r, *gr<sup>o</sup>* g husked rice. —

Khow. *grānj* fr. a Prs. dialect. V. *bʷrunj*.

*gir'eān* Yzh, *°bān* sh, *gir'ebān* r, *°ān* Mm, *gəriēn* Z shirthead, collar. — Prs. V. *hasa'ine*.

*guš'wōr* Mm, *gū°* m, Z, *guš'wōvā* M(g) earring. — Prs. V. *gūārikē, kadrēno*.

*gaḡ* Yzh, sh, p rafter, acc. to p the beams surrounding the smokehole of the Chitrali lantern roof. — Khow.

*gurv*: *gurd* Ysh, g, r, u, : *gurd* Mm, *gūr*: *gūrd* Z, *gūda* B, LSly to burn, *sōxtan*, Khow. *palēik*. — *yūfa* *gucē* sh 3 sg. — Apparently from \**han-kaub/p*.

[*gurā*]: *gurd* Yg to put fire to.

*gox* Yzh hollow; sh, g, r, Mm stem of a tree. — Khow. *gox* hollow, hole, hollow tree.

*gūy*. Mm to knead. — \**han-gauš*, or, better, \**han-grā* (v. § 132), cf. Prs. *yašta* kneaded, mixed, and v. *āgungy*. *gūya* Ysh just as, as if, thus. — *'guya* da *Dra'wuso* 'rio he was as if it were in Drosch (: as far away as D.); *icos gūya key* now do like this, *ālī amī kāre bukən*. — Prs. *gūyā*.

*gvib*, *gvip* Yzh, Mt, *gip* LSly lost. — *g° šūi* Yzh, *g° šūi* Mg he was lost. — Early lw. from Prs. \**gumb*, *gum*.

*gvibo*. Yzh to sink (tr.), : *gibōvd* g, *gibōv* Z, *gibōvd* B, LSly to lose. — da *yanyo gvibōsim* Yzh. — V. *gvib*.

*gvib'lenikē* Yzh, °g mosquito. — V. *maxšē*.

*gvēr-em*: *gvēšē-em* Ysh to walk, to turn round, *g'ōyāšk* Mm to turn, pass; *giyar*: *giyāšk* Z to pass over. — *yu cad miči gvaškvaḡ* Mm a few days passed, *gašt*; *au'qāt-iš giyāšk* he passed the time, *guzarān-iš šud*. — \*Prs. Cf.:

*gvēr*: *gvēšē* Yzh to forgive, r to pass, *guzāstan*, *gvēr*. *gvēšk* Mm to pass (tr.). — Early lw. from Prs. \**gidār*, or from some dialect form with -y-, cf. Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār* to leave behind. — Cf. also *giyōr*: *giyēt* Z to carry across, etc.

*gas* Yzh ell. — Prs.

*gu'zar* M, m, g, Z ford. — Prs. V. *pālf*. *guza'rān* Mm livelihood, means of existence. — *g° ēi šūi*. — Prs.

*gaḡdumba* Mg, t, °o m, °ā (g), °e (sh) scorpion. — Prs. V. *kur'mo*.

*gr'žē* Yzh, sh, *g°žē* r pick axe.

## I'

*ḡau*, v. *ḡawo*.

*ḡi-um* Yzh, *ḡi-um*: *ḡi-rd-um* M(g), *ḡi-*: *ḡi-rd* Z to spin, Khow. *ga-imān* (= *yēimān*). — Cf. Sgl. *ḡi-ō*, Wkh. *ḡip*, Sar. *ḡib*, Shgh. *ḡib*, Yaugh. *ḡob* (v. Z s.v.) < \**gaip*. — V. *zrye*.

*ḡo(h)* Yzh, *ḡō* sh, *ḡō* r, *ḡū* g, Mm, g, *ḡūe* Z excrements. — From Av. *gūša* we should expect \**ḡūš*.

*ḡū* Yzh, g, p, B, *ḡūl* Ysh, r, Mt, g, (g), ti, Z, Junker, LSIm, *ḡū!* (?) Mm, *ḡūš* (?) G ear. — *ḡūi lār* Ysh listen, *ḡūš dār*; da *ḡūi šī'a* sh it struck his ear. — Av. *gaōša*.

*ḡū* B deaf (Tom., p. 206 translates "tief"). Prob. due to some misunderstanding. Scarcely < \**a gaōša*.

*ḡu'bār* Mm, °ōr Z dustcloud. — Ar.-Prs. *ḡūdām* Y, *ḡōndām* Mm, g, ti, °am t, (g), *ḡā'dum* G, *ḡō°* Z, *ḡāndām* MPB (autumn) wheat. — Av. *gantuma*, Wkh. *ḡīdim* (< \**ūma*), Sgl. *ḡōndām*. Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 131. V. *af'srēnē, pa'tzanē*.



*yadēm-lro'vo* Yzh wheat-harvest.  
*yad'min nayan* Yzh, sh, *yad'min* n° Mm wheaten bread. Cf. *fandumin* n. of a place (Ērānshahr, p. 228). V. *arō'min*.  
*yafs* Z fat. — Cf. Tajiki *gauz*, *gazb* fat, thick, Badakhshi *γaus* thick (stick), Shgh. *yafē*.  
*γāyio* Yzh, g, *γē°* sh, *γi°* p, *γāyo* r cow-house. — Cf. Shgh. *γētid*, Psht. *γājəl* < \**gau-kati*. V. *pā'rivur*.  
*γākv* Yzh, sh, *γik* r, *γēk* g penis. — < \**gānuka*? Cf. EVP. *γēy* (and Prs. *marz-gūn*), v. § 117.  
*γēikskōdam* Yzh circumcision (prob. pres. 1 sg.). — Cf. *skōd* and v. *nai'levd*.  
*γūt-kī'γō* Yzh ear-wax.  
*γāl* Yzh thief. — Av. *gāda-*, Psht. *γal*, Wkh. *γāḍ*. — V. *dud*.  
*γūelo* Mm yoke-rope. — < \**yū'elo*? V. *frāi'yo*.  
*γūlak* Mm, g, °ak G, *γū'lak* Z pellet-bow. — *γū'lak skuta* 'pusteka' Mm (?). — Taj. *γūlak* (cf. Z s.v.), but Prs. *γūlēl*, Bal. *galol*, Lhd. lw. *γūlēli*. The IA words mentioned Nep. Dict. s.v. *guleli* are borr. from Prs.  
*γū'lek* Yzh dewlap. — Cf. Prs. *γōlak* 'money-till, save-all' (< 'sack, bag')?  
*γāl'tan*: *γaltand* Yzh to roll (tr.). — Prs.  
*γāle* Yzh, *γāle* sh, *γālv* r, *γāly* g, *γōlv* Mg, *γōlf* (g), t, (sh), *γōly* m, *γōlv* Z, G, *γālf* LSly, *γā°* m dog. — *γālv rōvē* Yr. — Av. *gadva-*.  
*γāmu* Yzh a kind of pulse not grown in Lutkoh (*pāyān ast*); sh pulse from which roasted flour (*talkān*) is made (*γāmi*); *γōmu* Mg 'dōna miāl-i mu-γa, šōxol'. — Cf. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.* pp. 114 *gomu(ng)* 'Errum *Ervilia*'

(but acc. to Desmaisons, *Diet. Prs.*, *šaxal*, *šāxāl*: Hind. *arhar* *Cytinus cajan*).  
*γūmino* Yzh, g, *γū'm°* sh, *o'γūmino* r podex, anus; *γ° rēy* g anus. — Cf. Wkh. *guh-rāda* guts, v. *γō(h)*?  
*γūnia* Yzh, *γūni'o* r, *γūni'i* sh, *γū'ni* g (pl.), *γūnī* Mm, g, (g), ti, *γūnoy* m, Z hair. — *γū γ° zh*. — < Av. *gaona-*: *γō'nigo* Mm, *anī'ga* G sneezing. — *mon γō'nigo* I have sneezed. — < \**x/γnāiš-*, cf. Prs. *īšnōša*, Psht. *nāi*, Yazgh. *šī'nāšw-*, Oss. *ārsnirsūn* (onomat.).  
*γūiniko* Yzh, *γūenikē* (pl.?) p door-hinge. — Cf. *γū?*  
*γōnil*: *γōnelāi* Yzh, *γā'nēl*: *γānī'lāi* sh, *γānil* g to bleat, to bellow. — *ōzo γō'nīlē*, *γōnelāi* zh, *γā'nēli-a* sh does it bleat? *ōzo*, *γāico* *γā'nīlo* g. V. *anuv*, *prāy*.  
*γār* Yzh, sh, r, *γār* g, r stone, hill Mm, G, *γār* Mti, g mountain, hill (Mg hill-top); Yzh, r, Mm also 'pass'. — Av. *gairi-*, Psht. *γār* mountain, Par. *gir* stone, etc.  
*γār* Mg adulterer, *kat-i zan i diga mēkina*. — Prs.  
*γōro* Yzh cluster of grapes, Khov. *γruc*.  
*γū'rōi* m, Yzh, sh, r, *γō°* g, *γō'rāi* Mg, (g), ti, °ai m, Z, °ai G earth, dust. — Cf. Yaghn. *γ'rik*, Sogd. *γ'ryk* (not with *ar-* as assumed by Henning, BSOS, VIII, 585, but Yazgh. *x'rik*); possibly also Sak. *griham* clay.  
*γūroi-p'īx* Yzh clod of earth. Cf. *pīx* ('ball' < 'bullet').  
*γā'rīb* Yzh poor. — Ar.-Prs. V. *tur'wo*.  
*γā'rībīl* Yzh, sh, °in r, *γā'l'bīl* p, Mg, Z, *γō'l'bīl* (corrected from °in) Mm sieve for flour (for wheat Mm). — *you γ° kōnem* Yp, *γ° γūrdam* p, *wōu* *γā'l'bīn* *zīm* r. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *fraybīl*.

*yar'basē* Yzh sod, clod of earth. — Cf. *yuroi*.

*yary* Yzh, sh, g, r, *yory* Mm, *yary* B heavy; *yōryā* f. M(g) pregnant, foetus (da dariān-i zan asf). — Av. *gouru*. *yēr'nānu* Yzh whirlpool, eddy. — Khov. *yernānu*, *yerd'*, in its turn fr. Ir. — Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

*yurū'rang* Yr grey, dustcoloured. — Cf. *yū'roi*.

*yur'vum*: *yurd-um* Ysh, r, *yur'um*: *yurd-um*, *yū'ried* zh, *yū'r-um*: *yūrd-um* g, *yūr-um* sh, *yurd* u, *yurv-am*: *y'rued-um*, *yurued* Mm, *yōrv-am*: *y'ried-am* t, *yōrv-om* G, *yōrv*: *yōried* Z. — *yurē* 2 sg., *yurēt* 3 pl. Yzh; *max* 100 *yuram* sh we shall buy it; *zo* 'xabar *yū'rum* sh, *yū'rā(h)* sh, u, *yurva* g imper. 2 sg.; *vo mən gap* *yū'rā* sh hear my word; *yurd* *yū alāno* sh, *v'* to xai *vrai* *yurdum* u, *yāl'lāl* *yūrdam* Yr, *yuridogum* perf. u, *vo luydaf* *yū'rued* Mm. — Av. *grab*, etc. V. §§ 129, 151.

*yur'vo* Yzh, sh, g, r, *yū'* Mm, *°ā* g, *yōrva* (g), t, *yū'* ti, *yōr'va* G, *yū'* Z throat (exterior). — < Av. *grīvā*, or < \**grivā* (cf. Greek *dépn*, etc.)?

*yar'eaden* Yzh yeast.

*yurvo-ku'luxa* Yzh Adam's apple.

*yū'rež* Yzh, *°oā* sh, *y'rōž* r, *yō'* g knot. — *y'°* *kē'nēm* zh. — \**graḍya*, Prs. *giriḥ* (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 25). Yazgh. *y'raieθ*, Sak. *ggratha* (?). Cf. Prs. (dial.) *yīk(a)ē* < \**grāci*. Bal. *garand* < \**grandaci*.

*yori-bombur* Ysh large, yellow wasp. — Khov. *yōfi-b'āmbur*.

*yur'ēd-um*: *yur'ēd-um* Yzh to swallow. *yū'rikē* (pl.) Yzh earrings. — \**gauša-bytaka*. V. *gušwōr*, *kadrēno*.

*yurp* Yzh steep, precipice, sh deep (water). — Cannot be connected with Phl. *gavr*, etc.

*yū'paka* pl. Ysh the temples. — Cf. *yurp*. V. *poza'yak*, *šāzek-i-sar*.

*yīs* Yzh thread made of goat's hair. — Av. *gaēsa*, etc.

*yisē* Yzh plaited bottom of a bed. — Cf. *yīs*.

*yūskən* Yzh, g, r, *°un* sh, *yūs'kun* Mm, *yūskən* g, *°en* Z cowdung. — \**gau-sakana*, cf. Par. *sayōn*, Wkh. *səgin*, Orm. (*°)skan*, etc.

*yāšē* Yzh, u, *°i* sh, g, r, Mm, *°oy* Z, *yā'si* G good, well. — *wən* *ī'sto* *ke* 'yāšē' Yu he said 'well'; *yāši ādam* r he is a good man; *nū* *yāši kit* zh the rain does good; *yāši kak* g boil it well; *mai* 'yāši these are good. — Cf. Prs. *gaš* delicate, handsome, TPhl.nw. *gš-* to be happy?

*yūš* Y, *yūš* Mm, g, Z, G flesh, meat. — Ace. to G, fr. Taj. *yūš(t)*, which I have not been able to trace, and which must, if it exists, be of E.Ir. origin, just as is the case with Par. *yūš*. — *yūš* and Psht. *ywaša* < \**gaustrā* a form remodelled from \**gaušta*, (Prs. *gōšt*, cf. Av. *aōšta* and *aōštra* lip), cf. Sak. *ggūs'ta* (\**gau-st*, v. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 413).

*yiska* f. Z fur-coat. — Cf. Ishk. *yūšt*.

*yū'vē* Yp, *yūvya* Z wooden trough. — \**gaub/paka*, cf. Norw. dial. *kaup* wooden bowl, etc. (v. W. P., I, p. 561). Cf. also s. Sgl. *yōv*.

*yāvē* Yzh, p, LSIy, *°wō* Yr, g, *yōwō* sh, *°wa* Mt, *yōwō* m, *°ā* g, (g), *°e* (sh), *°a* Z, *yā'wa* G cow. — *yaw* *anwē* Ysh, *y'°* *yanila* g, *y'°* *bayaz* *kiteste* r the cow bellows; *yaw-a'vazm* sh I



bring the cow; *mo yao* sh this cow; *yau vastəm* (lō kəzm) r I bound (released) the cow (poss. *yau* m. in some of these examples?). — *Av. gav-* *yavarso* Yzh, *yau*° sh, g, r millet, *gāl* (Panicum italicum). — *Cf. Prs. gāwars(a)*, Shgh. *jāwans*, Bajui *jwāwān* (Sköld), Kurd. *gāris*, *gōris*, Saka *gawsā*, Par. *gāl*, poss., with different suffix, Psht. *yōft* (cf. Psht. *wēfta* 'hair': *Av. varṣa-?*). *V. yūrsun*. *ya'za* Yzh a room.

*yāz-əm*: *yāz-əm* Y, LSly, m to run. — Ir. *\*gāz-*, cf. Yazgh. *yāz-*, Shgh. *zāz-* to run, Oss. *yāzun*, *qazūn* to play, make display of one's horsemanship. — Reg. Ir. *\*gāz-* to dip, drink, v. *anyōz*; cf. also *\*gāz-* to bite, sting (EVP, s.v. *āyza*); *\*gāza-* shrub, etc. (v. Sgl. *yūz*); *\*gāza-* fat (EVP, s.v. *yāza*, cf. Khov. *zāy*, Yazgh. *zēy* fat?). *yūz'yūp* Yzh, sh, g very dirty.

*ya'tardum* Yzh, °ved sh, °ved n to make to run. — *nos yaspē yāzardel* sh 'aspara dāwēndan'; *yasp yāzarda* baš n; *'paga ya'tardum* zh (v. s. v. *paga*). — *V. yāz-*.

*yo'zī-m*: *yo'zī-m* Yzh to stumble. — *Cf. Wkh. gaē-* to totter? Connection with Old Engl. *cuacian* 'to quake', etc., is possible.

## H

*hāc* Yzh, *uē* Mm, *zē* G, *hēc* B no, any. — *hāc kuēi cēi* it is nothing; *uē ku ēi* rio it was nothing. *'hēc ēzī na būt'*; *hēc kuē* B nothing. — *Prs.*

(*hoē*) Yzh, *hoē* sh melted fat (*au karda*). — *Khov. (Lor.) hōē* cooked fat, dripping. — *V. sōbrim*, *wārd*.

*hadē* m. and f. Yzh, *hadē* LSly, *hadda* B slave. — *\*han-taka*, cf. *Wkh. andag*, Sar. *indij*. *Cf. ida*, *idiko*.

*ha'dam*° Yzh, a° r, *aw'dām* Mm limb; *a'dam* Yr body. — *drust adam* Yr. — < *Av. handāman-*. *Khov. ha'dām* has the appearance of being a lw. from Y!

*haud* Mm, *həud* t, *aud* g lake. — *Ar-Prs. hauz*, Taj. *havd*. *V. fōi*.

*hūy* Yzh, sh, LSly price, money, pūl. — *ma xō'nam*, 'na lā 'hūy dalem we shall buy it and give you the money; *čan ke tū kenē*, 'hūy dā'lem Ysh whatever you do, we shall pay the price. — < *\*wahaka-*, *Prs. bahā*. *Khov. wāy* > *Wkh. way*, *borr.* from an earlier form of the Y word? *Cf. Brahui* (< *\*Bāl.*) *gicāēl* commodities < *\*wahāci-* (?), *Oss. wari* 'sale'.

*hukm* Ysh command, order. — *ba hokm-e Xadāyēn*. — *Ar-Prs.*

*hāl*, v. *māl*.

*'hālo* Yzh polo-stick. — *halo xodam* 'bāzi kardam' (?). — *Cf. Khov. hal* goal in polo fr. *Prs. hāl*.

*haulē* Ysh (garden) wall. — *Khov. hau(A)li* court yard (Lor.), Panj. *haweli* enclosure for cattle, etc., < *Ar-Prs. hilak* Mm flour-sieve. — *Turki elēk*, *alak*. *V. yārbil*.

*ha'lāl*, °ār Yzh lawful. — *h° mūzdurs ken*. — *Ar-Prs.*

*ha'wē* Yzh, sh sweets. — *Ar-Prs.*

*heno* Yzh scabbard. — *Khov. hanu*.

*'honadiy* Mm out of breath. — *\*an-antika*, cf. *Av. anti-* (: *ā-anti-*) inhalation. *Cf. Barthol. 1F. 7, p. 59*.

*'henju* Yzh tamarisk. — *Khov.*

*har* Yzh, Z all, every. — *Prs.*

*hu'rē* Yzh, sh, u, 'wuro, 'āra Mm, 'wura Z,

*wura* LSim, *hūrē* B there. — *uśūr kə yūi kvi huro astet* Ysh he saw that there was a house there; *fsāyo h°* he rose there (*da amin jāis*); *rə'siet h°* Ysh they arrived there; *h° da bāya r, niāst wuro* Mm he sat down there. — Av. *awādra*, Psht. *war*, Kurd. *ōra*.  
*hargeno* Ysh on all sides (?). — *h° 'haulen pəzgi'et* they built a wall all around it. — Cf. *har*?  
*horγ* Yzh, sh, *orγ r, hōr(g)* g, *ōrg* Mm, *ary t, arg Z*, LSim work. — *zo wum h° kənam* Ysh I do this work; *po yū h° diā sh 'barā-i yak kār*; *hōr kənem g, 'arγ ike'nam* Mt, *hōrkən* B work (: *\*hōry kən*) *arkirīm* G work (for *\*arg kirīm*). — Cf. Wkh. *yark*, Sgl. *ari*, Phl. *ark*, etc. V. Barth. *Miran*. Mund. I, p. 10; Bailey, JRAS. 1930, p. 18.  
*'harkō* Yzh, *'hā°* sh upper part of the back, between the shoulders. — Turk. *arqa*, cf. Sgl. *ar'ka*, Khov. *ar'qa*.  
*harko'gastē* Yzh spine.  
*hojk* Yzh scar. — Khov. *holk, hōdk* (Lor.).  
*hasa'tnē* Yg collar; *os°* zh handkerchief. — Khov. *(h)osēzni* (Lor.) handkerchief.  
*hosta'ganu* Ysh, *osta'ganē* zh plough-handle. — Khov. *hosta'gāni*.  
*hai'wān* Yzh animal; sh mad; *ai'wān* G animal. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Ysh, *a'zōr r* 1000. — Prs.  
*'hāzer* Yzh a sigh. — *h° xištim* I sighed.  
*hazorčāngolo* Mm centipede. — \*Prs.

## K (Q)

*ke, kə* Y, M that, when, where, if, so that, who, whatever. — Cf. §§ 210, 261. — Prs.

*ki'o* Ysh hard work, labour, duty, ploughing, *kulba*. — *na 'xāyi k° kit* he gives himself trouble; *agar nə 'max 'istet k° za'rūr 'šūi* if it has become a duty that they should speak to us (*agar ba mā gap zadan zarūr šuda ast*). — < *\*k(a)riā-*? V. § 132, cf. *kugo*.

*kōi* Ysh, u, *kəy Z, koyi* B who, anybody. — *kōi-ste?* Yu who are you? *na kōi āyōit?* sh whom (what) did you come for? *kōi yurdo forma?* sh *'kī girifta bāšad?* *moi kōi-kān formā?* sh to whom may it belong? V. § 210. — Av. *kahyā*, cf. Wkh. *kūi*, Sgl. *kō(i)*. Cf. *nakoi, kō'dā*.

*kū* Y, Mm, Z, G where? — *ku šuγz vīo* Ysh, *'kujā rafta būdid?* *ku lišcut u 'kušā didi?* *xōyo kū šūi?* zh where did he go himself? *to yār eos kū-ō?* sh where is your friend now? *ku ol?* u *'kīā mēri?* *kū ki tu šūyit*, *zo asəm p* wherever you go, I shall come; *kū vō'det?* Mm *'kujā buridi?* — Av., Prs. *kū*. V. *kušā*.

*kū* Yzh mountain; *kūh bar kūh u* (in Prs. formula). — Prs. V. *yar*.

*'qābəl* Yzh strong. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'būt* Yzh, dove-coloured, Mm, g, ti, Z blue. — Prs.

*kač* Yzh a kind of silk or cotton, *'paxta-wāri'*, sh *pilaŋ* (= *pila?*), g spider's web. — Prs. *kaj* silk of little value. V. *kač-kurma, kač-šōy*.

*'qačio* Yzh, *ka'čio* sh scissors. — *pu k° erūtēf dea* sh cut your beard. — Ar.-Prs.

*ku'čto* Ysh street. — *nī'ā dā ku'dio* go out into the street; *do-kučō* zh outside, B without; *de-kēō* LSIy outside; *d° šom* zh. — Prs. *kūča*.

*kač-kurma* Yzh silk-worm. — V. *kač*.



*ka'čir*, v. *xa'čir*.

*kač-čōy* Yzh cloak made of *kač* (q.v.).

*kə'dl* Yzh, Z, *kedi* LSIy, °ē m who? which? — *kə'dl a'yoī?* Cf. *kidi-čī* B nobody. — Cf. §§ 119, 210. V. *k'em*.

*ka'dūi* Yzh, ko° r, *ko'dū* g cucumber. — Prs.

*ka'dam* Yzh step, pace. — Ar-Prs.

*ka'dron* Ysh earring. — Khov. *kari'dreni*. V. *gušwōr*, *yūārike*.

*kaf'čī* Yzh, sh hollow below the sternum. — Cf. Burushaski (Lor.) *askāpon* id. (as heart + *khapon* spoon). Cf.:

*kaf'čio* Yzh, g, Mm, °ēto Yeh, *kaf'čia* f. Z, °i'va G *kaf'čī* B spoon. — Prs. V. *nar-kaf'čī*.

*kuf'čily* Mm stockings. V. *širabē*.

*kāfila* Yzh, *kāfilē* sh caravan. — Prs. *kafas'tūr* Yzh cage. — Ar-Prs. *qafas* + *tūr* (q.v.).

*kāfā* Yzh, g, °ōso sh, *kafāko* r, *kafāso* Mm, °a f. Z, *kafā* G shoe. — Prs. *kugo* Mm plough. — < \**kṛśākā*, cf. *kāo*, *q'āy?* V. § 132.

*q'āy* Yzh, p, °ār sh, *kī'āy* r, °ā'y g, *q'ō* Mt, *q'ō* g, (g), (sh), *'quwōy* m, *'kuwā* Z, *keqay* LSIy, *kūa* m, *kyāx* B bull. — Reg. the uvular fricative v. § 33. — Cf. Sgl. *kužāk*, Yaghu. (Ujfalvy) *kšak* bull, Saraghlani (Z) *kūō* 'cow'. — Derivation from \**kṛśāka* improbable. Cf. *kī'ō*.

*kāyāko* Mg throat (interior of). — V. *ālq*, *stūya*.

*kāyōz* Ysh letter. — k° *kəpō* he has written a letter. — Prs.

*ka'hāl* Yzh lazy. — Ar-Prs.

*kūh'no* Yzh, *koh'no* sh, *kūna* Mm, *kūnaga* Z old, ancient. — Prs.

*kāk* Ysh, r thirsty. — Prs., Taj. *qāq* dry. V. *trušna*.

*kāka* Yzh, sh, r top of the head, *kāka* g back of the head, Khov. *khāk*. — Cf. Badakshi *kāk-i-pā*, Sgh. *kāk-e-līng* leg above ankle, and v. *ušk-māžiko*, *šāxek-i-sar*, *uškīostia*.

*kāko* Yzh, *kako* Mm, *kōkā* (g) aunt, *koko* B father's sister. — But cf. Prs. *kākā* father's brother.

*kūiko* Mm, *kūika* g, ko° ti, *kūwīka* G, *kūyka* Z stone. — Genuine (cf. Wanji *kup* stone), or derived from Prs. *kōh?* *ka'kūk* Y cuckoo. — Khov. *'kakū*, Sar. *kakkūk*, Turki *kakkuk*.

*kākv-im*: *kakvi'-m* Yzh, *ka'kv*: *ka'kvē* sh, *kēkv-am*: *kēkvī-am* r, *'kākū-im*: *ke'kvī-m* (*ke'tvi-m*) g, *kēčiy-am*: *kutviy-ō* Mm, *kōty*: *kōty* Z to boil, cook (Z only intr.). — *yāši kakv* Yg cook it well. — < \**kaṭ-?* IA? Cf.: *kə'tyōv*: *kōtyēv* Mt, *kōtv*: *kōtvēd* Z to boil (tr.).

*kṛkvi'i* Yzh, ke° sh, *kikīkī* (?) r, *kukvi'ya* Mg, *kaj'go* m cooked, ripe. — Cf. *kākv*.

*kūkva* Yzh, °ia r, °tyo sh, Mm, *kō'tva* G, *kūkyo* B short. — IA., cf. Shina *kuṣo*, etc., Wkb. *kəf*, Sgl. *kəf*.

*kō'kvaro* Yzh, °āro g Kafir dagger. — IA, cf. Gawar Bati *ka'fāro*, etc.

*kō'la* Yzh, sh, G when (interrog. and rel.) — *kōla a'yoīl?* *tro kyēi kōlo čyāt* when you come to a house. — Av. *kaḍa*.

*qala* Mm, g fort. — Ar-Prs. V. *lr'zo*, *ku'laē* Yzh, *qō'lōē* Z fathom. — Prs.

*kəlf* Yzh, p, *kolf* Mm, ti, *qulf* Z lock. — Ar-Prs.

*kulyo* Yzh a kind of wild-growing vegetable, *kūlyā* M(g) vegetable, eaten with porridge (*bīrūn-i āš mēudāza*). — \**kaudakā*, cf. Prs. *kūya* (کوه), but

also written كويہ, BQ) sweet esculent herb, licorice? Or cf. Kalasha *kāla* 'chive'?

*kala-kəri* Yzh wrinkles. — Khov. *kaḷa-kaḷi* (Lor.) wrinkled.

*kala-may'zigo* Mm, *ṛiga* Z brain. — Prs. \**kalla-mayšē*. V. (*pusur-mayz*).

*qālīn* Yzh, *kā'lin* sh, g, u, *kālīn* Mm rug (?). — Prs.

*ka'lando* Mm, *ka'lando* ti pickaxe, mattock. — Prs. *kaland*. V. *gr'žē*.

*ka'lāpo* Yzh down. — *k° xovdam* I descended. — Badakhshi *kalapā* sloping down, Shgh. *kala'pāi* down, Ishk. *kalapo* low. Cf. Khorasan Prs. *kallapā* downwards, v. Lenz, Pamir-Dial., I, 171 a.

*ka'pīc* Mm, *ṛīc* Z turban. — Prs. \**kala-pīc*. V. *ca'dūr*.

*kaḷy* Z root. — Cf. Wkh. *kaḷ-bīl* < \**kata-dūta*.

*kaliyo*, v. *ka'e'leu*.

*kām* Yzh, g, r, *kām* sh, *kām* Mm palate. — Prs.; cf. Khov. *khām*.

*ku'mā* Yzh harlot. — Khov.

*kūmio* Yzh big basket, carried on the back.

*kām-lad* Yzh, *ka°* g back-tooth. — V. *kām*, *lad*.

*ka'manek* Yzh bow for teasing cotton. — *k° saham* 'gāla *mēkinam*', Khov. *bīçēšīman*. — Prs. *kaṃānēa* id.

*ka'mān-i* *Rus'tam* Mm rainbow. — Prs. V. *mira-av'lasto*.

*ka'mūr* Yp pouch for gun-powder. — Cf. Prs. *kamar* belt? V. *kutīā*.

*kamar-band* Yg belt. — Prs. — V. *suymolān*.

*kimat* Ysh price. — Ar. Prs. — V. *kūy*.

*kān* Ysh, Z affix of the predic. gen.

V. § 214, — *mān-kān*, *ta-kān amaf-kān*

(§ 203), *amān-kān*, *amaf-kān*, etc.

(§ 206), *kāi-kān* (§ 210).

*ken-am*: *ked-am* Mm, *kān*: *kēd*. Z to dig. — *kīdo* rā zā'mīn dug in the earth. — Av. *kan*.

*ke'n-ēm*: *kə'r-ēm* Yzh, sh, u, *kən*: *kər*. g, *kə'n*: *ke'r*. r, *ike'n-am* Mt, *yiken*: *yikər*. m, (*ikhən*: (*ikhər*. Z, *kə'n*: *kər* G to do. — *kene* sh 2 sg., *ē-kir kōne* Yu you cannot (*na mētān*); *kāt*, *kə'īt* 3 sg.; *ke'nam* 1 pl. sh, u, *ke'net* 3 pl. sh; *kēn* imper. 2 sg. sh, *kene* 2 pl. sh, u; *xo'āne kə'nē* sh make merry; *mān ory ke'rēm* r I worked; *ro'mān xo'lās kə'yet* sh you released me; *kə'ryom* sh I have done; *kid vto* he was doing. — Av. *kar-* (*kərənav*). The element (*yā*), which appears in some of the M forms, can scarcely be an ancient prefix (*ai-*?).

*kə'nī-* Ysh, in *'icos na xo'yīn lə'zo kə'nīum* now I shall have a castle made for myself. Or: let me now make . . . — Causative or subjunctive?

*kun-om*: *kū'nā i-m* Yzh, *kun-om*: *kū'nā i-m* g, *'kūn-om*: *kū'nā i-m* r, *kū'nāy-am* Mm, *kūn*: *kūnōy*. Z to copulate. — Z compares Prs. *kūn*, but cf. Orm. *kīn*: *kīeul*, Caucas. Jewish *kūn-kerd*, which point to a contamination between *kūn* and the verb 'to do' used euphemistically (cf. Horn, Np. Et., 259). Cf. Sgl. *ken*.

*kīndākā* M(g), *'kīn'tika*, *'kīn'k°* Z small girl; *kinke* ISlm girl. — Somehow related to Prs. *kaniz(ak)*, Auromani *kānācā*, etc. \**kanyaāi* > *kīnē*?

*kando* Yzh, sh, *kēnd* Mm plough-share. — < \**kanando*? Cf. Prs. *kanand* hoe, spade or instrument for turning up ground which cannot be ploughed.



With dissimilation *Prs. kaland* pick-axe, and further *kuland*, *kulang* (through contamination with the word for 'crane'). But cf. also *Psht. kunda* plough-share.

*kund* Mm blunt. — *Prs. V. mīk*.

*'kandraq* Yzh trench, ditch. — *Khov.*; cf. *Prs. kandaq*, *xandaq*.

*kun'dūt* Mm dust-storm.

*ka'noyiko* Yzh wart.

*kunj* Yzh. Mm corner of a house. — *Prs. V. burj*, *šungā*.

*kēy* Yzh cave. — *Khov. kēn*.

*kun'dūk* Yzh. *'kun'duk* sh. g wooden bowl (larger than a *padriško*). — *Khov.*

*kun'qastē* Yzh. g. *kun*<sup>o</sup> sh. *kun'qastē* r. *kūn'ov* Mm. t. g. *kun'g'* Z. *kun* G deaf. — *Av. karōna*, *Psht. kūn*, etc. Cf. the similar suffix in *gungqastē*.

*'kanqalo* Yzh iron kettle for porridge (not recognized by zh). — *IA?*

*kap* Y. *kop* Mm. g. (sh). *kāp* G. *kop* B fish. — *Cf. EVP. s.v. kab*. The *p* renders the word suspect of being borrowed (from *Wkb. kūr*?).

*kop* Yzh. g. r. *koḥ* sh. *kob* Mm little, too little. — *kop šūš* Yzh it became too little; *hūy kob no'yoṛ* sh the price became too small, *kam šud*. — < \**kam(b)na*, *Av. kamna*, etc.

*ku'por*, v. *pukor*.

*kār*: *'kišē* Yzh. *kāšē*, *kāš'i* sh. : *kāšē* Mm to sow, plant, *kār*: *kišk* Z to plough. — *gu'le kāsē'el* Yzh they planted flowers, *pāšidan*: *ket* zh he plants. — *Baḍ.* and *Taj.* have *kār*: *kāšt*, not \**kāšt*, yet borrowing from *Prs.* is probable. Cf. *Sgl. kīr*.

*hir* Yu. in *ē-kir kane* you cannot. Cf. *'ikar kənəm* Z I can. V. *kēn*.

*'kār* Yzh. *'kār* r to cut down. — *Cf. kōr dah*.

*kūr* Yzh. *kur* sh. g dumb. — *Cf. Ishk. kar*.

*qa'rib* Mm. g near, close. — *mō kyāi q<sup>o</sup>* g this house is near. — *Ar-Prs. V. naz'dik*.

*krabōrē* Yzh wool of lambs. — *Khov. kābraiḥi*, etc.

*karbasa* Y. *kar'basakē* pl. sh. *kar'vaša* Mt. (sh). *kawengwiy* Mm lizard. — *Prs. karbasa*, *°pāsa*, *°pāša*, etc., cf. *Sgl. kōrvišk*, etc. — *V. z'gārmys*.

*kurbas* Mm blind. — *Cf. Prs. kūr*. V. *'yāde*.

*kār'ga* maker of wooden troughs and plates, *tabak-trāš*. — Scarcely fr. *Prs. kārgah* workshop! But cf. *Psht. kāra* large wooden vessel?

*koro'yunu* Yzh. sh cattle-infesting tick. — *Khov. kor'yuno*, *kōr'yōnu* (*Lor.*) tick.

*kur'γudē* Yzh. *°ūt* sh bramble, *siāh-xār*. — With *°γudē* cf. *Prs. kunda* log?

*'kar'γez* f. Yzh. g. *°γez* r. *'kargas* Mg black and white eagle, *Khov. bizbar*. — The *M* form is a modern lw. from *Prs. kargas*, cf. *Sgl. kor'γos*. With *z* also *Sāngisāri k'ar'g'az*, *Brahui kargas*. V. *ukāb*, *šiz*.

*kar'γasp* Yzh small, uneatable fish.

*'kīrēm* Yzh bug which eats the grain. — *Prs.*

*kur'mo* Y. *šū'γus* k<sup>o</sup> g scorpion. *'kurmo* Yg. *kurm* Mm insect (?), *kōrm* Z worm. — *vo k<sup>o</sup> piš'to* Yu he asked the scorpion (*gaḍdum*). — Genuine, cf. *Prs. kirm*, etc.

*kur'miko* Yzh bee. — *V. ag'min-kur'miki*.

*'kārun* Yzh. *°oun* sh army. — *Anc. lw.* fr. *Prs.* The meaning of the *Y* word

- supports Fr. Müller's derivation of *kāreān* < *kāra* (Horn, Np. Et. p. 185), which has been rejected by Hübschmann (Prs. Stud., p. 85) and others.
- 'kurpa* Yzh, *°po* r, Mm, *°pa* G, Z bed-clothes. — Bad. Prs. *kurpa* quilt, cf. Sgl. *kurpē*.
- kurpa'sa* Yr mosquito. — Prs. \**kār-pāsa*. Cf. Ishk. id.
- kī'rāy* Yzh Kāfir cheese. — IA (e.g. Pashai *kī'rār*), but not Khow. (cf. Ashkun Voc. s.v. *ce'la*).
- kur'si* Yzh, g chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'r'dat* Yzh, g, r, *ke°* sh, *'korost* Mg, t, *'ka°* m, *'kə°* Z, G hide, skin. — Cf. Sgl. *korost* hide, Psht. *krāsta* felt. (Impossible etymology proposed by Markwart, *Caucasica*, 6, 32).
- kurušo* Yzh Angelica.
- kər'sac*: *kər'sac*- Ysh to stir (soup, etc.).
- ku'rāt* Yzh ("not made in Lutkoh"), g. Mm, *°tə* Ysh dried curds. — Prs.
- kar'tus* Mm cartridge. — Ind. fr. French.
- karcən'kuš* the morning star. — \*Prs., cf. Wkh. *karēān-kuš*.
- kar'veasē* Yzh, *kar'bos* Mm, *°as* Z cotton. — M fr. Prs.: Y fr. Khow. *kar'vas* (in its turn from Prs. *karbās*, which is of Ind. origin!).
- 'kriro* Yzh, *kəri'o* sh, *ker°* g, *kir'yo* r, *'kiryā* Mg, t, *°o* m, *'khiryā* (g), *'kə'ryā* Z, *kəri'ya* G hen. — \**kṛkīyā*, cf. Prs. *kary*, Psht. *čirg*, Woityak (Iw.) *kureg*, etc. But cf. Shgh. *čutē*, *čatē*.
- kər* in *kər da'ham*, *čiem* Yzh, *kər dam* r to tell a tree; *pa kəra skostēm* zh I felled. — < \**kṛta*. Cf. Sgl. *kuđ ken*.
- kə'rē* Yzh, *yūk'riy* Mm closed. — *ken*- Yzh also means 'to close'.
- ke're* Yzh, *'kəpə* g shield. — Khow. *khēfi*, *kefi*.
- 'kepo* f. Yzh, *'ka°* sh, *'kə°* g, *'ko°* r, *'kə°* p, *'kero* Mm, *'kərika* g, *'kəra* Z, *°ra* G knife. — *nurə'rum* eo *kə°* Yp I took out the knife. — \**kartiya*, cf. Psht. *čəpa*, etc.
- 'kuyə* Yzh numb, stiff with cold, Khow. *kauf*. — *kə°* šai.
- kāriak* Yzh, *°'ak* sh yoke-peg. — *kāriđkē* pl. — Khow. *kāri*, fr. which also Wkh. *kefi*.
- 'kṛtasar* Yzh, sh combined walking-stick and pickaxe. — Khow. *krinzāl* pickaxe, *klinsār* (Lor.) alpenstock.
- krox* Yzh incrustation, scab of a wound. — Khow. *křk* hard, stiff (of a hide, etc.).
- krox(ə)-yastē* Ysh knuckle, ankle-bone. — V. *byok*, *arrigula*, *boda*, *traboda*.
- 'kōs*: *'kist* Yzh, r, *kros*- sh to search for. — *čəs kōse-stē?* Yr *čiš mēšūri?* *kə'o'sem* vto sh 'mēšuridim'. — Fr. Av. *kas* to see, get sight of?
- kus* Yg, Z, *kus* Mm, g, *kəs* vulva. — Prs. V. *šino*.
- 'kuso* Yp straw of maize.
- 'kosh* m. Mm, Z, G, *kōsk* Mg, (g), ti, t barley. — Cf. Yazgh. *kāsk*, Arm. *kask* (Hübschm., 515), but Prs. *kāsk*, Shgh. *čūtē*, Sar. *čūtšj*. V. *'yerko*.
- 'koshən* (*nayan*) Mm barley (bread). — Prs. *kāškina*, Arm. *k'āškēn* (Hübschm., 257). V. *aršə'min*.
- 'qasam* Mm oath. — Ar.-Prs. V. *acor*.
- 'qissa* Yu tale. — Ar.-Prs.
- kō'ia* Yzh, g, *kōš* sh, r valley. — \**kaš(š)a*- 'armpit', cf. Kabuli Prs. *ba'al-i koh* nook at the foot of a hill?
- kaš* Z piebald, multicoloured. — Cf. Shgh. *čūš*, Yazgh. *kāše*, Ishk. *čof*. Psht. *gaš*. *š*- points to borrowing.



*kišča* Yr plough(ing), *kišču-yuz* LSIy cultivation. — V. *kār*.

*'kuščo* Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v. illustrations in Vavilov, Agricul. Afgh., figg. 40, 70).

*kuš'm-un*: *kuš'māi-m* Yzh, *'kiš'mōy-am* Mg to vomit. Cf. *'kašpa* Z saliva?

*ku'sūn* Yzh, sh smoke. — Khov. V. *lūi*.

*k'čēr* Yzh, r, *kšyār* sh a kind of pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, *patek*. — Cf. Wkh. *k'roš*. Acc. to Agricult. Afgh. pp. 112, 114 it grows in Sanglech, but not in Munjan. V. *pateko*, *xurmu-yo*.

*ki'sār* Yp spike of wheat, etc.

*ka'tā* Ysh plough. — V. *kugo*.

*ka'ti* M(g) mixed. — *k°* *kerem*. — Ar. Prs. *qāfi*.

*ke'tiu* Yzh, *kə'tyū* g, *kə'tōb* Mm. — zo *'nā-to kiti'ū da'līm* Yzh, *mən yū k° astot* g. — M fr. Ar.-Prs.; with Y cf. Khov. *kiteb*, Wershlkwar *kičep*, with *imāla*.

*'kautia* Yzh, sh, g, *°tio* r, *'kaftinea* Mm, *°o* g, *kotia* B butterfly. — V. *par'wāno*.

*kut'ā* Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the *ka'mār*. — Cf. Prs. *qūfi* a box in which precious stones etc. are carried?

*ki'taya* Yzh, *°ya(n)* sh wild almond, *bādām*. — From Kafiri, cf. *Kati kte* < *kāntā*.

*kua'tin* Ysh, *ko'tin* g rich. — no *yū kua'tinen muz'durō kin* Ysh take service with a rich man. — Khov. *koa'tin* fr. Ar.-Prs. *°quwafin*. V. *bāi*, *dauladār*.

*ku'tān* Yzh large water-fowl, *'kulān'* (f).

*ku'fox* Yzh, sh, *°ax* Mm a kind of sour milk made from *dūy* (*māst mēzana*,

*dūy mendāza*); *ktax* Yg *kandū* (f). — Cf. Sgl. *k'utax* fr. Tu.-Prs. *katax*, *qatiy*.

*kuta'xin* Yzh bread made with *kutax*. V. *arsəmin*.

*ketyāc*, v. *kākv*.

*kūf* Ysh coat. — Engl.

*ko'tinē* Yzh, *°i* g, *°ine* sh middle-sized hammer. — Khov.

*kišo'ri* Yzh dried mulberries. — Khov. V. *taf'hān*.

*'kovio* m, Yzh, *'kovio* sh, *°iya* r, *°iyo* (*°ūyo*?) u, *koū* g, *'kouya* Mm, *°o* g, *'kōwūya* Z, *kāwū'ya* G, *kōwū* B pigeon. — *kōviyo* *gošē* Yu. — Cf. Prs. *kabūtār*, Wkh. *kibit*, Sgl. *kō'viš*, Khov. lw. *kocor*, etc.

*kovz'dūz* Yzh, *kaf'dūz* sh cobbler. — Prs. *kafšdōz*.

*'kowitzo* Yzh fig. — Khov. *ko'witt*.

*kvoi* m. Y, Mt, *°oi* g, *°oi* m, *°oi* ti, *kyai* Z, *kvēy* G house. — *lo'oi* dō *kvoi*; no *xoi kvin*; *tro kvēi*, *tro kyēf lo'oi*; *asəm nō kyā'yen*; no *xoi kyēyen* Yu; *sūi da'rūn dō kvoi*; *yū kyoi*, *š'roi kyayi* Mm; *mō kyāi qa'rib*, *myend kvā'yī qa'rib* Mg. — < *\*kataka*, Prs. *kada*, etc.

*'kyof-um*: *'kyeft-um* Yzh to groan. — Cf. Prs. *kafīdan* to burst, crack, foam?

*'kvīfo* Yzh, *'kvū°* sh, r, *'kvīfē* Mg, *'kīfa* Z, *kū'fān* Mm hump (of cows). — *moi 'kvūfo* Ysh. — Cf. *kū'fōn* Z camel's hump. — Cf. Prs. *koha*, Kurd. *kēf*, Sgl. *kif* < *\*kaufa*; but Psht. *kwab*, Or. *kūp*, with p. — Reg. Wkh. *kīp*, *kap*, Sar. *kīep* v. Wkh. s.v.

*kyo'gō* Yzh, p, *čō'gāo* sh, *kyo'yo* B pear. — < *\*tongo*, Khov. *tong*.

*'kvahrē* Yzh anger. — Ar.-Prs.

*kvil* Yzh, *kväl* Mm bald-headed. — Prs. *kal*.

*kvēlēu* Yzh, sh, 'kaliyo Mm, *ēaliye* ti, *kal'ya* G key, bolt. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. *kilid*.

*kväl'zereno* Yzh, °*zārcuo* sh white-headed, bald-headed eagle. Cf. *kvil* and Wkh. *kalmory*. °*zreno* < °*gṛdnu*. cf. Skr. *gṛdhnū*—eager, greedy, *gṛ'dhru*—vulture?

*kvēliko* Yzh, sh, 'kvāliko r, °*kve* g, 'kaliko Mm, 'kalvika g, 'kvālvahā (g) jaw. — IA, cf. Kalasha *kālyak*, etc., Par. *kalagi da'nān* front tooth. V. *nī'sok*.

*kväl-yaršio* Ysh beardless barley, 'kal-jau'. Cf. Agric. Afgh. p. 302.

*kvem* Yzh, *kvēm* sh, *kiyam* Mm, *k'yam* Z which? — *mo kvēm ādam?* Yzh 'I kudām ādam ast?' *kyēm ādam?* sh. — Cf. § 210. V. *kōdi*.

*kvānder* Yzh, *kvānder* sh, *kamder* Mm, *kemder* ISly younger, 'kandir Z smaller, *kand'ra* G little finger. — *k° vraya*, *vrai*, *vrai* younger brother. — Prs. *kantar*.

*kvemalyo* Yzh skull. — Av. *kamərōda*, Sak. *kamala*.

*kvunyo* Yzh, *kvun'yo* sh, 'kvū° g, r, 'kugvūrgo Mm, 'kēndərga Z magpie, *yalbək*. — °*krīna(pa)kā* (?), cf. Sgl. *kvēziāk* < °*kēziāk* < °*krīpaka*, Wkh. *kirēpē*, *kitipēi*, Shgh. *kišēpe*, Sar. *kargopē*, etc. (v. Z. s.v.); Khov. lw. *ki'ipēi*, Shina *kašap*, Wershiḱwar. *yašēp*.

*kvī'yo* Yzh polo-ball. — Not Khov.

*kvir'f-am*: *kvir'fai-m* Yzh, : *kvir'fay-am* sh, *kirfa'i-m* r, *čirf-am*: *čirfa'i-m* g to sneeze. — Onomatopoeitic, cf. Wkh. *štrōf*.

*kvārūzo* Yzh, c° sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets. — Cf. Prs. *kirāz* harrow, Orm. *kurāi*, Wanetsi *krōz* spade.

*kvesa*, v. *xštr-kvesa*.

*kvēsina* Yzh forest. — Lor. suggests connection with Khov. *tə-pok* (?) a kind of shrub. — V. 'zangal.

'*kūza* Yg, °o r, Mm jar. — Prs. V. *so'fo*. *qiza'gi* Yzh small bridle. — Ar.-Prs. *qaiza*. V. *avē'lān*.

*ku'fā* Ysh where? — *da-ku'fā? kšā?* — Prs. *ku'fā*, cf. Madaglashti *kušā* < °*kšā* < °*k'u'jā*.

*ku'zo* Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. — Cf. Sgl. Prs. *kūz*, etc.

'*ku'kē* Yzh, °*k* sh, °*kē* p, °*g* g, 'kūšikā l. Z, *ku'ka* B hair (of the head). — *kuška nvašim* Yg. — °*kauč*—lock, curl, cf. Prs. *kōš* curved, Skr. *kucati* bends, Sogd. *kuš'k* 'chignon' (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 229).

*ku'yo* Yzh, r dirty.

*koš'voko* Yzh a kind of red and white duck. — Cf. *kaš*.

## L

*la*, *lo* Y with, together with. — *ze lo to ory ko'nim* Yr I work together with you; *la mən astel* sh I possess. Cf. §§ 166, 218, 220. — Av. *haḍa*, Psht. *la*.

*la*, v. *lak*.

'*liu* Mm rotten, bad, *ganda*; *liu* Z, G bad. — *mai γašī*, *vai liui* these are good, those are bad; *liu keram* I stooled. — Acc. to G < Av. *daiva*. Ishk. *liu* night-mare, *liu* mad belong to a dialect with l < d. Ishk. *len*



stupid, blunt, cf. Prs. *luc* stupid, foolish, may have the same origin.  
*loū*: *lo'wai* Yzh, *lawū* LSIy to graze (tr. and intr.). — *x<sup>3</sup>sh'uān* *lo'ū* the shepherd grazes (the cattle); *wo'ri* *l<sup>2</sup>* the sheep graze: *no-lawayen* LSIy to graze, — < \**dab*, cf. EVP., s.v. *blōs*?

*lūi* m. Y, *lūy* Mm, g. ti, *lū* (g), *lūy* Z, G smoke. — Cf. Prs. *dād*, Wkh. *ḍit*, Sgl. *diḍ*, etc. — V. *kušūn*.

*lūā* Yzh, *lū* g pine-marten, Khov. *rušk*.  
*līb-ēm*: *lībāi-m* Yzh, *lībēm* Mti to card wool, Khov. *dumiman*. — Cf. Sgl. *damb*, Khov. *lw*, *dum*. With Ir. \**dumb* cf. IA *tumb* in Panj. *tumbū* to tease cotton, etc. (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. *tunnu*). — Prs. *dafta* 'weaver's comb' for \**dufta*?

*labakow-um* M(g) to smear, plaster. — Ar.-Prs. *labk* mixing (flour with honey, etc.), mixture?

*lōbān-əm* Yzh: *lōbad-əm* sh, r, *P'vān*: *P'vād* Mm, *P'ven*: *P'vey* t, (g).  
*l'ven*: *l'vey* Z to winnow, *bāt kardan*. — *wōn* *lōbadēm* Yr. — Cf. Sgl. *dvein*. Wkh. *būn*, Shgh. *de'ven*, Yazgh. *deven* to winnow, Av. *dean* (*deasa*) to fly, us *deanaya* to throw up (Sak. *uysran*), *bala* 'winnowed' (= *P'vey*, Yazgh. *devid*, not 'coarsely ground' (v. ZAIRWh., s.v.; Scheftelowitz, ZDMG 59, pp. 690, 780). — Psht. *lean*: *leas* to winnow, Ardistani *band*: *bas* to throw (Bailey, BSOS, 7, p. 771) < *dean*, influenced by \**ba(d)*. Cf. also Orm. *ban*, Bakht., etc., *van* to throw (away), cf. NTS, 5, p. 14.

*lad* Y, *loḡ* Mm, *lōnd* g, (g), t, *lōnd* ti, *lod* Z, *lāt* G, *lād* LSI, *lānd* MFB

tooth. — Pl. *lade* Ysh, *loḡi* Mm. — Av. *dantan*, cf. Sgl. *dān<sup>2</sup>*, Wkh. *dendik*, *lānd*.

*lo'yo*, v. H.

*lūdo* Yzh, u, *lūydo* sh, g, p, *l<sup>2</sup>* r, *lūda* Mti, g, *lūda* (g), *lūdo* m, *lūdd* Z, *lūyda* G daughter. — *tō cānd* *lūde* *astet*? *yū* *lūdo*, *š'roi* *lūde* Yr; obl. *lūden*, *lūdaf* Yr; *lūyde* pl., *lūyde* sh; *lū* *lūdi* *v'at*; *vō* *lūdaf* *yu'rurd*, *mai* *lūdi* *nūstat* Mm, *lūdi* pl. Mti. — Av. *duydar*, Sgl. *wuḍayd*, Wkh. *ḍayd*, etc.; cf. Oss. *xo-ḍiyd* husband's sister (*ḍiyd* \*girl).

*lūydrko* Yzh daughter (demin).

*la'yafēi*, v. *lō'vaxēi*.

*lō'yn-am*: *lō'yod-am* Yzh, r, *lō'yod-o* sh, *lōyot* u, *nayō'n-əm* (?) : *lō'yod-əm* g. : *P'yēnd-um* Mm, *lōyada* B to lie down, to fall asleep. — *lōy'nē* zh 3 sg.; *lōyot* u, 'xau kat'; *lō'yoda* *icart* sh evening, *sko* *lōyo* *šuyam* r perf. (?); *stinyō* *lūi* *P'yoda* g he lay down on his back. — Mm would point to Ir. \**ni-gan*, not \**kan*. Cf.

*P'yān-um*: *P'yad-um* Yzh, sh, r, *nō'yān-um*: *nō'yad-əm* g, *P'yōn*: *P'yēnd* Mt, (g) to throw away, to pour out, 'partau *kardan*, *partaflan*'. — But note also *P'yēnd-əm* Yzh 'partau *kardim*', *P'yēnd-əm* Yr I send away, 'mēfiristim'; *P'yed-əm* I poured out, 'tit *kardam*'; *P'yēnd-um* Mm, 'tit *mēkunam*'; *līgād-um*(?) 'tit *kardum*'. — *gadāt* *lōyān* Ysh give up begging (*partau*); *wo* 'vira *lōyado* da *kyi* 'da *xāna* *bār* *partaft*' sh; *xosto* *lōyadēm* da *xu'rum* r I threw the grain into the threshing-ground. — \**ni-gan*, or, if Mm *līgād* is correct, \**ni-kan*, cf. Prs. *afgandan*, etc., (v. AO, I, p. 249; Bailey JRAS,

1934, p. 515; Henning, ZII, 9, p. 172).

loh Y, lo<sup>(h)</sup> Yg, lo Mm. (sh), (g), lū t, lō g, lū, lo Z, lo<sup>o</sup> G two. — lo naha'rī Ysh two leaves, lo<sup>h</sup> miš, loh pūre sh; 'lo loy'dī Mm. — < \*duca, Av. dca-, etc.

loh-o'gušco Ysh span from thumb to index finger.

loh'rinj Yzh double. — Adapted from Khov. jurinj.

loh'saxo Yzh a period of two years, Khov. jusaxa (not known from other sources!). — sax < \*saxuan- from sak- to pass the time? Cf. yū'saxo.

la'fōm Mm, g. Z, lo<sup>o</sup> ti bride, bit. — Prs. lijām, cf. Sgl. la'zām, Shgh. la'jūm, etc. V. avlān.

la-ken- Ysh, r, lak- M(g) to let loose, leave, la'kra B to leave, lāken LŠm keep, put. — yau lo-kōm Yr I let loose the cow; wo p's'ko la'kōr sh; icos pily'qā lakam M(g) now I break a wind. — Cf. Sgl. la-ken-, Wkh. la-er-, Shgh., Or. lā(k)-, Khov. lw. lakoman I let go, leave.

lāmo Yzh, sh, g, LŠy, 'la<sup>o</sup> Yr, B, 'lomo Mm, 's g, lā'ma G village. — 'lōi 'lāmo v'el they were from one village; wo 'lomo zōcan Mm this village is his. — G compares Av. dāman- creature, creation, place of habitation (in an eschatological sense); cf. Sogd. dm world. Similarly Lhd. lōk village < world.

līm Yzh, g, līm r, lōm sh, Mm, (sh), lōm G, lūm m, Z tail. — < Av. duma- (< \*dumbma-) (\*dumba- would have resulted in \*hub etc.).

lāmdo f. Y, 'lo<sup>o</sup> Mm, 'lōmadā Z hem, 'dāman-, — < \*dāmantā (pl.? cf. Beuv.

Gramm. Sogd. II, 79), cf. Psht. laman, V. avlānd.

lōmago Mm snare. — Psht. lōma, Wkh. dūng, etc.

lō'moi'a Mt swollen, waran karda. — A perf. pte., cf. Prs. damidan to break out in pimples or swellings. loma'len Yzh, li<sup>o</sup> g, nō<sup>o</sup> sh half-full. — \*hāda-madyana-. V. 'malen, nīm'hālo, nīmopir.

lō'mōn-əm: lō'mi m Yzh, lōmo'n-əm: lō'mi-im sh to rub. — < \*ni man(ō)na-: ni-matita- (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 212), cf. Av. mant- (pres. manā-), Shgh. de'mān-, etc. V. magv-.

lōndekā, v. lan'qik.

'lenju Yzh, 'lān'ju(g) sh strip of willow's bark. — Khov. lēnzu.

luānekē (pl.) Yzh, luano'ko sh, lū'eno Mg twin(s); lūini m both. — < \*dwin-, or \*duca-na-? Cf. Sogd. d(y)šn pair (Gramm. Sogd. 2, p. 140), Shgh. dō'u, etc. two. — V. dō'gōni.

lānawo B wise. If correct, ancient lw. from Prs.

lan'qik Yzh, 'lānduk sh, 'ak B fat (adj.); 'lōndekā M(g) belly, škāmbe.

lō'ga Mm, lō'g t, 'ga m. Z calf of the leg. — Prs. lang. V. ilira, naliko.

lan'gau Yg bucket (not known to Yzh). — V. mašerba.

lin'gōn Yr, lu<sup>o</sup> Mm, lo<sup>o</sup> g (not known to Yzh) hand-mill. —

la'poir (l) Yzh glitters, Khov. lapoiran; lapessa B to sparkle. — Khov. V. § 231.

lār-: 'lāt- Yzh, sh, 'lōr- Mm, g, lōr-: lēt Z to have, lār- G to give (?). — lāt zh he has; la'tem sh; lāto he had; zo vsta gap yū lārōm zh I hear your word; yū lār sh listen; xabar lārōm sh;



*tu ištī lōri* Mm have you anything?  
— Cf. Prs. *dāram*, etc.

*lō'ri-m*: *lō're'i-m* Yzh, *lā'ri-m* g, *luriy-am* Mt, *lu'ri-am*: *lu'ri-em* (?) ti, *lūriy*: *lūryiy* Z to reap. — Cf. *lō'raod* Mt reaper, 'gandum ki mēdrauca'. — Cf. Sgl. *deriyy*, Prs. *durūdan*.

*lira* Yp the drum of a spinning wheel (v. Ill.). — Cf. Av. *dāru*, Prs. *dār* wood, beam?

*lūr-om*: *'rust-om* Yzh, sh, *lur*:- *rust* r, Mm, t, ti, Z, *ruš-am* Yr to flee. — *'stārei* *'lūrēt* Yg the stars fall. — < \**raud*:- *rusta*-, cf. Av. *raod*- to stream, run.

*lūrō-um* Yu to put to flight. — *so etō l'*; *ās*! tā l'. Cf. *'lūr*.

*'lūro* Yzh, sh, g, *o'ro* r, *lō'ro* Mm, *lō're* g, *o'a*, *lū°* Z far, distant. — *yo ādam* *lō'ro* Yzh, *wo ādam* *lō'ro* Mm, *wēnd* *ādame* *'lūro astet* Ysh, *wo kyūi* *lō're* Mg; *dur luro pādo šom* I have walked far to-day; *šo lura'yan* Ysh, *še* *lūreyen* LSly from afar, *az dūr*. — Av. *dūra*-, etc.

*lō'rafšo* Yzh, *lō'raušo* sh, r, *lō'rafšo* Mm, *o'a* g, *dō'revā* Z owl. — Cf. Prs. *dirafš*, which has influenced Z's form.

*lō'royo* Yzh clear sky. — < \**idrakā*-, cf. Osa. *ird*; Skr. *vidhra*-, Palola *bidri*, etc. < \**vidhriya*-, Khw. *gudur* < \**edhra* (?). Possibly borr. into Finno-Ugrian, v. Paasonen, Ostjak. Wb., Nr. 157 (*čtr*) and cf. Kola Lapp *vierhta*, which acc. to information kindly supplied by professor Collinder may go back to \**eštra*.

*lō'ruyus* Yzh, sh, *lō'rū°* r, *lō'ri°* Mg, t, ti, *lō'rēgus* m, *lō'r'yūš*, *lō'rūš* *lō'rūš*, *lō'rūš* G sickle. — \**drāta* < \**dāōra* + *kusa* (?), v. Göteborgs Högskolas

Årskrift, 36, pp. 68 sqq. Cf. Yaghn. *d'rāt*, *d'rās* < \**drāθ*-, Sogd. *dr'š* (JA, 223, p. 219) and v. EVP. s.v. *lōr*.

*lirs* Y. *lirs* Mg, *lurs* m. Z goat's hair. — Cf. Wkh. *širs*, Shgh. *šōše*, and v. NTS, V, p. 43, s.v. *drassam*. Cf. also Prs. *lirs* a threadbare garment, a camel's tail, and Khw. *jošk* (O'Brien) fine hair of yak fr. Ir. (cf. *još* ten < \**dos*)?

*lō'ro* Yzh, r, *o'wo* sh, *lō'ro* Mm reaping. *lō'raed* ti reaper. — *l' kenem*, *yikenom* I reap. — Cf. Prs. *dirau*. V. *lō'ri*. *lur'vē* Yzh, *o'ien* sh, *o'wo* r, *o'ā* g, *lō'rū* B, *luravi* Mm, *lō'rēvi* ti sick, ill, (poor Yzh). — *so lō'r'vē* Yzh I am ill; *pādšō* *lur'vū* *šūi* sh; *mən* (moxe) *u'zir* *'lurro* *'vēm* r I was (we were) ill yesterday. — Cf.:

*lō'rovā* Yzh, *lorovo* B, *lō'rēvā* G illness. — *mən* *lō'rovā* zh I am ill, I feel pain. — *lur'vē* < \**a-drūvaka*-, cf. Av. *drva*-, Sogd. *dr'ieh* sound, fresh; *lō'ro* < \**a-drāvayā* (?); scarcely, with G, from \**drayici*-, cf. Av. *drīyū*- poor, weak. — Cf. also Bal. *durāh*, Brahui *dū'rāx* well in health < \**drūvaxa*-.

*lō'rivā* Mti, *lō'riven* t shrub, bush used as fuel, *pūš*.

*'larza* Yzh, g, *o'o* r trembling. — *mən* *l'* *kil* I tremble. — Prs.

*'larzē* Yzh, *o'zi* (pl.?) sh, *'lārzi* p, *'lorziy* Mm, *'lōrzi* t sheaf of corn; *'larzē* Ysh sheaf-band. — Cf. Talish *darz* sheaf, Av. *darz*- to tie together, etc.

*lā'yū* Yzh melon, *torbuza*. — Khw.

*los* Y ten. — Av. *dasa*. V. *dā*.

*lō'so* Ysh, r, *lā°* g, *lā°* zh, Mm, *lā'sa* G, *lā°* Z, *lā'sef* obl. pl. LSIm rope (made of goat's wool). — Cf. Prs.

*dasa* thread which remains in the loom, Bal. *dasag* thread (?), Shumashti (Dardic) *daso* thread (fr. Prs.), Skr. *daśā* fringe.

*iso* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>lo° r, <sup>1</sup>l° g, <sup>1</sup>l° Mm wild oats. — Cf. Sgl. *do'sin*.

*last* m. Y, *lost* Mm, Z, *lōst* Mg, (g) ti, *lōst* G arm, *lōst* Ysh arm below elbow, hand. — *šuvānen ŋea alāno da lōst kəp* Ysh the young man took the pome-granate in his hand; *na to trə lās kə'rum* sh I put it in your hand; *last ŋedəm* g I wash my hands. — Not lw., but with dissimilation

fr. Av. *zasta*, as in other Ir. dialects.

*lastē* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>i p, <sup>1</sup>sh handle of a spade.

*last(b)-ot* Yr, g, *lasten-b°* sh wrist. — *trə bən ta lastb'da* Yg (?).

*last-wist* Yr 200, *hazār* (l).

*lo'syū* Yzh, g, <sup>1</sup>iyū sh, r eleven. — Cf. Khov. *još-i*.

*lišē*, *lišky*, v. *uīn*.

*laštokun* Ysh saddle-cover (?). V. *jaləp*.

*latrak* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>lā'prik sh wild chive garlic, used as a vegetable. — Khov. *la'ruk*.

*livdē* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>sh second irrigation, *dūāva*. — V. *dūāva*, *arvino*.

*liven* Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>h° r, g, Mm, g, <sup>1</sup>livedanī (pl.?) Yp, *liv'dēn* Z fire-place, Mm also n. of a constellation, (cf. Kalasha *ilhon* tripod: *Ilhonek* constellation). — \**daiga-dāna* (Prs. *dēgdān*) with dissim. of *ḍ-ḍ* (v. § 52). But *v* < *γ*?

*lvor* Y, Mm, <sup>1</sup>or g, *lv'vār* m. Z, *lv'vār* G door. — *yū l° no'vor* Mm he appeared in the doorway. — Av. *dvār*, cf. Sgl. *vōr*, Wkh. *bār*.

*lvoro* Y, *lv'vērīko* Mm, *lv'vora* Z roof-board, rafter. — Originally *door-plank*? — Paht. *barya* rafter is prob. horr. from IA.

18 — Kulturforskning.

*lv'vaxtē* Yzh, *lv'vafēi* sh large conifer, torch. — V. *pelicyo*.

*lv'a'za* Yzh, sh, r baked dough.

*lv'e'zin* Yzh, *lv°* sh, r, g, *lv'e'zo* felt, *lv'vānāmo* G coarse cloth, *palos*, *lōvs* B thick. — Cf. Prs. *dabz* thick, coarse (as cloth); *in* is an adj. ending.

*lv'vērə'ya rūsō* Yzh bat (: winged fox).

— Cf. *la* and *vōrə'yo*. V. *šabparekīlay*, *šivderaus*.

*lv'uist* Yzh, g, *lv°* r 40; <sup>1</sup>isto'los r 50. — V. § 202.

*lv'e'io* Ysh, r, p, *lv'e'io* zh, Mm, g, <sup>1</sup>a f. Z small goatskin bag for keeping flour *šmāc*. — *lv'vado da l°* sh threw into a bag; *da lv'e'ief yurdam* r. — *lv'e* < \**lakē* < \**lack*, cf. Sgl. *dēcak*, Wkh. *doek*?

*lv'e'srē* Yzh, *lv'e'srē* sh, g, <sup>1</sup>ere r *lv'e'srēy* Mm, g, *lv'e'srē* Z ice. — Cf. Prs. *rasār*, *hasar*, *hasr* (*gax + sār*)? Regarding *l* cf. § 78. V. List of Place-Names: *Yakhserighar*.

*lv'e'rē* Yzh, sh, *lv'e'rē* r itching (or: it itches?).

*lv'zo* Yzh, sh, *lv°* sh, r, g, *lv'zo* B fort, *qala*. Cf. *Līzo* Mm n. of a village. — *lv'zo kə'yet*, *lv'zo kə'nūm* sh. — Cf. Prs. *diz*, Chr. Sogd. *diz*, etc.

*lv'z* Yzh, *lv'z* G word. — Ar-Prs. V. *vōi*.

*lv'z-om*: *lv'z-om* Yzh, r, Mm, t, Z, *lv'z*:-

*lv'z*- Ysh, *lv'z*:- *lv'z*- r to milk. — < \**dauē* (a secondary present base made up from \**daxta*), cf. Wkh. *dic*, Shgh. *ḍūj*, Par. *ḍūc*, Sgl. *dēš*, Paht. *lv'z-ol* < \**dauēš*. What is W. Oss. *doem* (cf. *fiem* to cook)?

*lv'vino* Yu pile of firewood. — *vō lv'vino* *šafa'u* put fire to the pile. — \**nī-dayanū*, cf. Turf. Phil. *nī-šī* (Henning).



ZIL, 9, p. 182). Skr. *nī-ci-* to pile up.  
V. *parīṇa*.  
*lāṭ'vər* Yzh lapis lazuli. — Prs.

## M

*ma, mo* Y, *mā* M this. — V. § 206.

*mō* Mm, g month. — Prs. V. *mox*.

<sup>1</sup> *mā-um*: 'māvd-um Yzh to masticate, chew.

<sup>2</sup> *mā-um*: 'māvd-um Yzh, sh, 'māv-um:  
'māvd-um Mm, *māda* B to measure, weigh. — 'mām *də tāra'zū* sh let us weigh; *māvd'o*, *māvd'et* sh he (they) weighed it; *rī'zān* 'māum Yzh 'xūb *sanjūdim*'. — Av. *mā(y)*-, or *IA*. lw.

*māo* Yzh, g, *mū'o* sh, r, 'mīyo Mm, °a (sh), 'māyd g, °ā (g), 'māya Z sheep (Yzh, Mm also female corial). — \**maīdā*, Av. *māda*. V. 'mīya.

*mā'cio* Yzh, sh, r, °io g, 'mācio Mm, g, °ā (g), 'mācia Z, *mā'* LSI m she-dog. — Cf. Sgl. *mācīk*, Taj. *mōca*, Early lw.

*mācī'xor* Yzh kingfisher. — Khov. *mācī-xor* (Lor.) a 'kind of duck', *mācī'xor* (O'Brien) 'kingfisher', an adaptation of Prs. *mākhizwār* heron. Note the — incidental? — similarity to Nep. *māfikore* kingfisher.

*mācīū* Yzh, °o sh artisan, blacksmith. — Hi., etc. *māci* cobbler.

*mā-cīno* tweezers, *mācī'na* G scissors (?). — Prs. V. *cepīo*.

*mādi* Yzh? — In *nəvur m°* 'az *bayal badar* (usū) *kat'* (took it out from his bosom).

*mā'diri* Yzh, g seam. Khov.

*mādra'yē* Yzh, *mānd'* sh, *molrūgi* Mm silver neckring (from Peshawar, acc. to Yzh). — Pl. of \**mādra*, cf. Ishk.

*murdik* small ring (v. Sgl. *cām-mərdikig*), Pl. *mudr* ring. V. § 88.  
*māf* Yzh, sh, *mōf* r, Mm, Z you. V. § 203 sq.

'*magam* Yzh verily. — m° *max yū pādsā astet* but you have a king. — Cf. Par. *magam* possibly, unless, Shgh. probably. Fr. Prs. *magar*?

'*māgy-im*: *mā'gyi-m* Yzh, g, r, 'māgy-em: *mā'gyi-m* sh, *mā'gyem*: *mā'gyi-m* r, 'māgy-um: *mugi'y-um* Mm, 'mō'gy-am: *meyi'ā* m t, *mōg'*: *mēg'* Z to rub (with the hands), to wash clothes, Yg to crush, 'mēmālim'. — Cf. Sgl. *māp'd* to rub, smear, Wkh. *mānd*-, *māp'd* to rub, shampoo, prob. fr. *IA*., cf. e.g. Palola *māp'd*, Ksh. *māp'm* to knead, wash (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. *māp'm*, *māp'mu*). — Cf. also Yazgh. *marn-* to twist, rub with the hands, but *ra* would not account for Y-M *gy* (v. §§ 121, 133).

*mā'gva* Y ringdove, *fāxta*, Khov. *kalkūr*. — V. *fāxtaga*.

*māy* Yzh, sh, r, Mm, g, B *mēy* Yg, Z, G cloud; *Mēy* Yp n. of a mythical horse (cf. IIFl., I. p. 165: Par. *ātr*, Taj. *ātr*. V. also *Wūi*). — Av. *māya*, etc.

*mūyo* Yzh, sh, r, *mūyo* g, °a Mt, (g), *stur-mugo* m bean, *Vicia faba*, *bokula* (cf. Agricult. Afgh. p. 112 — not mentioned from Munjan). — Borr. from Pkt. *mugga*- *phaseolus mungo*? (Saka lw. *māmgā'*). V. *xur-mūyo*, *mūyiki* (pl.?) Yzh, *mūryik* B hail. — Connected with the preceding word, cf. Wkh. *mūtik* hail: Sgl. *mūfik* pea; Shgh. *mā'sak* hail: *māš* pea? *mā'y'mm* (*na'yan*) Yzh bread made of *mūya*. — Reg. the suffix, v. § 193.

mo'yuso Y, 'mayasa Mt, 'māyāsā (g),  
'moguso m, 'mazsa g, 'magusa f, Z,  
'ā'sa G fly. — \*makasā, cf. Prs.  
magas, Wkh. maks, etc.  
mayz Y, Mm, t, Z, māys Mg. maxs ti  
marrow, brain. — 'pusur-mayz Yr =  
'mayz-i sar Z brain. — The a points  
to borrowing from Prs.  
maha'lam Yzh mending (clothes). —  
m<sup>o</sup> kenem.  
māh'mān Yzh, sh, mī'mān Mm, mī'mōn  
Z guest. — Prs.  
mahmī'zā-um: mahmī'zard-um Yzh, sh  
to make to fly, flee, mēparim (intr.),  
Khow. uštūrīm. — Cf. Prs. mahmiz  
kardan to spur a horse.  
mīkē Yzh, sh, mekē g, mī'gō r, mī'zō B  
blunt. — Possibly early loan fr. Khow.  
muftu (f > kv), but cf. also Wkh.  
muq, Sar. mēaq (Shaw) blunt.  
māl Ysh, a goods, property. — ro mālaf  
avret Ysh they brought the money;  
ro māl-hāl lim nēn a I gave him all  
kinds of goods (māl-hāl) 'māl-i hāl  
ba ā dādām'. — Ar-Prs.  
molo Y, 'mōlo Mm, 'mala t, mō'la G  
here. — tu nīšā molo Ysh 'tu injā  
bišī'; maf 'male 'nišit Mm sit down  
here; zo šī 'malen (obl. form?) Ysh  
I am from here, mā az hamijā. —  
< \*imadā, cf. Sogd. mō, Sgl. mōd(ak).  
māl Yzh, māl Mm stirring stick, used  
in cooking flour (ārd puxta mēkunan).  
— Cf. Wkh. mul, Psht. mōlai fr.  
IA, cf. Lhd. molhā, etc. — V. lineanīy.  
mī'yo Yzh, sh, mī'ya Mti, 'mōgo m,  
'mīlyga g (white) clay, used for  
plastering the outside walls of a  
house. — < \*mydakā, cf. Skr. myd,  
Prasun mīrē. — V. gīl, šī'fōn, xa'laryo.  
Cf. also:

mī'yar Yzh red clay.  
malk Ysh kingdom, realm. — drust m<sup>o</sup>.  
— Ar-Prs.  
mī'kogji Yzh n. of a flower. — Khow.  
mīlkōn, mīlkōn a small violet, bell-  
shaped flower, violet.  
mullākōriya G goose. — Cf. Gawar-  
Bati mullā-ōriyo fr. Psht.?  
mālm Yzh apparent, known. — nā-mān  
mālm-i it appears to me, Khow.  
sarēiran. — Ar-Prs.  
mō'lām Yzh, blām g soft; mō'lāma zh  
slowly. — Ar-Prs.  
mal-'mān Ysh, mālmīn B thus, in this  
manner, 'amtarix' (ham- or tu- (ariq)).  
— m<sup>o</sup> šīlaxē šāi he became so des-  
titute; ro mun m<sup>o</sup> de ke'nē-este sh  
why do you act thus with me? —  
V. molo and -mīn.  
'malen Mm half-full, Z middle. — V.  
loma'ten; dōmā'tan G at noon,  
du'malen Z between.  
mō'lān Y, m<sup>o</sup> Mm, mō'lān g, 'ōn (g),  
tī, Z, mō'la G waist, Yzh, sh, Mm  
(mulon!) also belt; mōlān G, 'mōlon-  
'argina Z belt. — mlān trāžim Yr.  
— Cf. Av. maidyāna-, etc. V. suy-  
mōlān.  
malanē ognšēgo Ysh, m<sup>o</sup> 'šēo g,  
mala'nogušēo r, mala'nigo 'agnšēo  
Mm, male'nig 'agnšēo Z, malenē'ga  
G middle finger. — \*madanaka-, Wkh.  
mōlung middle; cf. Av. madāmahe  
ərəzē (gen.). — V. also Mīlyeg.  
mōlrāgi, v. mōdrayē.  
mā'lis Yu festival, assembly, music. —  
Khow. mailis fr. Ar-Prs. majlis, cf.  
Taj. maylis.  
ma'lar Yzh, r, Mm, g, t large, yellow  
locust. — Gennine, or lw. from Prs.  
malax (note the vocalism).



'māmo Yzh, sh, g, mām r, māmā Mm, G, 'mōmā M(g). °a Z grandmother; 'māmā Yp old woman, *kampir*. — Wkh., Shgh. mām, Yazgh., Sar. mām. Cf. Z s.v.

maina Yzh starling, *mynah*. — IA.

mān, etc. me, my. V. § 203 sq.

-mīn Y. In *ēs-mīn*? of what kind?

(*yo ēs-mīn ēāndār*? Ysh; *ya ēs-mīn*

*rīra*? sh 'i ēi bar ast?' to nām *ēs-*

*mīn*? sh what is your name?); *ēs-*

*mīn*? how (much)? (v. s.v.); *ēs-mīn*?

what? (*ēs-mīn* LSly what? to nām

*ēs-mīn*? B); *mal-mīn* (v. s.v.). —

*-mīn* appears to give the pronoun

an indefinite meaning. Cf. also *mo*

*man trāi mīn* B this is my brother.

mind Ysh, LSly so much. — *mind*

*daulat* 'hamlqada d°'; *ro mind*

*ābādīf* so many fields (obl. pl.);

*mān mīn(d) xīsmat kərum* I have

done so much service. — Cf. *ind*.

*məndrayē*, v. *mədrayē*.

'muŋo Yzh, sh inflated sheepskin, *sənāc*.

— Anc. lw. from IA, cf. Waigeli

*mōka*, Khov. *manu*, etc. skin-bag for

ghee? V. *laxcio*.

'mānjo Mtl bed. — IA., cf. Panj. *mañjā*

(but not in Khov.). Wkh. *manja*,

*Badakluhi mānja*.

*mə'r-em*: *mu'r-am* Yzh, r, *mu'r-am*:

*mu'r-o* Mm, *mə'r-em*: *mə'r-a* G, *mur*:

*mur* Z to die. — *mə'rē* pres. 3 sg.

*mə'ret* 3 pl., *mə'rīst* Yzh 'mēmurađ';

*mu'ro* he died. — Av. *mar*.

*mīra* Y, Mm, Z, °ra G, 'mīro Mg, (g),

t, ti; *mīra'cām* Ysh, n sun. — *mīra*

*rsīd* Ysh 'aflāb rasīd'. — Av. *mīdra*.

*mīr-čəya* Ysh to this side, *mīr-čəyā*

turns back (?), Khov. *ačhi yari*. <

\**ham-iđra*? — Cf. *trāčəya*.

*mə'reč* Yzh, °āč sh, g mulberry. — Khov. *mə'rāč*.

*mardum'pūr* Yzh boy.

*mar'gas* Ysh iris. — Prs. *nargis*.

'mīryō Ysh, 'mū° Mm, 'mīrya g, 'mīryiko

Yzh meadow. — \**mārgā*? But cf.

Sgl. *mēry* < \**margya*. Av. *marγā*.

*mur'γē* Yzh, sh, mō° r, mā° g, 'mōryi (pl.),

'mōryika Mg, °ākū (g), 'murgiko m

ant. — < \**marwikā*, cf. Av. *maurei*,

etc.

*muryū'lum* Yzh, r down of birds. —

Khov. *muryulūm* down; Wkh. *mar-*

*gilam* (Shaw) goat's down. — Ir.?

*my'kič* Yzh carded wool, Khov. *pīženu*.

*mīra-av'lasto* Yzh, sh, *mīra-lamdo* r

rainbow (: 'the sun's sleeve or hem').

— V. *ka'mān-i Rustam*.

*mīrmū'sān pary* Yzh rat. — Cf. Khov.

*murmū'sān kalau* rat (Lor. *mur mošān*

*zalāo* field rat, Shina *mīrimoša*

ferret, weasel). From Prs. \**mīr-*

*mūšān* 'master-mouse', cf. Wkh. *mīr-*

*prič*.

*mayā* Ysh, r, LSly, *mēra* LSIm, G man.

— Pl. 'māē Ysh, r; *yū mayā zi da'len*

*ā'γōi* Ysh, *yu mayā hov kit g* a man

works; *āi 'mayā sh o man! llo no*

*mayāken* sh he gave it to the man;

*no 'mayāken da apir* sh in front of

the man; *yo 'mayā zū kū?* from

where is this man? *'mayāken yū'v*

sh the man seized it. — Cf.:

*mey* Y, *mēr* Mm, g, (g) ti, *mār* (t), *mēr*

Z, G man, vir. — *me xīroi mepe hōr*

*kenet* Yg these four men are working.

— \**marṭya* (hardly M. Ir. \**mērt* <

*marṭ* + *mērak*, v. Barth., *Miran Mund.*

VI, p. 55).

*mə'ro* Yzh, g, 'muŋo sh, r, *mur'da* Mm, Z,

*mu'riv* Z dead, dead body. — V. *mər*.

*mīz* Yzh, g, r, G brass. — Prs.

*'masko* Yzh, r, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>ko sh, g, *'maska* Mm, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> g butter. — Prs.

*'māst* Yg curdled milk. — Prs. V. *poya*.

*mišē* Yzh, sh, *miš* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> r, *mušk* Mti, *mi* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> t, *mu* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> Z, *'muškio* Mm, *'mīškē* g, *mōška* G, *mušt* Yg flst. — Av. *mušti* (Yg lw. fr. Prs.), cf. Wkh. *mōst*, Sgl. *mōt*.

*mišēa* Yp sheaf of corn. — Cf. Prs. *mušti* handful.

*mišēo'yo* Ysh, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>yo g, *mišēyiko* zh she-calf, one year old. — V. *muškoya*.

*maška* Ysh, *mašk* Mm, *māšk* g inflated skin, used for crossing rivers. — Prs. V. *dril*.

*muško'ya* (pl. *muško'i*) Yzh, sh, g, *miško'i* (pl.?) r, *muš'kay* Mm, *miš'kāyi* g, t, (sh), *mō* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> (g) newborn, male calf, *mōš'kdāy* Z male calf, up to the age of two years; *mōškdi* G ram, sheep(?). — \**ham-huškaka*-, cf. Par. *tōr-pi* calf, one to two years old ("dē-licus"); Phl. Psalter *'ašyrky* weaned.

*mašer'ba* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> sh bucket. — Khov., fr. Ar-Prs.

*miš'tor* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>r r prince, mehtar. — *yo kyi miš'torān-ē* Yr this house belongs to the mehtar. — \**mašyāh-tara*, Prs. *mihtar*.

*'mušt* Yzh, sh silver necklace (from Chitral). — Khov. *mošti*.

*mičā* Yzh, *mēca* B fruit. — Pl. *mičā'yē* Ysh fruit-trees. — *mō* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> *fiel* they planted fruit trees. — Prs.

*max* Y, *mōx* M we. — V. § 203 sq.

*max* Yzh, *mōx* m. Mm, Z, *māx* G peg, *mēx* — Genuine < \**maxa*-, cf. Psht. *mōžai*, *mažvai* < \**maxšu* + *aka*? But Prs. *mēx* < \**maixa*-.  
*mīx* Yzh, sh, r, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>x g nail. — Prs.

*mōx* Y month. — *do yū mōx* sh in the course of one month. — \**māhaxa*-, cf. Sogd. *m'γ*? V. mo.

*mu'xālīš* Yn? — *'zā dā kerī'et m'ō-om*(?).  
*max'mudiyo* Yzh, *mamū* <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> B dagger. — Cf. Khov. *mehmūdi*, *māhmūdi* Pathan dagger, Prs., Psht., Sar. *bīhbūdi*, Wkh. *bībhūdi*, *bēbūdi*, Kalasha *meha'būdi-ka'tār*.

*mu'xan* Yzh, sh veranda. — Khov. *murān*.  
*'maxšē* (pl. *maxšē'i*) Yzh, *maxšē'i* (pl.) sh, *maxšē* p, *māxšē* M(g), *'mayaxšiy* m mosquito. — Av. *maxšē*.

*miš* m. Yzh, Mm, g, t, *miš* Ysh, r, M(g), ti, Z day. — *do yū mīš* sh in one day; *no yū 'mižen* Ysh for one day; *xō'vō tā mīš* sh night and day; *ēr*, *uxō mīš* sh; *yū ēad mīšē gyaškvat* Mm a few days passed; *šī'rāi mīš* t. — Cf. Sogd. *myθ*, Yaghn. *mēt*, *mēθ*, etc., Shgh. *mēθ*, Sgl. *mī* (cf. also Markwart, Ungar. Jahrb. 7, p. 100). Junker (SHAW, 1914, p. 13) compares Lith. *mėtas* year, time, Alb. *mōt* year. This is perhaps possible if we assume an Ir. form \**māθya* < \**mētyo*-. Sar. *mōθ* shows that the word does not contain an ancient diphthong (Or. *mīθ* may be of Shgh. or.).

*'mōžē* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> r, g, *'mažiy* Mm, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub> i t, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>y m. Z stick. — \**māθaka*-, cf. Shgh. *māθ*, *mōθ*.

*'mižen* Yzh, g, *'mižen* r, Mm, (g) noon. — Ancient adj. to *miš*, cf. Bartangi *mī'θin* day-.

*'miya* M male oorial. — V. *mūo*.

*mayo'yo* Y, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>aga Mm, *mōyaya* g, <sup>o</sup>/<sub>o</sub>aga Z, *māya'ga* G, *māyaga* LSIm, *mayeyo* y mare. — \**mātakā*-. Cf. Prs. *māda*, *mādiyān*.



mō'yān Mm, māyān LSI'm true. — Pr.

Prs. māya substance? V. 'urzu-y.

'maza Mm taste. — Prs. V. xāl.

miz Yzh, mēz g table. — š'tāhān žc  
mē'zān Yzh under the table. — Prs.

'miz-em: mizd-em Yzh, 'mēz: mizd sh,

Mm to urinate. — mizet 3 pl. —

Av. māzr. Cf. mizyo.

mōz-em: 'mašc'im Yzh, sh, r, 'maz'em:

'mošk'y-em Mm, 'mzr: 'mošk'y t, maz:

mošk' Z, G to kill — vōtō mōz-em;

max wōu mašc'im Yr we killed him;

zo flō mōz-em sh; mōzē-em tū sh

'mēkš'i em 'tu'; mōn wōu mašc'im sh;

ro šir mašc'et Yu they killed the

lion; ro barzango mašc' u he killed

the ogre; agar Xadāi ēu mašc'ē vti,

oyim sh if God has not killed me,

I shall come. — Shgh. mōz: means

to cut, form (v. Xuynōni Alifbā, p.

32); but cf. Orm. maz: to break, Psht.

māl ttoken (< \*maita, not < \*maxta;

prob. not Par. mač: to cut, hurt).

maza'dār Yzh savoury, tasty. — Prs.

'māzdira Mt the day after to-morrow.

— Containing \*am-? V. sū'yāmo.

muz'durō Yzh service, pay. — no yū

kua'tinen m° kēn take service with

a rich man; m° kpo; wō mōn m° na

mōn del give me my wages; muz'duri

kēd rio he used to serve. — Prs.

'mizyo Yzh, mē° sh, 'mizya Mg, miz'da

(v. miz-) Yr urine. — \*maizakā, cf.

Wkh. mizg. V. miz.

mūz: mūyd Yzh, sh, mūz: mūyd Mm,

mūz: mūyd Z to move (intr.), to be

swung. — draxtē mūzet zh the trees

are moved (by the wind).

mu'za-um Yzh, mu'zav: mu'zard- sh,

mūzēda B to shake, move (tr.),

mūjert B earthquake.

'mažoyo Yzh, g, māžoyo sh female  
markhor. — Khov. mā'žēy.

mi'lāyiko, °ki pl. Yzh mist, fog. —

\*mižakā-(kā), cf. Zaza miž, Prs.

mizga a dark sky.

mažum-bit Mm hanging-willow. — Prs.

\*majnūn-bēd. V. čilikyo.

mižis'tē Yzh thigh-bone, sh hip-bone, g

arm above elbow(?). — Khov.

mužusti, mō'jušti thigh, upper arm

(fr. Ir., not fr. Pkt. mižjā). Cf. Sak.

mijsā marrow < \*mayz'yakā). — Cf.

also Sgl. asta-mayzik, Wkh. mayzi

upper arm,

ma'žit Yu mosque. — da yū m° žui,

da m° lo'yoī. — Ar-Prs.

## N

nā, no Y, M for, to. — na mōn del

give me; nō 'pādšān nā sa'lāmat šot

Yu they went to salute the king;

nō širen 'škur kenam let us go hunting

for the lion; ēpāč žui na du'kānen

sh he returned to the shop; na koi

āy-dit? 'ba ēi āmadī? 'xšiyem-esto

nō'xoi za'rūrien sh we are weeping

out of necessity. V. § 218. — Av.

ana over, along with, on.

no, nō Ysh, etc. LSIy, na Z, G, LSI'm

not. — nō pēč 'što, nō yox 'što, nō

p'xuftem 'što, nō nšiyādēm 'što he

said that it was neither hot nor cold.

and that he was neither tired nor

hungry; nō nō-šf nō xurān ēc astel,

nō n-āyestān ēc astel there is neither

anything for them to eat nor to

wear. — Av. na, etc. V. ēc.

'na-um: 'nared um-Yzh to pour out, to empty,

Khov. nšēiman. Cf. Skr. snāraya-

nai Mg) reed. — Prs.

*nî-m*: *nô'yor-əm* Yzh, sh, : *nô'yor* u, : *nôyor-əm* r, *nî-am*: *nəyar-am* M(g), *nəyar-am*(?) : *nəyar-am* w, *nîy*: *nəyar* Z, *neyer* LSI, *nôyor* y to come out, emerge, appear, Khov. *nisiman*. — *nî'ā dō kuč'ō* Ysh go out into the street; *nô'yor dō kuč'ō*; *nîra* *nô'yor* zh the sun rose; *yū barzənge* *nô'yor* u; *pārye* *nôyo'yet* sh the mice appeared; *ya* *tō hūy kōb* *nô'yor* this your price appeared to be too small; *yū ašder* *nər*(?) Yu a dragon appeared; *pîlf* *nôyo'ra* ƏH sh (the river) cannot be forded; *yū* *lvor* *nô'yor* Mm a door appeared. — < \**nîš-i*: *nîš-gata* (> \**nîrgata* > \**nigarta*, v. § 113?); cf. Par. *nî*: *naryō*, Orm. *nîs* (\**nî-isa*): *nayōk*; Sogd. *nîš*.

*nōu* Y, *nāu* Mm, *nō'u* g, (g), (sh), t, *nāu* Z, G pine. — Av. *nava*.

*nōb* Mg, *nəp* ti dew. — Cf. Bal. *namb*, Prs. *nam* dew, moisture; Sgl., Shgh. *namb* moist. — V. *praš'ār*, *kak'lām*.

*nî'cāy* Yzh, sh, r, g the shady side of a valley. — Khov. *nîchāy*. V. *'nusi*.

*na'dram* Ysh inside. — n° *na yur'vo* inside the throat. — V. *dram*.

*nîf* Yzh, g, *nîf* sh, Mg, (g), t, ti, *naf* Yr, *'nîfa* Mm, Z, *fa*, *náf* G navel. — < \**nāfa(ka)*; Yr fr. Khov. *naf*, in its turn fr. Ir.

*nāfa* Ysh soul, individual, own family. — *tū cāmin wō xōi nāfa kenēt* how do you deal with your own family? — Ar-Prs.

*nîg'*: *nîg'ay* Z, : *nîgi-ō* Ysh to pull out. — *da laxōio* n° he took it out of the bag, 'ba dar kart'. — \**nî-kpš-ʔʔ* Cf. § 132.

*'nāyo*, v. s.v. *xušbāi*.

*nôyo'-um*: *nô'yavd-um* Yzh, sh, *nô'yā*:

*nô'yavd-* r, *nô'ya-um*: *nô'yavd-um* g, *nô'yō-um*: *nô'yavd-um* Mm, *nô'yōu*: *nô'yevd-* (g), *nîgōw*: *nîgēvd* Z to bite, *garidan*, Khov. *čokik*. — Phonetically < \**nî-kap/b*, cf. Greek *xáτω* to swallow, snatch with the teeth, etc. (v. WP, s.v. *gap*)? Cf. also Shgh., etc. *anjāv* to seize < \**han-kab-* Z compares *glē* (q.v.), but this is scarcely possible.

*na'yen* Yzh, sh, g, *'na'ən* r, Mm, g, Z, *na'ən* G bread, food. — n° *na-wən* lio; *na'ən* *xorum* Yg I eat bread; *no xu'rān* n° *čes* sh there is no food to eat. — \**na'na*, cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, p. 129, cf. also Yazgh. *šō'yān* (Sköld). — Brahui *nîkān* 'rations, meat' fr. a lost Bal. word of the \**nî-kāna*-type.

*nôyor*, v. *nîš*.

*nôyo'sār* Yzh, *negusār* LSI, below, *pāyān*. — Anc. lw., cf. Prs. *nigū'n'sār* turned upside down, etc. Also Sər. has *nuyusār* down.

*nô'yuy*: *nô'yūš-* Yzh, *nô'yūy*: *nô'yūšk* Mm, *neyūy*: *neyūšk*- Z, *nuyūš*(?) : *nuyūšk* G, *doyūja*(f) B to hear. — < \**nî-gauš*, cf. Yazgh. *nîyūw*: *nîyožt*, Psht. *nîcaš*: *nūl*; Yaghn. *dūgūš* (< \**ngūš*).

*nuyōz*: *nîyēzd* Z to swallow. — Cf. Wanetsi Psht. *yōz* to drink.

*nô'yūš* Yzh snipe.

*naha'ri* Ysh breakfast, bread, *kīlēa* — *lo nahari* two loaves. — Ar-Prs.

*naql* Yu tale, story. — Ar-Prs.

*nîka'nā-um* Yzh, sh, r : *nîka'nāvd-um* r to dig. — The *k* points to recent compounding. V. *ken*.

*nu'krā* Mm, *nu'gra* g, LSI, silver. — Ar-Prs. V. *draxum*.



*nəl* Mm, 'nəli (pl.) ti reed. — NWPhl. *nad*, Prs. *nai*, Khov. *nōl*, *nəl* rushes from \*Y? — V. *nai*, *nālīko*, *xəlānīyo*. *nālīlū-um* Yzh, *nēlīlū-um* sh, *nēlīlū-um*: *nēlīlāv-um* r, g, *nīlāv*-Mm, *nīyalāv*: *nīyalāv* Z to make to sit down. — *zə sto nēlōum* Ysh. — \**nīyāl* < \**nī-šād* (Or. *nōd* Z, but *nōd* Lenz. *nōd* Shgh., with *ō* from the intr.), or \**nī-hād*. Cf. Av. *nī-šādāya*. V. *nīz*. *nālīlū-um* Yzh to circumcise, (Psht. *sunnat kucum*); *nālīlāv* zh, sh circumcision, 'čulburri, *da jā ki mānda* ('remains'). — \**nī-dab*? Cf. Wkh. *nōdāva*. *nālīko* Yzh, g calf of the leg. — Cf. *nəl*. V. *ilira*, *linga*. *nālīlū-um*: *nūvōst-əm* Mm, *nīl-* (ti) to lie down; : *nūvōstīy* Yzh lying flat; *nīl-* Z: *nūvōst* Z, G to sleep. — *nīlā* Mti imper. 2 sg. — < Av. *nī-paīdya*: \**nī-pasta*. Not, with Z, connected with *nālīlā*. Cf. *nīlō*. *nām* Yzh, sh, *nām* G name. — *tō nām cīs-mīn?* Ysh; *ba nām-e* Xadā sh. — Prs. *nāmāl* Yzh appears. Khov. *nayūran*; *nīmēd* M(g) became known, *mālūm šud*; *nāmōy* Z to appear. — *yū ādam nāmāi*. — Cf. Prs. *nūmāy*: *nūmūd*. *nīm'kālō* Yzh [half-fall. — Khov. *nīm-kalan*. V. *loma'ten*, *nīmopir*. *nīmekrika* Yzh diving. — *nō da'ham* I dive. *nīmālīyo* Y, *nāmālgo* Mm, *ōlīyā* (g), *ōlga* f. Z, *ōlīyā* G salt. — \**nāmā-š(a)kā* (v. Ganthiot, MSI, 20, 19), cf. Sgl. *nāmēyō*, etc., Sar. *nīmāšj*, Sak. *namve*, etc. *nīmōy* Yzh target. — Cf. Prs. *namūk* butt, target?

*nīmopir* half-fall. — Cf. Prs. *nīm-pur*. V. *nīm'kālō*.

*nāmōy* Mg, ti felt. — < \**namatā*, cf. Sgl. *nūmōd*. Prs. *namād*, etc. (Pali *namataka*, etc. lwv.). V. *liezin*, *yīston*.

*nāmāz* Yzh prayer. — Prs.

*nāmāzīgār* Ysh, *nēmō* zh afternoon. — Prs.

*nāmīl* Yg winking, *nēmīg*: *nēmāš* Z to shut the eyes. — From \**nī-mīl*, or \**nī-mīd*, cf. Sogd. *nyms'y* (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 241), Sak. *nūmāys*, Bal. *nīcād*, Prs. *mīza* eye-lashes. But Ishk. *nūmūl*, Skr. *nīmīṣ* with *ṣ*.

*nāno* Y, *nēno* Mm, *ōa* g, *ōā* (g), *ōa*, *ōā* Z, *nēn* G mother. — Cf. Prs. *nāna*, Sgl., Wkh., Or., Khov. *nān*, etc.

*nāno'yō* Yzh, p a single grain. — < *dānakā* (v. § 135), cf. Prs. *dāna* corn, boll, Psht. dial. *nīnē* roasted grain, Waziri *nāna* grain.

*nīnā'māšōō* Yzh, *ōāšōō* g, *nīnā'mōrō* sh, *nīno*° r spleen. — V. *spōrzo*, *šīšpāzōk*.

*nar* Ysh, g, Mm, g, Z, g, *naro* Yzh, *nor* r male. — Prs., or genuine?

*nāro'ū* Y, *nārowīy* Mm, g, *ōwī* ti, *nārowīy* Z, *ōā'wī* G black; *nōrd'ū* Yzh pupil of the eye; cf. *nārowī* *čoggo*. — < \**an-arušaka*? Phonetically possible; we should expect e.g. Mm \**nāruyīy*, but a change of *-uyī* > *-wī* is conceivable. — Ace. to Hess (Orient. Stud. in Honour of C. E. Pavry, p. 139) Av. *auruša* means 'red'; but cf. Oss. *ors*, etc. 'white'. *nar'boz* Yg he-goat. — Prs. V. *fer'yāmz*. *nar'čān* Ysh, r, *yūsa'xō nār'čān* zh he-goat, one year old. — V. *čā'na*. Cf. *fer'yāmz*.

*narkafčl* Yp wooden ladle without a handle, used for flour. — V. *kafčio*.  
— *nar* as a prefix indicates size or strength, v. *naraŋgušč*, *nari'rau*, *nar'zū*, and cf. Brahui *nar-xurūt* extra strong *khurūt*.  
*nar'kirē* Yzh, sh, °r, °rə g. °iriŋ Mm, g. 'narkiri (sh), °iri (g) cock. — V. *krrio*.  
*naraŋgušč* Yzh, sh, *nar*° g. *naraŋgišt* r, °gušt M(g), °gušt B thumb. — Prs. (with *št* > *šč* in early lw), cf. *oguščo*, *usturoguščo*. V. s.v. *nar-kafčl*.  
*nā'ranj* Mm orange. — Ar.-Prs.  
*nari'rau* Mm a kind of vegetable, rau. — V. *rie*.  
*na'ruš* m. Z eat. — < \**nar-vuš* < °puš.  
*naroui čog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — V. *nro'ū*.  
*nar'worya* Yzh male lamb, one year old. — V. *prasi'lanē'warē*, 'waryiko.  
*nar'zū* Yzh pus, matter. — Cf. Psht. *zaua*, Sak. *ysū* pus, and v. s.v. *nar'kafčl*.  
*na'riz-* *nərizd-* Y, Mm, *na'riz-* *nərizd* t, *nəriz-* *nərizd-* Z to lick. — *ne'rize* Yzh pres. 3 sg. — Av. *raēz*, Sak. *rrāys*. Sogd. *rys*.  
*'nāsē* Ysh, in *drust malk* n° *nəvū'jam* 'gāstīm sar ba sar' (?).  
*nis-* Ysh to take out. — Only form noted is *nisa* imper. 2 sg. — Cf. Sogd. *n'y's*, Psht. *nis-* to take (\**ni-yās-*); Yazgh. *yas-* to take away. V. *nəvor-*.  
*nosiy* Mm, *nisiy* g the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Prs. *našā(r)*, *nasar*, etc., Fars dialect *nisi*; cf. also Sgl. *nišorm*, Wkh. *niširm* and v. Par. Voc. s.v. *ni'sōr*. — V. *ničāy*.  
*ni'askē* Yzh, sh, *nyoskye* g, *nies'kviy* Mm, *niezye* (g), *niāzyila* (t) yawn. — n°

*ā'razēm* Yzh, sh, n° *kenam* Mt 1 yawn, n° *astet* Yg (they) yawn. —  
*nasi'āt* Ysh advise. — so fto n° *kenam*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ni'ast*, v. *nič-*.  
*niāstiko*, v. s.v. 'palō.  
*nas'wār* Yzh snuff. — Hind. *nāswar* (Psht. lw. *nāswār*).  
*ni'sōk* Mt jaw, *nə'sāk* G cheek.  
*naškel* Ysh, LSIy, °er B bad.  
*ni'sān* Yzh showing. — n° *dahem*. — Prs.  
*našpotiy* Mm. — Prs. V. *kyo'gō*.  
*ni'sāt-əm*: *nišā'ti-m* Yzh, sh, *ni'sāi-* r, *ni'zāt-əm*: *nižā'ti-m* g, *ni'jās-um*: *nijašt-um* Mm, *ni'jāš-* (g), Z: *nijašt-* Z to show. — \**ni-žāš-* (v. § 76) < \**ni-čāš-*, Sak. *nājsaš*, cf. Z s.v.  
*niv* Yzh; *nōro* sh, r, *noro* g, *nōrē* (pl.?) sh, *noro* B rain. — *niv yašē kit* the rain does good. — Cf.:  
*nov-ē*: *niv-ō* Yzh, sh, 'nēd-a r, *nav-i*: *nivlo* Mm, *nāv-*: *nivd* Z to rain. — *wos novē* Yzh; *nərdəyo* šūi perf. — Cf. Sgl. *nav-*, Av. *nab-* to moisten, possibly with semantic change due to association with *nabah-* sky. Scarcely connected with Prs. *nāvidan* to lament, as proposed by Z, nor with *nawōyō*, etc. (q.v.).  
*nəyo* Y, °a Mg. 'nurgō m. 'nūrga Z beak, bill. — < \*(h)nābakā, cf. Prs. *nauk*, *nōl* beak, Saka *nauhā* point (\**nabaxa-*?) and, possibly, Germ. \**nabja-* (Engl. *neb*, etc.), Lith. *nāpas*.  
*nəyiko* Yp n. of a pink flower, *convolvulus*? Cf. *nəyo*.  
*ni'rilo* Mti bedding; *na'wul-cirga* Z bed. — \**nipādū* (?), cf. *nāli-*. V. *kurpo*, *pālās*.  
*novnoyo* Yp, *now'neyiko* sh pasteboard, *baxter* (v. III).



*nə'vor*: *nəvə'f*- Yzh, sh, : *nu'evə'-um* p, *ne'ver-um* M(g), *nəvur* LSIy, *nevar* m to take out, draw out. — *nə'vet* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *xām cū nəvor* g don't take it (the bread?) out unbaked; *še san'dukan še nəvə'rum* sh I take something out of the box; *nəvur*, *nəvū'ram* sh pret. 1 pl.; *nuvə'rum* v *kēfo* Yu I took out the knife. — \**nī-bar*, Sgl. *nəvar*, Orm. *nəwar*, cf. Par. *nəp* (?); Av. *nīš-bar*.

*nu'vāš*: *nu'veš*- Yzh, sh, *nu'vōš*: *nu'veš*- r, *nəvāš*- g, *nu'vōš*: *nuvāšt*- Mm to comb. — *kuška n*<sup>o</sup> Yg I comb my hair. — < \**nī'paš*(š)a- (v. § 75) < \**nī'pekš*, cf. Waz. Paht. *lməšəl*, *lmatai* (v. EYP. s.v.).

*nu'vīš*: *nu'vīšt* Yzh, sh, *nūš*: *nūšt*- g, *nu'vūt*: *nu'vūt*-, *nu'vešk*- Mm, *nu'veš*: *nu'vūt*- t, *nəvūš*: *nəvūšt*- Z, *nūša* B to write. — Not a recent lw. from Prs. *nūšam*: *nūštan*. With *nucuxt*, etc. cf. Sogd. *np'yšt*, *npxšt*- (v. Benveniste BSL, 29, pp. 105 sqq.).

*navišt* to ken- Yr to write. — Prs. The compound verb is in common use in Afgh. Prs.

*nəvə'yō* Yzh, sh, *nāw*<sup>o</sup> r, *nəv'yō* g, *nəvəgo* Mm mill-race, cf. *nəvdi* G 'chute d'eau'. — Not connected with *nəvə* rain, as suggested by G; but cf. Prs. *nāva* gutter, tube, Kandulāi *nāwā* 'ausgehöhlte Baumstämme die als Wasserleitung für die Wassermühlen dienen', etc. Cf. Sgl. *nə'wək*.

*nəvə'yō* Yzh, *nəv* sh, *nū'vely* Mm, *nəv* B new. — Av. *nava* + *ka*-, Sgl. *nəvək*, Paht. *nəvāi*, etc.

*nu'wāre* Yzh excuse. — *n*<sup>o</sup> *kenəm* I excuse myself, Khov. *išpen koman*. — Cf.

Skr. *nivartaka*- removing, abolishing, etc., *nivartana*- repenting, etc.?

*nə'vīsa* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>is sh, g, *'nəvūs* Mm, *nəvīso* (g), *'nəvūs* Z grandson (= *pāren pūr*), nephew. — Early lw. from Prs. *nəvāsa*? Cf. Sgl. *nə'vās*, Wkb. *nə'pūs*.

*nə'woso* Yg, *nuvə'so* r, *nə'wasiko* zh, *nə*<sup>o</sup> sh, *'nəwiso* Mm, <sup>a</sup> Z, *nəwā(kā)* M(g) granddaughter. — Cf. *nə'vīsa*, *nə'waxt* Yzh (too) late. — *n*<sup>o</sup> *ē-as* don't come too late. — Ar-Prs.

*nax* Mm floor. — Khov. *nax* id., Or. *nəx* terrace, sleeping platform, Shgh. *nəx* vestibule, etc. — Cf. *nəxdaru*.

*nəx*: *nəxāi* Yzh, *nəx*- r, g, *nīč*- M(g) to drip, to drop from the eaves. — *nəx'čē*, *nəx'čē* Yzh, *nəx'čē* r, *'nīč* M(g) 3 sg., *nəx'čī-stā* Yr, g dur. pres. — Derivation (as a denominative) fr. \**nəx'šē* < \**nīš-txa* (cf. *ava-tha*, Wackernagel, KZ, 61, 190) is improbable.

*nəx'čir* Yzh, Mm, g, (g), G, *nəktir* B male ibex. Prs. V. *šumānē*.

*nəx'čir-pəzāxē* Yzh, g, <sup>o</sup>*šie*<sup>n</sup> sh male oorial (?). V. *pəzāxi*. Cf. *miyo*.

*nəx'čir-wəzo* Yr, g female ibex.

*nəx'daru* Yzh, sh, g roof-beam, *bālāi* tr. — Khov. *nəxdāru*. Cf. *nax*.

*nəxun* Mm, <sup>o</sup>en g, t, *nəxə* M(ti), <sup>o</sup>en (g), Z nall. — Prs. V. *a'nəxno*.

*nəxš* Mm, *nəxš* (g) song.

*nəxta* Mm hit of a horse (?).

*nī'x-im*: *nī'xst-əm* Yzh, g, *-əm*: *əm* sh, *nī'x-im*: *nī'xst-am* r, : *nī'xst* u, *'nīx-əm*: *nī'xst-am* Mm, t, *nīx*: *nī'yōst* Z, : *nīasta* B to sit down. — *nīx* Yzh, Mm, *nīxt* Z pres. 3 sg.; *nīxa* Yzh, sh, r, *nī'xā* sh, *nīša* LSIy, *nīša* m imper. 2 sg.; *nīxē* Yzh, (*maf* 'male)

<sup>1</sup>nišil Mm imper. 2 pl.; <sup>1</sup>nišat šo dukan'darə Ysh he sat down (: stayed) with the shop-keeper; bād <sup>1</sup>nišat wuro Mm then he sat down there; də <sup>1</sup>oi kəi <sup>1</sup>nišat Ysh they sat down in their own house; mai <sup>1</sup>luḡdi <sup>1</sup>nišat Mm these daughters sat down. But šigkiko (yā akābur) <sup>1</sup>ništo Ysh a woman (an old man) was sitting; loh šināmit <sup>1</sup>ništi sh to girls were sitting (v. § 196); <sup>1</sup>ništo<sup>2</sup>om Yzh, r, <sup>1</sup>ništo<sup>2</sup>gom (g!) g I am sitting. — <sup>1</sup>niš- < \*niš- < \*ni-k'iš, cf. Shgh. nēš. <sup>1</sup>nišat- < \*ni-hasta. (Shgh. nūst), or, more prob., < \*ni-hasta (Sgl. <sup>1</sup>nišat, Sar. nālāst). — Cf. Sgl. nīš, Wkh. nēš. V. nāi'la.

<sup>1</sup>nīya Y, Mm, °o g sour milk, dūy. — \*nīlaka, cf. Sgl. nīšuk, Sak. nīye. Connected with the Kāfiri-Dardic words: Kalasha nīu (nīl), Kati nīed, etc., Dameli nīl id.: cf. Skr. (nava-) nīla fresh butter.

<sup>1</sup>nīyā<sup>2</sup>om G I plant. — Early lw. from W. Ir. \*ni-dā?

<sup>1</sup>nāi'zo Yzh, r, na° sh, na'ca Mm spear. — Pres. <sup>1</sup>nāzda Mg, (g), °da (sh) 19. — Pres.

na'z'dik Yzh, sh, r, na° g near. — mo ādam n° Yzh; mind ādamen n° astet sh. — Pres.

nēz'yo Yzh, nr° sh, nēz'yo r, g, nēz'ya Mg, 'nēz'pē (g), 'nīz'o m, 'nāz'uk G nasal mucus. — \*nēz'pē < nāstikā? Cf. Par. nēst nose < \*nāstē.

na'fan Ysh irrecongnisable, strange. — to n° winəm I see something strange. — Khow.

P

po Y at, on, for, pa Z with. — V. § 219. — Av. patī.

<sup>1</sup>pō Yzh, pāy Z rotten; pīy- Z to rot. — Cf. Sgl. pū-, Wkh. pīk, Shgh. pūḡ (v. Z s.v.), Av. pat. Reg. R > I v. § 150.

pa'cag-am: pa'cag'm Yzh, pa'g-am: pa'g'im sh, pēgiy-em(?): pēgiy em Mm, : 'pa'gi-am t, pēg'-: pēg'ay- Z to cut, cleave, burridan, Khow. chinik. — mən lo'so pa'gyo sh I cut the rope, pa'gyō-m sh it cut me(?): pa'gy'et sh they cut (buridan); pa'gyo zh 'burrida šud' (intr.?). — Cf. pēi'-: pēišk' Z to be torn. — pa'cag-, etc. < \*pa'cag-, \*pa'cag-nda- (v. § 121), pēišk' < \*pa'cag-nda- (v. § 131), pēišk-, if = \*pēišk-, might be a secondary present, as \*pa'cag-nda- would result in \*pēišk-. Cf. Pres. gusilam (Horn. Np. Et., 922).

pa'c Yzh, pa'c sh, r, g, piē B hot. — Khow. pa'c. V. garm, suzōn.

pāto Ysh frostbitten, Khow. šōstai. — Cf. čiy.

pič'i'li Yp a plant with yellow flowers and thick edible leaves. — Khow. pič'i'li šax purslain, xulfa.

pēurna Mt four days ago. — V. čurnō.

<sup>1</sup>pādo f. Yzh, sh, pa° g, r, B. pōdo Mm, °a g, pōda Z, pāda G road, path (the Milky Way Yr. cf. Gawar Bati Phont id.). — dur luro pādo šom Ysh I have walked far to-day; va'he šai, da p° ayōi he started and came on to the road. — Av. panti etc. (Ostyak panti from Ir.?). cf. Z s.v. Note the fem. gender (also in Sak. pande and in Psht. plā), the existence of which in Ir. renders doubtful Bloch's explanation of the fem. in Kāfiri (Kati put, etc.) and Dardic (Studia indo-iranica, p. 19). Reg. Av. nī cf. § 120.



*pa'dā* Ysh, *r* appearing, born. — *pūr*  
*p° sūi* sh a boy was born; *jīngō*  
*zōmōn pa'dā kīl r* the woman bears  
 a child; *zōmōn pa'dāi(?)*. — Prs.  
*pa'dreško* Yzh, sh small wooden milk-  
 bowl. — \**pari-dāsyā-kā* (cf. § 127),  
 cf. Prs. *dās* pot, pan?? — V. *xšīr-  
 kvesa*,  
*'pādā* Yzh, u, °*sā* sh, *pād'io* Z king,  
 — *yū pādā pūr*, *pādāan pūr* a  
 prince; *max yū pādā astet* you have  
 got a king; *na pād'sāan li'et* they  
 gave it to the king. — Prs.  
*pu'f-um*: *pu'fāi-m* Yzh, : *p'u'fōi-m* M(g),  
*puf*: *pufōy* Z *phūa* B (but *pufa* to  
 burn!) to blow, breathe. — Onomato-  
 poetic, cf. Sgl., Or. *puf*-etc. (v. Z a.v.).  
*p'ufānek* M(g) a kind of mushroom. —  
 Cf. Taj. *pufuk* mushroom. V. *puf*-.  
*pa'far* Yzh, sh, *pāfār* r, *pā'fer* *za'min*  
 g steep hillside, *pēfer* B mountain.  
 — Tomaschek (BE, VII, p. 197)  
 writes *pēver*, and compares Av.  
 "pauera." I  
*'paga* Yzh horse-race. — *p° ya'zavdum*.  
 — Khov.  
*pāg'zo* Yzh, *pāki'zo* sh, *pāg'zō*, *pazyō* r,  
*par'go* g, *pāki'zā* Mm, °*Fza* G, *pazyō(?)*  
 B clean. — *you pazyō sūi* r. — Prs.  
*pāki'za*, and Khov. *paz'gā*, *pāg'za*  
 (fr. Prs.).  
*piy* Yzh onion. — Possibly < \**pitāka*-, or  
 \**piy°*; cf. Prs. *piyāz*, Phl. *pidāc* (with  
 dialectical development of -t-?), or  
*piy°*; cf. Yazgh. *pi'yég* (Sköld).  
*'puyō* Yzh, *po'yo* sh, r, g, *po'yo* Mg,  
 °*a* (g), °*ya* t, (ti), *pugo* m, *'paga* t. Z,  
 °*ya* G, *pegāk* LSim long hair,  
 woman's hair. — \**pūkā*?  
*pa'γālyō*, v. *šār-p°*.  
*pa'γumbar* Ysh prophet. — Prs.

*puka'ra* Yp leather strap placed between  
 the two strings of a pellet-bow. —  
 Cf. *p°korē*; Khov. *apaq*, Palola *dhat*  
 also mean both 'mouth' and 'strap  
 of a pellet-bow'.  
*p°korē* Yzh, *pu'korē* sh, *pu'kor* r, *pkor* p,  
 LSIy, *ku'pōr* Yg, *pūxor* B mouth;  
*ku'pōr* Mm, *k°pōr* g, t, ti, *ku'par* m.  
 Z lip. — < Anc. Prs. *patikara*-  
 picture, cf. Prs. *paikar* picture, coun-  
 tenance, face. From 'face' to 'mouth',  
 'lip' the semantic development is  
 possible. V. *gīrv*, *pōrāk*.  
*pa'koro* Yzh, sh, g, *pa'kol* r, *pa'kūlo* Mm,  
*pā'kūla* Z wooden cap. — Cf. Khov.  
*pha'kol*, Madaglashti *pākūl*, Shgh.,  
 Ishk. *pākūl*, etc. — Y *pa'koro* must  
 be an ancient lw.  
*po'kor* Yzh rung of a ladder.  
*pokv* Yp, *pokv* (obl. pl.) LSIy husks. —  
 Khov. *phōf*. Cf. *sabūstaf*, *pa'lo*.  
*pa'kvikv* Yzh, sh, *po'krkv* Mm, *po'kik*  
 m. Z woman's cap, veil, *burqa*.  
*pa'lau* Yzh pillan. — Prs.  
*'palē* Yzh, sh straw of wheat, etc. —  
 \*IA, cf. Skr. *pala*-straw?  
*pa'lo* Yzh husks.  
*'palo* Yzh, *po'lo* sh, 'pō° r, g, 'pālo Mm,  
 °*e* g, °*ā* (g), °*ē* ti, °*a* t, Z, °*la* G  
 foot. — *niāstiko pālf dīzo* Yp  
 squatting. — \**pūdā*, cf. Av. *pad(a)*,  
 Sgl. *pūd*, Wkb. *pūd*, etc.  
*'pil-em*: *'pišē-im* Yzh, : *'piškv-em* M(g)  
 to break wind. — Av. *parəd*-(*pārēda*).  
 V. *pil'zo*.  
*pol* Yzh footprint. — Av. *pada*-, Wkb.  
*poδ*, Prs. *pai*, etc.  
*pōlo b'fokv* Yr ankle-bone. — V. *b'rok*.  
*plāc* Yzh Kafir cheese. — Kati *pr'oc*.  
 Is also Psht. *pōca* cream-cheese, curds  
 a lw. from Kafir?

*pe'licio* Yzh, g, °iā M(g) fir-tree, torch.  
— Cf. Khov. *pūic* (Lor.) fir-tree,  
torch? Ancient *d* > *Y*—*M* *l*, Khov.  
*y*. But *c*; *ē* and the vocalism?

*pū'lād* Yzh, sh, g, °ōd r, *fū'lād* Mm,  
*fō* G steel. — Khov., Madaglashti,  
and Wakhi have forms in *p*, but  
Sgl., Badakhshi, Taj. have forms in *f*.

*pīlf* Yzh, sh, r, *pōlf* g ford. — *pīlf*  
*noyora* ſi sh the stream cannot be  
forded. — Av. *poratu*, *porathu*, *hu-*  
*porathu(y)a* (v. §§ 102, 128). V. *gu'zar*.

*pa'le* o'gu'eco Yg toe. — Cf. *palo*.

*'pilyo* Yzh, *'pilyā* Mg a flatus. — *icos*  
*p° lakam* M(g). — Cf. *pil*.

*pilo'yo* Yzh, *pe'lōyo* r wooden cup;  
*pō'lōyiko* p small wooden tray, smaller  
than a *poško* (q.v.); *piō'lega* Z, *piyāle'ga*  
G cup. — Early lw. fr. Prs. *piyāla*,  
cf. Wkh. *pil*.

*'pūliko* Yzh foot-board of a loom. — Cf.  
*'palo*.

*pe'lēk* Yzh, *pō'lok* Mm, *pō'lek* t, *pr'lek*  
(g), *pō'luk* Z, G eyelashes. — Prs.  
*palak*. V. *pa'naxko*.

*polēm* Yzh, sh, *polm* sh, r, *pal'm* Mm  
soft, smooth, fine. — *polm* *kiřm* =  
*ylřm* Yg I ground; *γau* *polmo* ſi r;  
*γūen* *polma* g the lobe of the ear. —  
Cf. Khov. *'pālēm* (*padēm*, *pa'ēm*  
Lor.) smooth, Wkh. *pal(a)m* soft,  
smooth, fine powder (and Prs. *palm*  
dust, earth?). But Sar. *pādm* soft,  
smooth. Originally belonging to a  
dialect with *l* < *δ*? Note also  
Oss. *fālmān* soft (*fālm* fog).

*pīlam'ru* Yzh cloak, *ēakman*; *pīlamru*  
*murš* sh woollen thread, *pīlamui*  
(: *pīlamrū*?) *ēōy* sh man's cloak. —  
Cf. Burushaski *pīlam* woollen home-  
spun.

*pa'lan* Yzh, sh, g, °ān n saddle; *'pōlon*  
Mm, g, ti donkey-saddle. — *vo* *yaspa*  
*pa'tān* ſi's Yu he saddled the horse.  
— Prs. *pālān* (from a dialect with  
*l* < *δ*, cf. Wkh. *pōdān*?).

*pa'lang* Yzh, sh, *pō'lang* r, *plang* g,  
M(sh), *pō'lang* m, g leopard. — Prs.  
V. *āzāda-p°*, *xar-pōlang*.

*'plār*: *prist* Yzh, sh, r, *pō'rist* g, *pō'lār*:  
*prist* Mm, *pō'lār-am*: *pō'rist-am* t,  
*pō'lār*: *pō'rist* Z, *pō'lār* G to sell. —  
*pō'ler* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *mōn* *ro* *pō'lestom*  
sh I sold it. — < \**parād*: \**parāsta*.  
*parād* has been abstracted from the  
weak form of athematic Av. *para-dā*-  
and has been treated as a simple  
verbal stem. Cf. Psht. *prōlōl*, *plōrōl*  
(with the same metathesis as in  
Y—M, v. § 137); Sogd. *pr'ō*, Sak.  
*parā*, Orm. *prāy*, Gypsy of Qain  
*parū-īdan* (?). — Shgh. *parādā* <  
\**para-dada*, Sgl. *parōē* < \**para-*  
*dāya*, Wkh. *pūrūt* < \**para-rātaka-*  
*pūrūt* < \**para-rand* (?).

*pō'larz-om*: *pō'lišē-em* Yzh, *pō'lōrz-om*  
M(g) to wrap up (a bundle). — Cf.  
Sgl. *pāl* id., Prs. *padorza*, a wrapper,  
*payarza* a bundle, Psht. *blē'del* to  
swaddle; Orm. *palaft* 'to wring,  
fold' (< \**pari-dyāta*?).

*pō'lās* Y, °as Mm blanket, mattress made  
of goat's hair. — Prs. *palās*.

*pā'lāstiko* Yzh, *pō* sh, *palasto* Mm  
armlet. — Cf. *lasto*.

*pām* Y, *pām* Mm, *pām* g, Z, G wool. —  
Cf. Sgl. *pām*, Prs. *paśm*, Bal. *phīm*,  
Oss. *fāsm*, *fāns*, etc.

*pūma* Mm, g, °ā (g) avalanche. < \**piś-*  
*man*, cf. Skr. *piś* to crush?

*pūmbaraš* Yzh beacon, bonfire. — Khov.  
*pūmbaraš*.



'*pno* Yzh, 'pə° g, pa° r, pñə sh, 'pēno Mm, °a (g), 'penā t, 'pēnē g, °e ti, pēna G palm of the hand. — There is no trace of r in Ir.: Shgh. *bēn*, Wkh. *pun*, Kurd. *pani*, *panadest*, Phl. Psalter *pu*°. (Reg. Av. *pərnā*, which has been transl. 'palm' v. Meillet, MSL, 20, p. 290).

pu'inē Yzh, °i sh bellows. — Khov. *phu'ni*.

'*pānjəmo* Mm five days ago. — \**panāmā*. pa'nūr Y, Mm, Z, G cheese. — Prs.

pānī (pānīš) Yzh, g, °aš sh, r, u, LSI, °nē Yp, pēnī Mm, °nē g, t, (sh), °nā (g), pānē Z, G five. — *pānj* ru'pāyo Ysh; *pānj* wulē u. — Av. *panā*.

pe'nāzko Yzh, pā° g, pa'nāzko r eye-lashes. — < \**paš(m)axa* + *kā*-, cf. Av. *pašna*-.

pānzda Mg, (g) fifteen. — Prs.

pānzwist Yzh, pānj° r 100. — V. *sad*.

'*pānio* Yzh, g, panī° sh, 'pāngyo Mm, °i g, °giyū (g), °a t, pān'gye ti, 'pan'g'a Z heel. — \**pārāniyā*-, cf. Shgh. *pērnak*, Av. *pāšna*-, etc.

'*pūnā* Yzh, °o g, pūnā sh, r, pūngyo Mm, pl° g, pūngv (sh), pūna B feather. — Cf. Par. *pōp*, etc. < Av. *parāna*-.

po'nek Yzh, sh, u, po'nək r, p, pū'nyuk g leaf. — ro čirief la pənekaf... jurd Yu he took the apricots together with the leaves. — Cf. Sak. *pārra*-, Psht. *pāpa*, etc.

pāp Y, pāp Mm, G, pōp M(g), Z grand-father (paternal and maternal). — Cf. Wkh. *pūp*, Arm. *pap*, but v. Sgl. *bēbē*, etc.

'*pāpas* Yzh, 'pa° g, pā'pas sh, pa'pās r, 'pāpas Mm lung. — IA (cf. e.g.

Ashkun *pa'pus*); but the Khov. word is now *asqār*. V. *dil-i zigār, šuš*.

'*pāru* Y, pō'ru m. Z horse-dung. — Cf. Ishk. 'pōru, Badakhshi *pārūb*, Taj. *pōrū* (Z, Semenov, etc.). But Prs. *pārōb* ("pāda-raupa: 'what is swept off at one's feet?'), diall. *pōrū* wooden shovel, *pārūda* vessel to carry earth and clay? V. *xaškon*.

'*pəro* Yzh podex, pēro Mm, °a g, Z, °e Mti, 'perē t, 'pērū (g) hip. — Cf. Phl. *pārak*, *parik* (Tavadia, Šāyast-nē-šāyast, p. 87). Connection with Skr. *pālī*-margin, edge, bosom is not prob. — V. 'pīścan, *mišistē*.

*piro* B, *pīra* LSI, *wa pīr* y before, earlier; *pīra-was'ta* G forwards. — < Av. *paurrya*-. Cf. Sak. *pīro* before, in front, Shgh. *pīrō* before (ABC, pp. 32, 41).

*pīr* Yzh, sh, r, pōr zh, g, *pur* Mm, Z, G full. — pōr *kenēm* Yzh I fill; pōr šet sh many came, 'pur *šudan*, *biyār āmadan*'. — Prs.

pu'ro-um: pūrē'i-m Yzh, pu'rā-am: pūrē'i-am sh, 'pūrē-am: pūr'vī-um r, pu'rōv-um: pūr'vī-um Mm, pō'rōv: pūr'vī t, : pūr'vī- (g), pō'rōv: pōrōv Z, : pūr'vī- LSI, *priva* B to find, obtain. — pō'rēv zh pres. 3 sg., pō'rēvēt 3 pl.; ē-pūr'vīam sh 'na yāftim'; ē-pōrēvāyāf perf. 'na yāfta būdid' (!). — < \**pari-ap*-, cf. Wkh. *parōē* am to attain (v. Z a.v.)?

pūr Y, M (Yzh, g also pūf) son, B boy, pūser (?) B son. — *īa mēn yū pūf* (am'boh pūrē) astel Ysh I have one son (many sons); *tu mēn pūf* sh you are my son; *mēn nō pūrēn amūno lēm* sh I gave my son an apple; *āi 'pūrā* sh o sons; *nō xoi pūrēf* sh

- to his own sons; *ico* 'mon 'pürəf u'sāea sh call my sons; *pür*, *pürən*, *pürē*, *pürəf* r; *yū* 'pür, *š'rai* 'püri Mm; *pür kir* (g) she bore a son. — Av. *puōra*, Wkh. *pōṭ*, etc, but Sgl. *sōt* 'pūra Yzh son. — Demin of *pür*. Cf. s.v. *wən*.
- '*pardam* Yzh a girl's front-lock, °*čām* r a lock of hair. — Prs.
- par'gušēē* Yzh, sh, 'parguškvīy Mm, g, °*giškē* ti, °*guš'kvī* G, *porgušēn* LSIy finger-ring. — Cf. Khov. lw. *pulug* 'guš'fu, Wkh. *p'longōst* and Yazgh. *pər'waxt*. The forms with *l* are prob. of Prs. origin, with *pul*, *pal* < *pari*, just as in *paluanda* bale, bundle; *palāhang* bridle, halter (*āhang* tether), *palandin* lintel, jambs of a door (cf. Av. *pidya*). But I cannot find Prs. *pulangust* mentioned by G.
- pāry* Y, *pāry* Mm, g, *pōrg* Z, *pōrk* G, *perx* B mouse. — 'pārye *noṇo'yt* Ysh; 'fūto *wo* 'paryof he seized the mice. — Cf. Sgl. *pōrk*, Wkh. *purk*, and v. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *pūrg*.
- '*poruy* Yzh, sh, 'peruy m. Z bolt of a door. — \**pati-ruga*, cf. Greek λύπος flexible twig, etc, possibly connected with Engl. *lock*, etc.?
- poruy'lan* Yzh, sh hole fore the door-bolt. — V. *poruy*; cf. § 145.
- pīra'hān* Yzh, sh, *pīra'ān* r, 'pīran Mm shirt, *pī'rān* m. Z woman's shirt. — p° *k'o* Ysh. — Prs.
- parkand* LSIy half. — *loh rupeo* p° 2½ rupees. — Cf. Phl. \**kand* fragment (?) (cf. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift, 1934, 2, p. 67)?
- '*par'm* Yzh, sh cotton, mattress filled with cotton-wool, *paxta*. Khov. *purum* cotton fibre (Lor.).
- pa'rinda* Ysh, *parandagi* LSIy bird. — Prs.
- pa'ran'yiko* Yzh steep part of a road on the face of a cliff, *parri*. — Cf. Skr. *paraṇa* crossing?
- prenjī'o* Yzh, *pran*° sh, r, 'prenjio, °*jiko* g she-goat, one year old. — \**parana-ēi* belonging to last year, cf. Psht. *parin* yesterday, etc.?
- parə'paṭi* Ysh boil, sore. — Khov. *pər'pat* (Lor.), *parpaṭ* small-pox, or a similar disease.
- '*pārsē* Y, *par'siy* Mm, *pər'siy* g rough roof-beam. — \**pārsaka*, but cf. Khov. *isprāsk*, ceiling, Wkh. *sipask*, Shgh. *sipāsc* ratter < \**us-parsa-ka(-ēi)*?
- pr's'm* Yzh, *pər'səm* sh, g, r : 'pist'm Y, G, 'purs'am: *pist-əm* Mm, *pərs-: pēst-*, *pist* Z to ask. — *zo vto* *pr's'm* Yzh, *zo fto* *pər'səm* sh; *zə* *pər'səm-isto* sh I am asking; *wā'* *pər'sē* sh ask him (2 pl.); *pād'sāen* *pis'tō* sh, u the king asked; *zonief* *pis'tet* sh the daughters-in-law asked; *pistə'əm* r I have asked. — Cf. Wkh. *pərs-: parət*, Sgl. *f'rōs-: f'rōt*, Av. *pərsə-: paršta-*.
- pərsə'ye* Y, 'pursəgo Mm, °*aṭa* g, 'pūr-sāyā (g), 'pursə'ē t, *pursi'ga* t. Z rib. — Av. *pərsu-*, cf. Wkh. *purs*, Oss. *pārsk*.
- pra'sāl* Y, *prə'sāl* Mt, 'presāl Z last year. — \**para-sarda*, cf. Orm. *prasul*, Prs. *pārsāl*. V. *yu'dār sāl*.
- prasi'lanē* *warē* Ysh male lamb, one year old. — \**para-aydanaka-* (cf. \**ayda-* in Orm. *prasul*, Par. *parāsuy* last year). Cf. *af'sinjo* (v. § 126). V. *prenjī'o*, *nar'yiko*, *nar'-woryo*.
- prə'sū* Ysh skirting board of eaves. — Khov. *prēu* (Lor.).
- pōr'šik* Yzh, g. p. *bo*° (?) sh, *pā*° B lip.



— Reichelt (ZII, 7, p. 149) compares Sogd. *prš* lip. Tomaschek (BB, 7, p. 200) assumes that the original meaning was 'rim' and compares Av. *porənu* (v. WP, II, p. 44 sq.). But *rš*? — V. s.v. *p'korē*.

*p'rieur* Mm, *'prieur* g cow-house. — With *e* for *u* (cf. *yavō*) < Av. *pairi-vāra*; Prs. *paricār* stable. Cf. Waz. Psht. *vrōrai* shelter for cattle in the hills < \**fravāraka*.

*parvardīgār* Ysh creator. — *āi* p°. — Prs.

*par'vaṣṣin* Yzh, *par'voṣṣ(ina)* g, *sikn* *par'vāṣṣina* sh knee-cap; *par'vāṣṣin* zh, sh, *par'vaṣṣin* p the wheel of the spinning-wheel (v. III.); *pericakin* B round. — The original meaning appears to be 'round'; < \**pari-paṣana* 'wide'? — Cf. Portuguese, etc. *rodella* knee-cap < *roda*.

*par'vāno* Yr moth. — Prs. V. *kautia*.

*par'vaxšē* Yzh, g, r, °*vaxšē*(?) sh, *'par-vaxšēy* Mm, g broom. — Connection with Av. *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle' is uncertain, but not impossible.

*par'vici*: *poricōṣ* Z to sift. — \**pari-waik-* (v. Z s.v.) cf. Wkh. *poricō*, Afr. Psht. *paricōz*.

*porx*, *porē* f. Z hoarfrost, hail. — Besides Shgh. *perē*, etc. mentioned by Z, cf. also Psht. *parza*, *porried*, Orm. *purzo*, Prs. *barx*, *burx*, Sak. *pruhadew* (Oss. lw. *pīrx*, *purx(ē)* spray, etc.?). — It is doubtful whether Prs. *puē*, *paē* sleet is connected with *porx*. (From Ir. Syryen *puē*, Wotyak *puimer* hoarfrost?). — Cf. further Prs. *puē*(*f*)ak, *opēak* hoarfrost, *parē* brook, fountain (v. Horn, Np. Et. s.v.) Kurd. *purā* sleet, Cheremis lw. *pōrē* hoar-

frost, Skr. *pruṣvā*, *pr'ṣva-* rime. Cf. *praē'yār*. — A most complicated group of words!

*pa'rūyasti* Mg collar-bone. — V. *fiyastli*, *šūko*.

*pari'zāk(š)* Yn fairy. — p° *nz'or*; vo p° *zueār kər*. — Prs.

*praē'yār* Yzh, sh, *predgā* B dew. — Khov. *praē'yār*, possibly from Ir. (Tomaschek, BB, 7, p. 197). Cf. *porx*. V. *nəb*, *tak'lām*.

*par'in* Ysh, °*in* zh, p enclosure for sheep, Psht. *špōl*. — Cf. Turf. Phl. *prēyn* hedge, Kāndulāf, etc. *pārēin* thorn-hedge, Bakhliyarī *par'in* bramble, etc.; poss. also Sak. *pār-gyūi* f. garden. — From *pari-ēi*, cf. Prs. *parzidan* to repair a well. Cf. *latino*.

*part'ni* Yp thorn-hedge.

*prāy* Yzh to bleat. — *vzo* *prāyē* = *y'nile*. Cf. Khov. *blayēik*.

*pāi'sō* Yzh, *paīsa* M money, coin. — *yū* *surx* p° sh a copper. — Iā.

*pas'mino* Yzh above, *bālā*. — Cf. *as'mino*.

*pas'minaka* Yzh steep. — V. *pas'mino*.

*pas'pōn* Z patch of cloth. — Z compares Shgh., Or. *pesūn*, Yazgh., Wkh. *pōšin*, Prs. *pīna*. Cf. also Sar. *psaun*. — M. *sp*, Wkh. *š* would point to ancient \**kno* (Av. *apa-spā*, etc. has probably ancient *sp*). Shgh. < \**ps'p'ōn*??

*psaro* B below, before (locally), 185y down. V. *sāro*.

*'pusur* Y, *pūsor* Mm, g, ti, °*tr* t, *pūsor* (g), *'pusor* m. Z, *'pūsō* G head. — \**pāli-sarak*? Cf. Par. *pīsār* forehead, Sogd. *pts'r'k* head.

*pūsura* Yp protruding piece of wood affixed to the foot-board of the spinning wheel and carrying the spindle (v. III.). V. *pusur*.

*psāt* Ysh immediately, *p'sā* Mt now. —  
*p'sā-yīm* Mt *ālī* raftam; *psāt* *tīxīm*  
 Ysh I am falling now. — Cf. Sgl.  
*psāt*, fr. Prs. \**ba-sā't*.  
*'pastē* Yzh, °tē p round iron girdle.  
*ps'tā* Mm pistachio. — Prs.  
*pis'to* Yzh, g, *pōstiyiki* pl. r, °*pūs'to* Mm,  
 °ā Z, °a G bark of a tree, *pisto* Yp  
 walnut-shell. — Lw's, of varying age,  
 fr. Prs. Or < \**pāstā*, Av. *pasta*, cf.  
 Sar. *pāsk* cow hide < \**pastaka*?  
*pist'd'ū* Yzh, *pisto* B flat, maidan. Cf.:  
*post* Y, Mm, *pōst*, °*pasta* Z low; *post* Mg  
 floor; *past* G below. — Prs.  
*pist'd'ū-yar* Yzh flag-stone. — Cf. *pist'd'ū*.  
*'pistūn* Yzh, g, °ān sh, r, °en Mm udder.  
 — Not direct from Av. *fātūna* (v.  
*is'cin*), but influenced by \**payah-*  
*milk*, cf. Sgl. *pēstān*, Sar. *vistān*  
 (Bellew), Prs. *pistūn*. Oss. *fāzdon*  
 has prob. been associated with -don  
 receptacle. Khorasani *pistun* (Ivanow)  
 'store room' originally 'milk room'?  
*pā'i* Yzh, *pisai* B ripe. — \**pāśaka(hya)*  
 < \**pačya*, cf. Prs. *puxtan* to ripen.  
*'paš-em*: *pašē-im* Yzh, sh to dig. — Khow.  
*pašīman*.  
*pašā* Mg mosquito. — Prs. V. *maxšē*.  
*pāš* Yzh, °*pāš* r snare. — Khow. *phāš*,  
*pāš*.  
*piš'čū* Yzh, sh, r, p° g, *piš'kvo* Mm,  
*pāškva* g, t, *piškva* ti, *pōš'kva* G back.  
 — \**prāti* + ā-, cf. Av. *parāti*. V.  
*har'kō*.  
*pāšē* Y flour made from dried apples. —  
 Cf. Prs. *pist*, Ishk. *put*, Wkh. *pōst*,  
 Shgh. *pišt* parched grain; v. Par.  
 Voc. s.v. *pist*. — Cf. *talkān*, *tū-*  
*pušk*.  
*'pišēan* Yzh, r, *pišēan* sh, g, °*piškven*  
 Mm, g, t, ti, °*En* (g), °*pekan* Z thigh;  
 14 - Kulturtorsknung.

*pišēan* B leg. — da p° *blok* Yg hip.  
 — < Av. *paitistāna*, v. EVP. s.v.  
*patūn*.  
*piš'ko* Y (sh also p°), *piškvo* Mm, °ā g,  
 °a t, G, °*puška* Z cat. — w° p° *la'kay*  
 Ysh he let loose the cat; yū p° *no-*  
*icon* H'o sh he gave him a cat. —  
 Cf. Sgl. *pūš*, Wkh. *piš*, and v. Z s.v.  
*poškō* Ysh, p, *pōš'ko* zh, r, °*paxškvo* Mm,  
 °*paxšk'a* (s!?) Z large wooden tray,  
*tabaka*; °*poško* Yzh washing basin. —  
 no *poškē*, tro *poš'kof* Ysh. Z compares  
 Prs. *paxš* trodden, expanded (which  
 is possible), and Bal. *pačag* to boil.  
*pū'šik* Ysh dress. — Prs.  
 °*pākedrī* Yzh, g, *prīkodrī* sh, °*pāgirālio* r,  
 °*poško* Mm, g, °*puška* t. Z dung of  
 goats and sheep. — Cf. Prs. *pušk*,  
 etc. With the second element cf.  
 Shgh. *šid*, Wkh. *šart*, Sgl. *wuđrī*,  
 etc.?  
*pāškus'ti* Yp stick fastened to the *kušō*  
 (q.v.). V. III.  
*prīke'zē* Yzh, *piškvo-rūi* Mm kitten. —  
 V. ziy.  
*pšānē* Yzh, °r, °*pšāno* sh, °i g, *pišāni*  
 Mm, g, t forehead. — Prs.  
*pāš'no* Yr heel. — Prs. V. *pāyio*.  
*pš'sin* Mm, (g) afternoon. — Prs. V.  
*iziānē*.  
*pišwō'zi* Mm vestibule. — \*Prs., cf. Prs.  
*pēšwēz* going out to meet somebody.  
 — V. *as'tano*.  
*pišawiz* Yzh, °wiz sh buckle of a belt.  
 — Prs. \**pēš-awēz*, cf. *awēz* a hook  
 for hanging something on.  
 °*pi'tau* Y, °*pitōn* Mm, g the sunny side  
 of a valley or hill. — Prs. *pašan*,  
 Sgl. *pitār*, etc.  
*pāta'čūr* Yzh pheasant (not found in  
 Lutkoh). — Khow. *badačūl*, *batočūl*.



- 'pateko* Mm pea, *Lathyrus sativus*. — Cf. Sgl. *paṭək*, v. *Agricult. Afghanistan*, p. 337 (*'patok*).
- putk* Mg anvil. — Cf. Wkh. *pulk* anvil (Bellew), but Prs. *putk*, Shgh. *pulk* (*mās nixōn dorr at pulk* 'our emblem is the sickle and the hammer' abe-book, p. 28), hammer. What is the nature of the connection between the forms in *t* and *l*?
- pa'tarē* Y roof-beam. — *\*patilaraka* 'cross-beam', cf. Wkh. *paṭari* rafter, and Prs. *tir* < *\*trya*.
- ptṛam-d-o* Yu seized, imprisoned, *parka-mān kat* (?). — Cf. Wkh. *pūtrām*-to arrest.
- poti'tā-um*: *poti'sard-um* Yzh, *poti'sō um* r to tear (a rope, string, etc.). — Denom. from *poti'sē*.
- po'tiž(ē)* Yzh, r broke, was torn, *kand*. — *mon lo'sō po'tižē zh* my rope broke. — < *\*pati-tryta*, cf. Prs. *iftālidān*, Par. *tār*, Sar. *zdeig*, Or. *zidarē* (*\*us-tryd*?) to break, split.
- paita'ico* Yzh, sh puttees. — Khw. *paita'va*, fr. Prs. *pāy-tāba*.
- pa'tešo* Mm, *'pātešā* (g), *pa'teša* Z she-calf, one year old. — < *\*pati-tāci*, connected with Prs. *tāza* fresh, young?? — V. *forymček*, *miščiyo*.
- poṭ* Yzh bent, crooked. — IA?
- prj'o* Yzh, sh fresh, or moistened *riška* (a kind of horse-todder); IA?
- prj'o* Yzh necklace.
- paṭxō* Yp unthreshed grain, straw with the corn. — *\*pati-zwahā*.
- piž* Yr span from thumb to index-finger. — Cf. Sgl. *pēr*. < *\*paiza*, connected with Av. *piša*-knot, joint (in a reed)? Cf. the semantic development of Skr. *pārcan*.

- pṛuf*: *pṛufl*. Ysh, : *puxufl* zh, : *pṛufl* Mm to get tired, *partan šudan*; *p'xuftay* Z, *porušta* B, *xaf'ta* (?) G tired. — From Prs. (?) *\*paxušta* < Av. *\*paiti-x'apta*?
- paxta'i wirē* Mg cotton thread. — Prs. *paxta* cotton. — V. *šišo'yun*, *wu'sūles*.
- poza'yak* Yzh temples; *'pzojak* g top of the head.
- piž* Yzh, sh, *piž* r, *piže* (pl.?) g, *puž* Mm, *pūž* Z, G, *piš* B arrow, bullet (G, B only bullet); *drum-piž* Ysh, *las-piž* B arrow; *piž-yar* Yg bullet ('arrow-stone'). — Cf. Sogd. *p'ḍ*, Oes. *fat*, Shgh. *pāḍ*, Sar. *pūḍ*, etc., poss. Sgl. *pācūn*. Arm. *patkan* fr. Ir. — Ir. *\*pāda* from Skr. *pāta* flying + Av. (para-) *padhant* flying away (from bow-string)?
- pišo'yo* Yzh, *piž'yo* sh saliva. — *\*pōu*, v. *lfo*, and cf. Orm. *putu*.
- pežiko* Yzh snare. — Cf. Shgh. *pēḍ* < *\*pāḍya*. V. NTS, I, 65.
- pa'xoy* Z, *pa'ha*, *pa'xa* G wide, broad. — < *\*padaka*, cf. Sogd. *p'ḍk*. Most Ir. forms are derived from Av. *padana*, but cf. Sgl., etc. *pām*.
- 'pōya* Yzh, sh, r, *'paya* g, °o Mg sour milk, *māst*. — Cf. Sgl. *pōi*, Wkh. *pāi*, etc. < Av. *payah*.
- pā'iz* Y autumn. — Prs. V. *tīramā*.
- pu'zē* Yzh, *'pūzē* sh, r, g falcon, *bāša*, Khw. *yurē*. — Fr. Prs. *bāz*, with substitution of *p* for *b* at a time when no initial *b* existed in Y. — V. *bāso*.
- pozg*, v. *pozgy*.
- patzanē* Yzh autumn wheat. V. *pā'iz*.
- po'zēx* Yzh, *po'zāžē* g, °o r, °ižē sh, *pi'zāžy* Mm, *pi'zāži* g. (sh), *pi'zāži* (g), *pi'zāžya* Z, *pičyē* (?) B male sheep,

1—2 years old. — \**pati-zaḥya(ka)* 'newly born', cf. Sak. *mū-yaṣaṁthia-* 'belonging to his birth'; Khw. *auzetu* 'fem. calf, two years old' fr. Ir. \**āpi-zaḥyā-*? Cf. *naxcīr-pzāxē*, *və-zāxo*, *zāxko*.

*piš'yar*, v. *piš*.

*pāši* Yzh, sh, *pāje* LSIy, 'pōwei Z all. — p° *mardum*; *was* p° *tayār šūi* now all of it is ready, *hama-iš*; *to pāšof da'ham* zh I beat all of them. — Cf. Skt. *upa-citi-* accumulation, heap?

*pi-tām*: *pi-tānd* Yzh, sh. *po'čām*: *po'čānd* r, *po'jon* M(g) to entrust. — *na* to čei *po'čāmum* Yr I entrust something to you. — Y fr. Khw. *pešimim*, in its turn fr. Ir.; originally \**pati-jāmaya*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663.

*po'žs* Yp, *pežs* u log. beam. — *tālum* *vo pežs* Yp; *amboh pežs xap* u fell much timber.

## R

*rāi* Mm, *rāi* LSI m word (*rai* B 'wish' < Khw.?). — Ar-Prs. *rāi* advice?

*rāi* Y, Mm, g, (g), t cheek, Yg, Z, G face. — Prs. V. *rāxə*.

*rā'i* Y, M, 'rāyei m, 'iy g, 'iy (g), 'oy Z guts, bowels. — Cf. Prs. *rāda*, etc. V. KZ., 61, 29 sqq.

*rāē* Mm difficult. — < \**rāj*, Prs. *ranj* trouble, distress.

*ru'fo* Y small, soft broom. — With *f* from the past \**rusta-*, cf. Prs. *rustan*, *rābam* to sweep. Cf. Sgl. *rēf*. V. *fāru*, *par'caxāē*.

*rafiko* Mm, *refikū* g mill-broom.

*ri'yo* Yzh, 'a sh, Mg, t, ti, 'rāgo m, 'ragā t, Z vein; *riyo* B sinew, *rirek* (: \**riyek*) vein. — < \**rākā-*; cf. Sar.

(Bellew) *ruwōj* pulse (but *rāg* vein fr. Prs. *rag* < \**rakā-*); Yazdi *rōy* vein; Psht. *rōg* strap, thong. Cf. also Prs. *rafa* a stretched rope (if orig. ē not j, v. Hübischm. Prs. Stud., 66).

*roy* Yzh goat track. — 'yumin o 'rōy Yg anus. — < Khw. *rōy* incised line, crack, furrow, goat track in cliffs, poss. < \**raka-*, v. 'riyo.

*rōy(u)* Yzh, sh, *rōy* g deodar. — Khw. *rōy*.

*rūyon* Y, Mm, g, 'na m. Z, 'na G clarified butter; *rūyna* Mm resin. — *rūyun da burē deh* put the ghee into the corner. — < Av. *raoyna-*, cf. Wkh. *rūyn*, Sak. *rrūga*, etc.

*royz* Yzh woman's cloak. — Cf. Prs. *rayza* a kind of woollen cloth worn in Badakhshan. — \**rezg-* 'to plait' (WP, II, 374)?

*ra'hī*, 'ē Yzh, 'ā u leaving, starting. — r° *šūi*, r° *kəf* he left, started. — Prs.

*rok* Yzh, *rang* B, G colour. — *spī rok*. — *rang* fr. Prs., *rok* genuine or early lw. — (Cf. also Prs. *razš* lightning, rainbow, mixture of red and white, Kurd. *raš*, Arm. *eraxš* black).

*ri'kau* Yr, *ri'kiš* Mm, r° Z stirrup. — Prs. *rikāb*, *rikeb* (cf. s.v. *ketiu*). V. *cauli* V.

*ru'kuš-* Yzh to creep, Khw. *drusikiran*. — *iž rukušē* the snake creeps. — Kho. *rukusik* to creep.

*rim*: *rimd-* Yzh, r, Mm to please (impers.). *rēm-* Z to wish, want. — *mən rimet* (3 pl.), *rimdo* I wish, I wished 'mēšdram' Yzh; *tu mən rimet* I want you, you please me, 'tu mana mēšāra'; *youyō rimet* I want to drink water,



au *zurdan mēfāra* Yr; *rīmi* Mm he wants. — Cf. M. Prs. *rām* to rejoice (Henning, ZII, 9, 190).

*romō* Yzh, *rō'ma* Z flock, herd. — Prs. *ra'meno* Yzh, *ʔeno* sh, g, t, *rameno* Mm, *rāmenā* (g) poplar, *safedār*. — Cf. Khw. *ro'mōn*, *ro'meno* aspen (from Y?) — V. *gulra'men*, *ta'rik*.

*ra'mūz* LSim deer. — Cf. Psht. *rāmūsai*, but Khw. (O'Brien) *rohunz* musk-deer.

*rin'g'a* Z smooth, slippery. — \**rixānaka*-, or \**raxāni*°, cf. Prs. *lašn*, v. Par. Voc. s.v. *lhanō*.

*rūpā'yo* Ysh, Mm silver, money, rupee. — *ha'zār rūpāyo*, *ʔyi*, Ysh; *numan yū rūpai* (lu *rūpāyagi*) *lūyam* Mm I gave him one rupee. — IA.

*ros*: *rō'si*, *ro'si* Yzh, sh, : *rē'sio* u, *res-am* M(g), *res*: *resiy* Z to arrive. — *ro'sē* arrives; *mira rē'si*° *ʔaftāb rasid*°; *da Ūtrāyl rō'si*; *ers ke 'nā mon rē'si* whatever I received; *hazār rūpāyī na to rō'si* you received 1000 rupees; *rō'siet* they arrived. — Prs.

: *rī'sed-at* Ysh (for \**re'sēd-at*) they made to arrive, *rasāndan*. — *vo mālof a'ersit*, *r°* they brought the goods and made them arrive. Cf. *ros*.

*rūso* Yzh, g, *ruso* sh, r, *raūso* Mm, *rōusā* g, *re-u°* (g), *rōusa* t, (sh), *rū°* f. Z, *rū'sa* G fox. — Cf. Shgh. *rupsak*, *rupcak*; Sogd. *rupsa*; Prs. dial. *rōs* (and *rōs-angurda* fox-grapes); *Ropsa* = *Lisicka* "Füchsechen", n. of a river in Orel, Russia (v. Vasmer, in Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 12, 248). But Prs. *rōbāh*, etc. Sgl. *rōrōs*, Sak. *rūvāsa* jackal with -ā. Reg. the gender cf. § 179.

*rū'spēn* Yzh, g, *re°* sh, r, LSIy, *yus'pēn*

Mm, *yi°* g, t, *yisprn* (g), *yūspin* m. Z, *ʔun* G, *ʔen* LSim iron. — Cf. Sgl. *ʔs'pōp*, Wkh. *yīsō*, Sak. *hīām*, Psht. *šspana*, Shgh. *se'pen*, etc. (and Prs. *stāl* dross of iron). But Y r? *rāsle* Ysh rightly, correctly. — *tu r° xismat kent* — Prs. *rāsti*.

*rās* Yr heap. — *ro you rās kerēm* I heaped up the barley. — Prs.

*riśa* Mt root-fibre. — Prs.

*rešk* Y avalanche. — < \**rešk?* Cf. Khw. *rešf*, Shgh. *rīšt*. Cf. Prs. *rašt*, *rušt* crumbling, threatening to fall, etc.?

*riśko* Yzh, sh nit. — Cf. Prs. *rišk*, Psht. *riča*.

*ra'sān* zh, sh, *rō°* g instep (zh also sole). — From *ra'sān*, in its turn prob. < Ir. (\**fra-sāna*-, v. *šfina?*).

*rū'sān* Mm, *ʔān* g, *rū'sān* G light, brightness. — Prs. V. *d'rūnyā*.

*rīv* Yzh, sh, *rīf* Mt a kind of odoriferous, bitter-tasting vegetable, resembling rhubarb. — < \**rāba*-, cf. Sgl. *rūr*, Prs. *rāvand*, etc., \**rāve* (Badakhshi *rau*), v. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 547, and Markwart, Caucas. 7, 16.

*rōv*: *rīv*° Yzh, sh, r, *rev*: *rīv* M(g), *rov*: *rīv* Z to bark. — *rōvē*, *rīvō* Yzh, *yalv rōvō* r, *rōvōstō* sh, g, *ʔolv* *revi*, *rīvō* M(g). — Cf. Phl. *rap* to cry out, etc. (v. Johnston, JLAS, 1934, 535 ff.).

*rōvōn* Yzh, sh, *rē°* Mm, g, (g) wife's brother. — Derivation < \**rēvul* < \**lēur*, cf. Psht. *lēur* 'husband's brother' is phonetically and semantically improbable.

*rōv(°)* Yg cheek. — Prs. *ruv*, Psht. *rāv*; cf. Psht. *rōv* side, part. — < \**ramca*-, Skr. *vrākva* corner of the mouth.

razs M(g) dance. — Ar-Prs.  
 ruz'sat Ysh leave, permission. — *wo r°*  
*šai* he left; *r° tūliyo*; *'wa mən r°*  
*ken* give me leave. — Ar-Prs.  
 rūyei, v. rū'i.  
 riza Y, Mm, *rəz'gay Z*, *rəzgi'ya G* small.  
 — *mən pūr (luydo) riza*; *agar riza*  
*vto Ysh*. — Prs.  
 rū'zo Yzh fast. — Prs.  
 'riza o'guščiko Yg, sh, °go sh, riza-  
 guščiko zh, rizo-ko-guščiko r little  
 finger.  
 riza'yak Yzh goats and sheep. — Cf.  
 Sar. *rezapai* (Shaw).  
 riziko Yzh small. — *mən luydo r°*. Cf.  
*riza* and *rizo-ko-guščiko*.  
 riz-l'vora Yg window ("small door").  
 rī'zān Yzh in *r° māum* I give a full  
 measure, *xūb sanjidim*, *xūb pur šud*  
*paimān* (?). — Prs. *rizān* scattering?  
 ra'zin Yzh, °an sh, g, 'rōzən r, 'rāzen  
 Mm, g, (g) t, Z, ra'zin G elbow. —  
 The similarity with *Klādūlāi qā*  
*ārīzī'nī* (Kurd-Prs. Forsch. III, II,  
 275) is no doubt incidental. Phone-  
 tically *ra'zin* might go back to \**rā-*  
*zanya*.  
 ra'za Ysh sleeping platform near the  
 fireplace. — *nə'rur da r° 'burd sū-i*  
*digdān*. — Cf. Sgl. *rāz*, Wkh. *rāz*,  
 Or. *rē'zak* < \**raz(i)ya*, from \**reḡ*?  
 rā'zan G language. — If correct, cf. Skr.  
*racana*- composition, etc.?  
 rū'zen Yzh, sh, r, °an g, °an p, Mm,  
 °jen g smoke-hole. — Cf. Wkh. *riēn*,  
 Par. *rūcōn*, Prs. *rōzan*, etc.

## S

'sā-um: sovd-um Y, sō-um g, sōv-: sēvd  
 Z to smear, rub. — *sora Yg* imper.  
 2 sg. — \**sab*-, cf. Orosh. *sēv*- Sgl.

*sāmb*, Wkh. *sām*. (Hj.)? Or cf. Prs.  
*sūdan*, *sūwīdan*, etc.?  
 sī Mg, sīi m thirty. — Prs.  
 sū'i Yzh slate. — Cf. Wkh. *sāt*, Sar.  
*sād* slate, Shgh. *sād*, Sgl. *usid* baking  
 pan. Prs. *sād* smooth, even?  
 sa'bā Y to-morrow. — *zo s. o'im*. — Prs.  
 V. *saār*, *yāmo*.  
 subo Mm morning. — *s° liyo 'šubh dād*.  
 — Ar-Prs.  
 sa'buk Yzh, sō° sh, sō° r, g, 'sabok Mm  
 light (not heavy). — Prs.  
 sā'buk Ysh bride, sābuka bridegroom.  
 V. 'šābuk.  
 sabar'go Yzh, g, °o p, sarbar'go sh tre-  
 foil. — Prs. *sihbarga*.  
 sō'brim Y, su'brūm Mm boiled fat.  
 sabō'ranj Yzh, sh neckrope, fastening  
 the bullocks to the yoke (v. III.).  
 — Pl. *sabō'ranjē*. — \**sami-barana-ai*?  
 Cf. Wkh. *samtör* yoke, Khov. *šamar-*  
*yūnu*, and v. s.v. *sām*.  
 sabūstaf obl. pl. LSIm husks. — Ead.  
 Prs. *sabōsta*, Prs. *sabos(a)*, cf. Sar.  
*sabast* bran.  
 sad M 100. — Prs.  
 sād'bārg M(g) centfoil, rose. — Prs.  
 saw'dāger Ysh merchant, pedlar. — Prs.  
 so'fo Yzh, 'sofo p, sōfō sh clay pot,  
 kettle.  
 'sāyo Y, 'sōya Mg, °go m, °ga Z shade.  
 — \**šayākā*-, Sogd. *sy"K*, etc.  
 sōy'io Yzh, se° sh, sōyyo g, segio (?) r,  
 sigvo Mm, sīy'ya g, ti, °o (g), 'sōgya  
 Z, sūgya G sand (acc. to Mti fine  
 sand). — \**sikitā*-, v. EVP. s.v. *šoga*,  
 and Benveniste BSL., 30, 60 and  
 JRAS., 1933, 43. Cf. also Oss. *siŋil*,  
*siŋit*, etc., earth, soil, (v. also Justi  
 ZDMG, 38, 115).  
 siy Y hare. — \**šāhaka*-, cf. Sgl. *sūi*,



Wkh. *sīl*, Or. *sū*, v. EVP., s.v. *sōc*, and Bailey, JRAS., 1931, 424.

*soy* Yzh, r leather strap, boot-lace, *tasma*; *sūy* sh strap of a pellet bow (v. III.); *seṣaf* obl. pl. ISIy 'stripes'(?).

*sūy* Yzh, r street. — *soṣ do sūy ḡyām* Yr "āli *da kuḥa mērim*". — Ar.-Prs. *sūg*. 'sūyiko Yzh, r, *siyakā* M(g), *sūgo* m tale. — Cf. Par. *sūy* word, affair, Sar. *saug*, Or. *sūg* tale, proverb. But Av. *saoka*-means usefulness, profit.

*suy-mōlān* Yzh leather belt. — V. *suy*, *mōlān*, *kamarband*.

*sa'yir* Yzh, sh, Mm, Z, °ir Yr orphan. — Ar.-Prs.

*sūy'yāmo* Yzh, sh three days hence; *suyyā'mo* r the day after to-morrow(?). — V. 'yāmo, *yūy'yāmo*.

*sāhoro*, *sāhro* Ysh, *sāhoro* Mm desert. — *sāhara* šūi; *oyim-satē sāharen* (or from *sahar*?) — Ar.-Prs.

*sa'har* Ysh, Z morning; *sa'ār* Ysh, 'sāar zh to-morrow (morning). — 'sāar *molo ko mōn as* Yzh come to me here to-morrow morning. — Ar.-Prs.

*ska* Ysh, n, B, *ska* Z on, with; cf. *sār-skū* G upwards. — *nī'āst ska dau'let* he settled down with his wealth; *ska 'yū ašra'fen mīnd dau'lat šūi* through one piece of gold such wealth appeared; *ska yū yašp... suwār šūi* Yu he mounted a horse; *s'k škūra* *suwār šoy* Z he mounted a camel. — < Av. *uskāt* (G); cf. e.g. Saka *uska* above; Psht. (*h*)*ask*; Yazgh. *wask* high (the resemblance to Kaikādī Tamil *vask* id. is a "mirage phonétique"). — Cf. Skarzer.

*skəd-*: *skōkost* Yzh, 'skəd-: 'skrst- Mt, 'skid-: *skist* (g) to cut with an axe or a knife, 'mībūram'. — *pa kəṣa*

*skəstēm* Yzh. — Cf. *skēškigd* Z torn < \**skāsta*-; Wkh. *škənd*, Shgh. *šicənd*-to cut; Av. *skand*-to break.

*siaka'mand* *tfaḡ* Yzh a kind of gun. — Prs. \**siyāh-kamān*.

*skut* Yzh, sh, g, Mm, g, G, *skūt* Yr, *skut* Mt, *skout* Z, *iskawāt* (\*اسکوت) MFB wood, stick. — *mōn ca skud* *vrlēm* Yg I broke the stick. — < \**skunta*?? (Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr., p. 58, comp. Sogd. *skuey* firewood).

'*skāerio* Yzh, 'skarviyo Mm, °a g, 'skārviā (g), *skarbi'ya* G coal. — Poss. < \**skarbatā*, but not identical with Psht. *skaricaṣa*, etc. (v. G s.v.). Cf. Charpentier, AO., 7, 193.

*sāl* Yzh, sh, r, *sāl* g, *sāl* Mm, *sāl* g, Z, *sālo* Ysh, B, *sāia* (?) G year. — *yū sāl*; *yū sālō niāst* Ysh he stayed for one year; *šahānd sāl šūi* many years passed. — Prob. lw. from Prs.

'*sāilo* Ysh spectacle, show. — s° *šūi*; a'šp s° *kəṣ'om* I have seen a wonderful sight. — Ar.-Prs. *saīr*, Afgh. Prs. *saīl*.

*sīl* Mm, g, (g) flood, inundation. — Ar.-Prs. *saīl*, Wkh. *sīl*, Par. *sīl*, etc.

*sīl'yo* Yzh, *sāl'yo* g, r, °y'no sh, 'selgo Mm, 'sīlgiyā (g), 'sīlga Z cream. — < \**sidakā* = Skr. \**chidakā*, cf. Skr. *śara*- (Kashm. *har*) 'sour cream' from *śar*-to break (Lidén, KZ., 61, 6). It is doubtful whether Yazgh. *sayē* can be related to *sīl'yo*.

*sa'lām* Ysh, n salutation. — s° *kəṣ*; *wālekam wə-s°* Ysh; *as-s° a'lekum*, *wa 'āliku* s° n. — Ar.-Prs.

*sa'lāmat* Yu salutation. — n° *'pādšān* n° s° *lōt* they went to salute the king. — Ar.-Prs.

*sel'xiko* Yzh sorrel, (Kati *ḥrrā*). — Scarcely connected with *sil'yo* 'cream' (not sour) in the same manner as Oss. *xūrxūg* 'sorrel' is derived from *xurx* buttermilk (v. Lidén, KZ., 61, 7).

*sām* Mm yoke-peg. — Cf. Prs. *saim* (artificial vocalization in order to distinguish it from *sim*?), Sistani *simāk* yoke-key, Ar. (< Ir.) *samtq* the part of a yoke which encloses the ox's neck (: yoke-peg?); Wkh. *sam'ar* yoke; Av. *simā*, *yuyā-samī* (v. Reichelt, WuS, XII, 288); Skr. *ṣamyā*. (Shina *ṣamīṣe*, Bar. *ṣamīṣy*, etc.). — V. *sabəranj*, *samlasiko*, *kāriak*.

*samb* Mm, g, *samb* Z hoof. — Prs. V. *ḥo'gult*.

*sam-lasiko* Mm neckrope fastening the bullock to the yoke. Cf. *sām*, *loxo*. V. *sabəranj*.

*s'm'te* Mg blunt.

*'sauuo* Yzh, sh, *'sauuo* Mm, °s g co-wife. — Prob. from a lost Khov. form corresponding to Kshm. *son* < \**saun* < *sapatnī*. The present Kho. word is *ambox'ēān* (v. *ambōy*).

*'sandoq* Yg, *san'duq* Mm box, chest. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *to'rūnyo*.

*san'dūn* Yzh, sh, *san'dōn* r, *sa°* Z anvil. — Prs. (< \**āsandān*, cf. *(ā)taš* 'fire', etc.). V. s.v. *rra'pēn*.

*sānj* Yzh, *san'jā* p floor-plank on which the roof-pillars rest. — Kho. *sānj*.

*su'niko* Yp wooden shovel. (V. III.).

*'ainiya* Mm, °d g sole of the foot.

*sun'ya* Yzh beacon. — Cf. Kho. *sun*, *sūn* cairn (Loc.)?

*si'nd* Yzh, *sa°* p two-storied house, *kōfa*. — Kho. *si'nd*.

*sangla'ū* Y, °lo'wēf Mm, g, °lo'wēf (g) otter. — Cf. Sar. *sanglāwēf*, Sgl. *sag-lāwēf*, Kalasha *sangawēr* fr. Prs. *sag-lābi*, Afgh. Prs. (Phillot) *sag-i-lan*. But Wkh. *sagāwēf* < *sag-ābi*.

*saŋki'yo* Mg poison. — Kho. *saŋkiya* poison, arsenic, fr. Hind. *saŋkhyā*. V. *zah'ar*, *ḥaro*.

*spl* Y, Mm, g, tī, G, *s'pl* Yr, Z white. — *spl rok* Yzh. — Av. *spāšta-*.

*spā'hi* Ysh soldier. — Prs.

*'spōro* Yzh, sh, °ro g, *'sparo* Mm, °ra G, *s'pōra* f. Z plough (v. III.). — < \**spārā*, cf. Prs. *supār*, Psht. *spāra*, Sgl. *spār*, Wkh. *s'pūndr*.

*'spōrzo* Ysh spleen. — Genuine, cf. Av. *spōrzan-*, Sak. *spuljei*, Gabri *siuwarz*, Bal. *isp'ulk*, etc., or borrr. from Prs. *supurz*? — Khorasan Kurd. *sul* (Houtum-Schindler) < O. Prs. \**sydan-*? — V. *ninamāšēē*.

*spišē* Yzh, g olive-coloured, yellow. — Scarcely < \**us-pišta* (Av. *pašs-*).

*'spūo* (for *š-š*) Yzh, *'spūo* (pl. *špūū*) sh, *š'p°* r, *'spugo* Mm, °yd g, *'spūya* (g), t, *s'pōya* f. Z louse. — Av. *spiš-*, Prs. *supuš*, Psht. *spōša*, etc. With assimilation into *šp-* also Prs. *šupuš*, Sogd. *špšh*. Reg. the Y forms in *šp-* cf. §§ 74, 135. — Reg. Wkh. *šiš*, Abdu *šiš* etc. with Saka-Persic treatment of \**kie-*, v. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v.) and subsequently Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iranica*, 223 f.

*'sāro* Ysh down, below. — *w'dst s°* 'burden *pāyān*'; *a'nimōf su'wār šut rōl'yō*, *a'nimōf šut s°* half of them rode upwards and half of them downwards. Ancient abl. of *sor* hill (g.v.), cf. Engl. *down*. V. *fursoro*, *psāro*. *siri* Yzh upper. — *s° a'larsinē* upper



part of the door-frame. — < \*sarya-?  
 Cf. Kho. *soro* upper < Ir. V. *ta'hē*.  
*sōr* Yzh, sh, p ear of corn (zh also top  
 of a hill), B point. — Khov. *sōr*  
 (< Ir.) head, ear of corn (cf. Lat.  
*capitulum*). — V. *xū'sō*, *yūya*.  
*'sō'ro* Yzh, sh, *'sara* f. Z excrements,  
 dung. — s<sup>o</sup> *da'ham* Ysh I manure. —  
 Av. *sairya-*, Psht. *sarə*, Sar. *sūrūn*  
 (but not Prs. *surūn* 'podex', as pro-  
 posed by Z).  
*sar-i-dāl* Ysh, *sar-e-dāl* sh the place  
 under and between the ribs; *sar'dāl*  
 Z breast. — \*Prs.  
*sarda'wo* Yzh a well. — Kho. *sardawai*  
 underground water tank < Prs. *sar-*  
*dāba*.  
*sarPrā'ze* Ysh ornaments. — Prs. *sar-*  
*farāzī* grandeur, exaltation.  
*sar'yār* peg in the plough-beam (v. III).  
 — Cf. Khov. *kāri*, *istor-yārī*.  
*sārpa'gā* Yr morning. — Prs. *pagāh*  
 dawn.  
*sur* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>r<sup>u</sup>e r; *'surva* g hole. —  
*psko* *'sur'ac* Yr nostril, *yūen sur(a)*  
 Yzh, g hole of the ear. — \**subra-*,  
 cf. Wkh. *sēre*, v. EVP s.v. *nūrai*.  
*surx* Y, s<sup>o</sup> Mm, si<sup>o</sup> ti, s<sup>o</sup> g. G red. —  
*yū surx pāisō* Ysh a copper coin. —  
 Prob. genuine < Av. *surxa-*, cf. Wkh.  
*sakr*.  
*surx-boburə* Yzh a red wasp.  
*surux-sāē* Yzh *Epilobium*, willow-herb.  
 — \**sāē* is unknown. Cf. *sīēik* (s.v. *šāx*)?  
*'sōsē* Yzh, *sors* p heap of sheaves.  
*'sasto* Mm, *sāste* ti, s<sup>o</sup> LSim hillside.  
 — *wo šfūr-pālaf de sar de saste*  
*čara dil* LSim he grazes the cattle  
 on the top of the hill. — \**sastā-*  
*'ascensua* : \**sand-*, to ascend, Sogd.  
*san-* (v. Tedesco, ZII, 2, 39)?

*'stau* Yzh, sh stubble-field. — Khov.  
*'stāu*.  
*'stūy* Yr long hair. — *vanə-stūy*. — Cf.  
 Oss. *stig*, *stug* lock of hair, stripe,  
 strip, Skr. *stukā-* knot or tuft of  
 hair (preserved in Prasun *'stvak* lock  
 of hair?).  
*'s'tu-yā* Yzh, *'stū*<sup>o</sup> g throat (interior of).  
 — Cf. *stun*. V. *ālq*, *'kəyko*.  
*'stuy'nūf* Yzh, *stuy'nuf* g dripping (inside  
 a house). — Cf. Skr. *stokā-* a drop?  
*sot'hē* Yzh, *'sotko* g, *sodko* sh gums. —  
 Khov. *sotk* gums (between the teeth).  
 — V. *zōmbd*.  
*stun* Mm, <sup>o</sup>nek ti throat, larynx. — Cf.  
 Psht. *stūnai* (< \**stāmnaka-*?). — V.  
*'s'tu-yā*.  
*'stu'no* Yzh, *stə*<sup>o</sup> g. r, *'stuno* Mm, <sup>o</sup>ε g  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Wkh. *istān*, Sgl.  
*astān* < Av. *stāna-*.  
*stīnyo* Yzh, g, r supine, lying flat on  
 the back. — s<sup>o</sup> *šū* = *Pyodə* g. —  
 Av. *ustāna-*, Prs. *istān*, *wasīān*,  
 Brahui lw. *istān*, Psht. *stūn*.  
*'stārē* (pl. <sup>o</sup>ri) Yzh, g, <sup>o</sup>rə r, *'stāro* sh,  
<sup>o</sup>ri (pl.) u, *'stōrēy* Mm, g, <sup>o</sup>ri (pl.  
<sup>o</sup>rū) (g), <sup>o</sup>rəy Z, *'storiy* (pl. <sup>o</sup>ri) gl  
 Mt, *stārē* G star. — *'stārei lūrət*  
 Yzh stars are falling. — Cf. Prs.  
*stāra*, Psht. *stōrai*, Sak. *stārai* <  
 \**stāraka-*, Sar. *šturf*, Or. *štōrj*,  
 Yzgh. *štārag* prob. < \**stāryaka-*,  
 on account of Shgh. *štōrj*. Cf. Oss.  
*st'all* < \**stāriya-*(?). — Sgl. *ustōrāk*  
 < \**stārāka*, Orm. *starrak* <? Par.  
*stēē* < \**stāryač-*, Wkh. *stār* (and  
 Khov. *istār*?) fr. Prs. *stār*. — With  
 Psht. *starga* 'eye' cf. Irish *sūil* 'eye'  
 (orig. 'sun').  
*'stōr-*: *'stār* Yzh, *'stōr*- sh, *'stōr-*: *stār-*  
 g, r, *'stōr-*: *stōr*- Mm, *stēr-*: *stōr*- Z

to sweep. — *ʔstīt* pres. 3 sg. — Cf. Sgl. *astar*, Shgh. *zedār* to sweep, Par. *astar* to rub, wipe away (and Oss. *stārīn* to plaster, lick?).  
*ʔstur* Yzh, sh (*ʔstūʃ* sh), *stur* g, r, Mm, *stōr*, *ʔūr* Z, *ustur* B big, great. — *zo īi to usʔtur* Yzh I am bigger than you; *mən ʔcorai īi ʔtō ʔvrayen ʔstūʃ* sh; *ʔstur šūi yauyo* zh the river rose. — Av. *ʔstūra*, Psht. *star*, etc.  
*ʔstūr* Z horned cattle. — Av. *staora*, etc. (but Khw. lw. *ʔstōr* horse < Prs.).  
*ʔsturo-ʔgušō* Yzh, *ʔstuʔro* sh, *stro-ogušōiko* g thumb. — Cf. *ʔstur*. V. *narangušō*.  
*ʔstūʔšōm* Z glue. — Prs. *širīšīm*.  
*ʔstur-ʔōyo* Yzh the evening star (: 'the large cloak?').  
*ʔšōdē* Yzh, p, *ʔšōdē* r, *ʔšōdēy* Mm large basket (Ill.). — Early lw., cf. Prs. *sapad*, *saf*°, *sab*°, Or. *šēpt*, Arm. *sapat*, Kalasha *savēd*-, *sohāl*. But also Ar. *safaʔ*°, Syr. *seftā*.  
*ʔšōdō* Yzh, M, *ʔdō* Ysh, g, r, v, *ʔšōdē* Mg, *ʔšōda* (g), *ʔsī*° t, *ʔsī*° ti, *ʔsō*° Z shoulder. — *do urjug (šōp) sō*° Yu. — Av. *supti*, Sgl. *šōd*, etc.  
*šōdiko* Mm the end tip of a bow.  
*šōʔē* Yg vegetable, *sauza*. — Cf. Pashai *sawē* grass (fr. Ir.?), Psht. *sābo* a kind of grass, vegetables (q.v.).  
*šōʔēr* Yzh n. of a tree (said to be a Khw. word).  
*šōʔār* Y, *šōʔōr* Z horseman. — *to parizāts šōʔār kōr* Yu he put the fairy on horseback; (*šō*) *yū yasp ica:tr luydo sō šūi* the vizier's daughter mounted one horse. — Prs.  
*šōʔorom* Yzh, *ʔōm* g, *šōʔōrom* sh, r

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

gold. — Borr. from older form of Kho. *ʔšōrom* (Capus *ʔsohorom*) which has got its -m from *droxum* (cf. Kurd. *šū* 'silver' with *z* from *zar*).  
*šōʔauk* Yzh smooth, slippery. — V. *šōʔuy*.  
*šōxt* Y, Mm hard, *šōxt* Yr closed. — Prs. *šōxt* < Av. *šraxta* close, dense (not with Nyberg. Hilfsb. d. Phl., II, 200, from *šāc* to suit).  
*šōxt(šōrom)* Yzh loom(?).  
*šōxuʔy*: *šōxuʔi-m* Yzh, *šōxuʔy*: *šōxu* um sh, : *šōxi-m* r; *šōxuʔy* Mm, *šōxu*: *šōxuʔy* Z to slip, slide, *lišmīdan*. — *šōxiʔom* Yr pt. — Related to or borr. fr. Prs. *šaxīdan* (Kho. *šēxē* stumbling).  
*šōzē* Yzh, *šōz* sh, *šōzō* g, *šōz*, *š* Mm, ti, G, *šōz* Z, *šōz* green; *šōz* Yzh blue. — Prs.  
*šōʔē* M(g) vegetable. — Prs. — V. *šōʔē*.  
*šōʔūrē* Yzh, *šōʔūrē* sh, *šōʔūrē* r hawk. — Kho. *šōʔūrē/ī* (but Palola *šōʔūrē*) fr. Ir.?  
*šōzda* Mg, *šī*° (g) thirteen. — Prs.  
*šōʔalʔo* Yzh, *šī*° sh tarantula.  
*šōʔōn* Mm, *šōʔān* G hot. — Prs. — V. *garm*, *prē*.  
*šōʔlyo* Yzh, sh, *šō*° r, *šōʔiā* M(g) jujab-tree. — Prs. *šinjid*, Khw. *šinjūr* (fr. Ir.?), Psht. *ʔsaurilleh* (= *ʔsaurila*?), (Lamsden, Mission to Kandahar, p. 215).

## Š, (Š)<sup>1</sup>

*šāi* Mm bridegroom. — Prs. *šāh* V. *šābuk*.  
*šū* Yzh hedgehog (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šū(h)* hedgehog, (porcupine, Lorr.).



šū, šu'u Yzh, šū'ū sh, r, šū g, M(sh),  
šūci (pl.) m, šūi g, šūe Z horn. —  
< \*srū, \*srūw. Cf. Sgl. šou, Wkh. šou,  
Par. šī, Bal. srō, Kurd. strōh, etc.,  
Sak. šū, Av. srū-. Cf. also Psht.  
škar, Wanetsi šukar.

šūi Y, Mm, t, (šōi Ysh), šoy Z, šev G  
he went, he became (v. oy). — Pret.  
1 sg. dur luro pādo šōm Ysh to day  
I have walked far; šōm zh, r, g; šo  
zōrōn anga šuyōm(?) r I woke; šiam  
Mm, t. — 2 sg. tu šūt-a? Yzh have  
you gone? wōs ke šūt sh now when  
you have gone; tu šōkū šū'i(?) sh  
from where did you go? kū ki tu  
šūyit, zo ašōm p wherever you go,  
I shall come. — 3 sg. šūi Yzh, Mm;  
šūi Ysh didn't go; šūi na Ūrtrāyī  
sh he went to Ch.; pazyō šūi r it  
became clean; šūy u šī ayoī Mm he  
went and didn't come (back). — 1 pl.  
šōm Yzh. — 2 pl. šōf-a? zh did you  
come? — 3 pl. šōt, šōt Y; šōt nō  
šaha'rīn u they went to town;  
gala'vānen 'ār 'eulē šōt n the cow-  
herd got four wives; zolān šōt sh  
they became happy. — Pf. 1 sg.  
šuyōm Yr, plupf. 1 sg. zo šu'yum vīo  
sh 'rafta būdim'; 3 sg. mon 'eulo  
šilo'zo šūi 'vīo sh 'zan i mā liē šūda  
būd'; 2 pl. ku šūyaf vīo zh 'kujā  
rafta būdid'. — Av. °šuta-, etc.

šābuk Yzh, šābok B, šābuk(a), (q.v.) Ysh  
bride, bridegroom. — Khaw. šā'bok;  
cf. Prs. šāh bridegroom.

šābpārekilay Yr, šīrpō'lay sh bat. — Fr.  
Prs. šābpārak, šābpār, cf. Orm. ša-  
wurkai, šaricarak, Shgh. šābgardak,  
Par. šaukurak, šauparak, Wkh. šau-  
pa'rak, Sgl. °ek, etc. With sh \*šīr-  
palang cf. š'cerzya rūso, šiede'raus.

šābāš Ysh bravo. — Prs.

šānā, v. šānā.

šadar Yzh, šadda B servant. — Khaw.  
šadar, Shina šāddr.

šāfē Yzh, 'šāfē sh, šāfē sh, g, °iy Mm,  
šāfai g, t, šāfī (g), ti, šāfī'ay Z, šāfūy G,  
šāfī LSim husband. — wos kō mōn  
'šāfē' ayo'i-ra sh if my husband  
come now; to 'šāfēn šāf sh your  
husband sent it. — < \*šāyaka-, cf.  
Av. šāyant-, v. Par. Voc. a.v. šāfī.

šāfēko Yzh, °ōo sh, Mm, šāfē'ā g water-  
fall, šāfē'ā (g) irrigation channel. —  
Cf. Prs. šāfān to trickle?

šāf'lē Z hoof. — Cf. Wkh. šilē, Sgl.  
šōlē hoof, Prs. šāpāl, šāfāl, šāpāl  
camel's hoof. ∞ Ar. šāfīlāt? The  
explanation suggested NTS., 5, 53 is  
hardly correct.

šāfīn (ī) Yzh, sh, Mg, °in Yg, šāfīn r,  
šāfūn Mm, šāfī' ti, °ūn m. Z, šāfūn  
G comb. — Cf. Sgl. āfūn, Iahk.  
šāfūn, Kashan kohr. yō'sēn, Prs. šāna,  
šāna (with tš < fš) < \*šāna-; Psht.  
šmanj, etc., Wanetsi w(u)šanj, Pashai  
lw. wəyā'nek; Shgh. vērāj. V. nurāš.

šāfīna Yzh, 'šāfīno Mg, (g), t, ti, šāfūna  
m. instep. — Cf. Hazara Prs. (Ja-  
ghuridi from Deh-i Zangi) šāne-i-pāi  
instep, Bal. šāna'y backbone, nape,  
Prs. šāna shoulder. Reg. ra'shan, v.  
a.v.

šāfōn Yzh, g, šāfō sh, r clay used for  
plastering of walls. — V. šāfō.

šāf'šāyān Yzh, °šāyān sh, šāf'šāyān g,  
šou'šāyān r armpit. — Originally an  
obl. case? Cf. Prs. šāf'šā(a), branch,  
a hooked reed, šāf'šāf a crooked  
branch? — V. tā'kaš.

šāf'šōm (pret.?) Yzh to plaster a wall  
with clay. — Cf. šāfōn, and poss.

Bal. *šəfaʔ* rod for applying collyrium to the eyes (v. NTS., 5, 51), etc. (with \**xs.ʔ*).

*šəftal* Yg, Mm, g lupine. — Prs.

*šəftālē* Yzh, sh, °i g, °olū r, °ālū Mm peach. — Prs.

*šəyiko* Yp a plant resembling sorrel; *šūiko* f. Mm rhubarb, rau. — V. rīc, *selxiko*.

*šə'yur* Mm, g, šu° (g) hedgehog (not known by the other informants). — Prob. a lw. (note Mm ʔ!; cf. Sgl. *šə'yor*, Par., Prs. dial. *šuyur*).

*šəhər* Yzh, °er, °ar sh, u, šār Z town. — *šūi tro š°* Ysh, nō *šāharen* u. — Prs. V. *Šāhar*.

*šū'iko* Yzh, *šūiko* sh, g collar-bone. — < \**šrauša* 'protruding bone', cf. Bal. *šrōš* elbow? (v. Walde-Pok., I, 500). — V. *šizyasti*, *pa'rāyasti*.

*šəb-*: *šəbəy* Z to lift up, raise. — Cf. Sak. *šəam-* to raise, construct, Av. *šəamb-*, v. EYP., a.v. *šəawul*.

*šəklām* Mm dew. — Cf. Sgl., Khov. *šəg'nām* from Prs. *šəbnam* + Wkh., Ishk. *šək*. V. *nəb*, *praš'yār*.

*šəkr'ro* Yzh, *š'ko'ro* g, °e'ro p, *š'kū'ro* r, °šəu'ro sh; *š'kyuro* Mm, °a (g), *š'kvūra* t, °ra G, *š'kyūrā* M(g), *š'kūra*, d f. Z, *š'turo* B, *š'čuro* LSly, *š'kir* m. — *nar š'kyur* Mg male camel. — < \**ušturā*, cf. Av. *uštra-*, etc. Camels are not used in Chitral, and the Y forms with *š'k* are prob. borr. from or influenced by M. — *š'turo* B is a doubtful form. Cf. G a.v.

*š'kōr-əm*: *š'kār-əm* Y (*š'kōr- y*), *š'kōr am*: *š'kar-um* Mm; *š'kōr*: *š'kū'or* Z, *š'kār* G to send (a thing). — *š'kōr* imper. 2 sg.; *yo 'cira 'nā-mən kōi š'kār?* Ysh who sent me this burden? *kāyər*

*kāyər*, *š'kār-ən* sh he wrote a letter and sent it (to us?). — Cf. Sogd. ('*škr-* to push, bring, Prs. *š'kār* hunting, chazing.

*š'kūr* Ya hunting, shooting. — *no š'iren š° šul*, *no š'iren 'š° ke'nam!* — Fr. Prs. *š'kār*.

*šə'kor* Yzh, sh sugar. — Khov. < Prs. *š'krafla* G scorpion. This word was not known to any of my informants. — Connection with Av. *š'rafsra-* as suggested NTS., 3, 298 is, of course, extremely doubtful (cf. Prs. *š'astār* reptiles, insects?). But the assertion that *š'rafsra* should be identical in meaning with *š'pā-* (Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iran.*, 244) is hardly borne out by the texts.

*š'kāt* zh, *š'kyāt* sh insipid, tasteless, Khov. *š'kāt*. — The Khov. word has not been recorded by Lor. or myself.

*š'kyui* Mm, °iy g, °iy t, °i ti, (g), *š'šiy* m. Z neck; *š'kyui* Mg neck of a horse. — < \**š'ta-ka*, with very early contraction < \*(u)*š'adākahya*, cf. *š'ile??*

*š'āle* Yzh, sh, °s g, rice in the field. — Khov. < Prs.

*š'el* Y (*š'el* r), *š'āl* Mm, *š'al* Z lame. — Prs. *š'al*.

*š'ile* Yzb, *š'le* sh, *š'rlō* g, r, *š'ille* B, neck; *tro-š'ele* LSly *del-tāli* m on his neck. — *drio tra š'ile* he threw it on his shoulder. — Cf. Sogd. *š'ā'k* neck; Av. *ušādā-* name of a part of the back, *pušt-i tē?* V. *š'kyui*.

*š'olo* Ysh, °a u, *šo* sh near, at, together with, *pēš-i*. — *š'olo 'con ai* Ysh '*ba pēš-i ū buru*'; *š'ola daryāhan* u '*pēš-i daryā*'. Cf. Gramm. § 218. — Prob. connected with *š'ile*.

*š'ulo* Yzh, sh rice and meat boiled



together. — Cf. Prs. *šila* rice-soup (< \*šālyā°?).

*šalāku* Yzh centipede(?), lizard(?), (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šalāk* lizard(?), grasshopper(?) (Lor.).

*šil'ēx* Yzh, °ox sh, g, B, °āx Mm, °ax, sō'lēg' Z naked, destitute. — *mun zomo'nakk* °u mun wulo šilo'xo (f.)

*šui* rio Ysh my child and my wife have become destitute; *šilaxi* pl. —

Cf. Sgl., Wkh. *šilax*, Shgh. *šilak*.

*šām* Y, *šēm* m. Mm, Z, *šām* G evening.

— Prs. V. *šāma*.

*šam* Ysh ripe. — Cf. Bal. *šam* moist?

*šam*·: *šamd*- Yzh, g, sh, 'šom·: *šam'd*-

Mm, *šōm*·: *šēmd* Z, *šām*· G to drink.

— *yauyo šamam* Yr; *čāi šam!* Ysh,

'šamēm zh, *čamam* I don't drink;

*šāmeš-ests* sh you are drinking —

Av. *šam*·, cf. Prs. *šāmīdan*, Zaza

*šim*· to drink, Psht. *šūmī* drinks

(Yūsuf u Zulāixā, ed. Qandahār, p.

157, l. 12), Orm. *šam*· to sip, (but *tar*·,

Par. *tēr*· to drink), *pā*·, *piba*·, in Sgl.

*pōv*·, Wkh. *pōv*·, Sak. *pā*·; \**upa-raiz*·:

Shgh. *berēz*·, Yzgh. *biraz*·, etc.; *čāš*·:

Sogd. *čš*·, Psht. *čš*· (but Wan. *γōz*·

< *gādh* + s?); *xwar*·: Prs. *xwardan*,

etc.; Oss. *nūaz*·(?).

*šam'ēr* Mm, °ir Z, G sword. — Prs.

V. *xogor*.

*šin* Yzh, in *čir miš šin* 'four days ago'.

'*šino* Yzh, sh, g, 'šū° g vulva; 'šino

Mm, °o g, °a Z anus; 'šine Mti

podex; 'šēna G behind. — Cf. Wkh.

*šin*, Sgl. *šin* podex, anus, Av. *šraoni*-

hip, podex. Cf. also Wkh. s.v. *šūnj*.

'*šinjo* Yzh, sh, °jo g, *šin'jo* r, *šino* Mm,

°e g, °a t, 'šizna f. Z needle. — With

assim. of s—z > š—ž from \*s(a)u-

čani, cf. Niya Kharoshthi *sujina*°.

Prs. *šōzan*, Kurd. *šūzin*, E. Bal.

*šīšin*, Sgl. *šīšōn*, Psht. *šōn*. *ja* > *nj*

also in Khov. lw. *šūnj* (v BSOS,

VIII, 663), Wanetsi *šunzen* (?). —

Prs. *sunjāq* pin, Oss. *šinj* thorn, etc.,

is a different word. — V. *xar-šīšn*.

*šinamia* (pl. *šinami*) Yzh, °nāmō sh,

°e r, °i (pl.?) p, u girl. — *loh šināmit*

*nīdāti* sh two girls were sitting; *dā*

*čatir loh šināmi riet* u there were

two girls in the tent. — Av. *stri-*

*nāman*- female sex (about animals).

Cf. Lhd. *tremi*, Panj. *timat*, etc.

woman < *stri-mātrā*.

'šōnzda Mg, šōz° m sixteen. — Prs.

*šug'gā* Yzh, sh corner of a house. —

Prob. fr. Khov. *šugo* (of It. origin?).

*špāc* Yzh, 'ōčpōč Mm, *špācin* B, *špa* (?)

p behind, after. — *špāc na tō fsāt*

Ysh he rose after you; *špāc e'nān* zh

'*pušt-e mā biyā* (?)'. — \**hača-pasēdā*,

cf. Prs. *šipas*, Wkh. *čabas*. V. *čpāc*,

*vispāc*.

*špāc-kera* Yzh hind quarters of animals;

*špāš-kere* sh podex. — V. 'pero.

'šār Yzh file (tool). — Khov.

'šir Yu lion. — *no širen škūr šut* they

went to shoot the lion. — Prs.

'šōr Yg (in *yu-šōr*). B, *yū šōr* LSly, 100.

— Khov. V. *šad*.

'šarm Yzh, r shame, pudenda. — Prs.

V. *šārm*.

'šeriet Yu Islamic law. — Ar.-Prs.

'šur'vāi Yzh, sh, g, °ba r, °iēd Mm soup.

— Prs.

'šēdo Yp. In *mamā š° do* 'Warto da

*pešō* a word of unknown meaning,

explained thus: 'nām na dārad,

*hantari yak gap ast* (it is merely a

word); *mā ba tu āšeq šudam* (?).

'šēša Yzh a kind of wild vegetable

- growing in the hills. — Lor. compares Khow. *šēi* a kind of mountain plant + *šax* (Shina *ša*) vegetable.
- šāso* Yzh, *šāso* sh glass; earthquake. — Prs. *šāsa* glass, bottle. — V. *šibi'jrm*.
- šus* Mm, *šus* g, *šis* (g), *šos* Z lung. — Prs. V. *šāpās*.
- šišōyo* Yzh, *šišō* r, *šōyo* zh, sh mirror, *šā'ga* G bottle. — Cf. *šilo*. V. *ā'na*.
- šas'kōt* Mm podex. — Cf. *špākere*, *šero*.
- šāpārək* Mg spleen (?), *šōpa'zōk* Z belly. — Cf. Brahui *nīm-pāza* spleen (Ir. lw.). — V. *ninamāšēē*, *špōrzo*.
- šāstē* Yzh hook, Khow. *kauf*. — Cf. Prs. *šast* fish-hook.
- šēf* Mm, *šēi* Z, *šē* LSIm what? — *tu* *šō lōri?* *tu* *šō 'yikunīy?* — < \**šē* *šti* < *šāšē* (cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO., 12, 212). But cf. Oss. *šistī*, *yestī?*
- šāt* Mm honey. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *ag'i'min*.
- šut* Mm near. — V. *nazdik*, *qarib*.
- štāhān*, *štān* Yzh, *štahan* B below, under. — *šō šē mūzān* below the table; *šō us'tām* I place it below. — *šē* + Prs. *tah*.
- šta-šezikan* Yr hamstring.
- štānān polo* Yg sole of the foot. — *štō* adj. from *štāhān*.
- šti-ra* Mm, *šti-va* (šf) t something. — *na to 'šō 'dalom*; *šō* 'avoram. — V. *šti*.
- šuv-* Yzh, *šūed* M(g), *šuv-*: *šued* Z to suck. — *š(š)ūē* doesn't drink; *šuvē* sucks, Yzh; *škyin šūed* M(g). — Cf. Wkh. *šap* (Shaw), Par. *šup kan*, Oss. *sābi* suckling.
- šuv'ra-*: *šuv'vued* Yzh to suck (used about the mother).
- šuvazl* Yp n. of a flower, forget-me-not.
- šax* Ysh n. of a plant, *šičik*. — Khow. *šax* green vegetable (Lor.).
- šāxo* Yzh, g, *šō* r, *šāxo* Mm, *šāxa* ti, Z, *šāx* G branch. — *štūr šō* Yr a big branch. — Prs.
- šāreq* Yzh tinder. — Prs. *šaxak* a small twig?
- šāzek-i sar* Mm temples. — V. *yur'pako*, *poza'yak*. Cf. a.v. *ušk-māšiko*.
- šō'xō* M(t) stream divided into many branches. — Prs. *šāxāba*, V. *baššiyō*.
- šīyo* Yzh, Mm, *šō* g, *šīyo* Ysh, g, r, p, *šō* va G, *šīya* Z female. — < \**štriyā*. Cf. Sgl. *šac*, Wkh. *strej*, Or. *šetrij*, Psht. *šja* (q.v.), Oss. *šil*, *šilā* (with *l* from *nāl* male).
- šayuk* Mm cuckoo. — V. *ka'kuk*.
- šā'yin* Mm hawk. — Prs. *šāhin*.
- šayoz* Yzh, sh glacier. — Khow.
- šēl* Y, Mg, *šūs* Mm eagle (m. and f.), vulture (Yzh). — Cf. Sgl. *šūš* < \**šāšē*.
- šīzo-yun* Yzh, Mm cotton-thread. — V. *šījan'wo*, *paxta'i wirē*, *wušūles*.
- šīžoyun-žōy* Yzh, *šōyun-žōy* sh woman's cloak.

## T

*t* excl. pron. 2 sg. — Cf. § 205.

*tā* Ysh, n until, in order that. — *xšō'vō tā mīš* sh night and day; *wa'mōn 'muzdur* 'na mōn *dēl*, *tā zo o'im* give me my wages so that I may go; *ās tā lu'rānm u*. — Prs.

*tī-m-*: *lo'ō'i-m* Yzh, *tī'i-m*: *lo'yōi* sh, *tō'y-im*: *lo'yōi* Mm, *tue-*: *lu'ay* Z to enter. — *yānyō tīm* (*lo'ō'im*) Yzh I bathe(d); *lo'yōi dō kyēi*, *tro kiyēf*, *da mō'šit* sh, u; *dadrām tīm* = *dō šom* zh, *dō kyāyī tīm* sh, *dō kyōi tō'yim* Mm. — *tī* < \**atī-i*, cf. Sgl. *atij*,



- Sogd. *tys*. (cf. Pkr. *atcehati* passes on), Sar. *dið*, Yzgh. *diš* (: *dayd*); Khuri *tiom* I come. But *lopoi* < *r* + *gata*.
- tu* Yzh, sh, *tə* sh, n, Mm, Z, G thou. — Cf. § 203 sq.
- tūi* Mm, g, *tū*, *tūy* Z, G mulberry. — Anc. lw. from Prs. *tūt*. Acc. to Laufer, Sino-Ir. 582, not from Semit. V. *m<sup>2</sup>reč*, *tūt*.
- tu'būr* Yzh, *tə<sup>o</sup>*, *tam<sup>o</sup>* Z guitar, *rubāb*, *tambūr*. — Borrowed, at different periods, fr. Prs.
- tə'bat* Mm, g down of birds. — Cf. Sgl. *tə'bat*, Sar. *tibit* down, Turk. Prs. *tibit* soft goat's hair.
- 'tačingē* (pl.?) Yzh goat-skin shoes, used by the Kafirs. — Khow. *'tačing* pubboos, footwrappers; Palola *thačingā*.
- tā-duni'ā* Yu the lower world, *ta* Z under. — Prs. *tah* (in *tah-xāna*, etc.). Cf. *tahē alarsrānē*, *štāhūn*, *tā'kaš*.
- tfo* Yzh, *tfe* sh, *tuf* r, Mm, *təf* Yg, Mg, *tfeyo* Yg, *tfo* M(g), *tūf* G, *tuf* Z saliva. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. *tuf*, etc.
- tfak* Yzh, *tu'fək* r, *tu'fak* Mm, *tə<sup>o</sup>* Z, G gun, rifle. — *təfək da'ham* Yzh I shoot. — Prs. — Wkh., Sgl. have the Turk. word *miltiq*, Shgh. etc. the native can. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 659.
- tfoer*: *tfoed* Z to put fire to. — V. Z, s.v., and cf. Par. *tapēte* to heat.
- 'togo* Mm, *ta'ga* G, *tang* Z narrow. — *tang* fr. Prs.; *togo* may be genuine. — V. *tang*, *trok*.
- 'tūga* Z, *ga* G button, bud. — Deriv. < *tumga* < *\*tukma* suggested § 119. But probably < Prs. *tuqa*, V. *tukmo*.
- tag'bir* Yu plan, explanation. — na *tag'biren o'im*. — Also Paht., Par., Khow., Ashk., Awromani *tag'bir* < Prs. *tadbir*.
- tīyo* Yzh, p rope made of willow-bark (p: used for fastening the handle of a spade, v. III.). — Cf. Wkh. *tik* willow, Prs. *tāk* branch, tendril, vine, etc.; Paht. *tāya* elm or poplar.
- tu'yd-əm*: *tu'ydāy-əm* Mm to shave, *turda*(?) B to cut. — Cf. *tīz*. V. *fixau*, *xtrd*.
- 'tuy<sup>m</sup>* Y (*tū<sup>o</sup>* g), *tūym* Z grain, corn. — Cf. Prs. *tuxm* etc., v. Z s.v.
- ta'hē a'larānē* Yzh threshold. — Cf. *tā-duniā*. V. *siri*.
- ta'qio* Yzh, r pillow, back of a chair, *taki'ya* Z pillow. — Ar.-Prs. *takya*. — V. *vir'zanē*.
- 'teiko* Yzh, *tā<sup>o</sup>* g eye-apple. — Cf. Bakht. *tē*, *tī* eye, Par. *tēd*?
- to'ko* Mm, *tōga* Z alone. — Cf. Wkh. *toko*, Sgl. *tāke*, Rosh. *tōgā*, Prs. *tāga*. — V. *škyyigo*.
- tuk'mo* Yzh button. — Turk.-Prs. V. *tūga*.
- 'tukun-um* Mm to chop up, hash. — Cf. *tik*, *kik* Z to beat?
- tā'kaš* Mm, g, *tā-i-kaš* (g), *'taš-kaš* Z armpit. — Cf. *tā-duniā*, Prs. *kaš*. — V. *təf'āyān*.
- tāl* Yzh, sh, g, *'tolo* r, *ga* m. Mm, Z, *tā'la* G kettle. — Sgl. *tāl*, cf. Kati *fol*, Lhd. *thālī* dish, metal vessel? Not to be compared with Shgh., etc.
- tōšē* plate, tray (< *\*tāšaka* > Y *\*tāšē*) as proposed by G.
- 'tāl'im*: *ta'li-m* Yp to whittle, *teily*: *teily* Z to kill, slaughter. — *'tālēm* ro *p<sup>2</sup>žō* I whittle the log, *'pāra pāra mēkunim*. — < *\*tard*, v. s.v. *potišē*.
- te'la-um*: *tu'li-im* Yzh, *tola'im*: *tāliy* sh, *tə'lae-um* Mm, *telev-am* t, *tēlav-*

- tēhēy* Z to seek, search for. —  
*gadā'i t°* Ysh I beg; *rux'sat tūlī'yō*  
 he took leave, 'talbist'; *ēi tāl'wā*  
*gadā'i* don't beg; *šūi no tūlī'yān*  
 'ba gadāi talabistan raft'. — Ar.  
 Prs. *talabidan*.
- 'tāl* Yzh copper(?), *tīlā* Mm, *te°* g.  
*tillā* B, LSI m gold. — Prs. — The  
 meaning 'copper', if correct, must  
 be due to a recent adjustment caused  
 by the introduction of Khw. *sa'corum*  
 'gold' (LSIy gives *zer* 'gold'). B has  
*loh* copper (< Khw.).
- tal'kūn* Yzh, sh dried mulberry flour. —  
 Badakhshi Prs. (not in lexx.). But  
 cf. Prs. *talxā* parched grain, pulverized  
 and mixed up with water? — V.  
*čirýšče, kišo'ri, pušē*.
- tulī'smād* Yzh flood, river in spate. —  
 Khw. (O'Brien) *tisilmād* id., but acc.  
 to Lor. *tisilmād* means 'many, a  
 crowd (of men)'.  
*tēl* Yzh, *tē°* sh, *te°* Mm, B old, shabby,  
 tattered, *ēyēd*(?). From Ar-Prs. *tīls*  
 old, ancient, dirt of a garment?
- talx* Yzh, r, g, Mm, g, Z, *°lax* Ysh  
 bitter. — Prs.
- take-karda'ēi* Yp dandelion. — \*Prs.?   
 Bailey suggests connection with Phl.  
 (Bund.) *kārda, kārtak* n. of a flower,  
 Pandanus(?). Cf. Khw. *trispōy*  
 dandelion: Y *trisp* sour, acid.
- tām* Ysh food. — *t°* *kvet-isto* she is  
 preparing food. — Ar-Prs.
- ta'mākū* Yr tobacco. — Ind. fr. Prs.
- 'tono* Y, g, B, *ta'na* Z, *tan* G body;  
*tana* Mm stem of a tree. — Prs. *tan(a)*.  
*tanou* B 'rope. — From Khw. *tanau*  
 (v. BSOS. VIII, 664)? But cf. Shgh.  
*tanōv* (Sköld).
- tandēn'ū* Yp threads connecting the  
 wings of a spinning wheel (v. III.),  
 Kho. *tandēnī*. — The Khw. word  
 is unknown elsewhere. Cf. Prs.  
*tananda* a weaver's instrument, etc.?  
*'tandur* Yzh, sh, *'tondoro* Mm, *°a* g.  
*tōndōra* G thunder. — Prs.
- tēn'dār* (-f) Ysh thin.
- tan'drust* Yzh, r, *tun°* sh, *tōndu'r°* u  
 well, in health. — Prs.
- 'tunuk* Yzh, *tīnek* M(g) shallow, Khw.  
*tonk*; *tunkā* B thin. — Prs. *tunuk*  
 (cf. BSOS. VIII, 670).
- tang* Mm, Z saddle-girth. — Prs. — Cf.  
*togo, trok*.
- tēp'lāya* Yzh drum. — Prs. *ṭabla(k)*.
- tūi-puškv* Mm dried mulberry-flour. —  
 V. *pušē, talkān*.
- tro* Ysh, r into, on, etc. — *'šūi tro 'šāhar*  
 Ysh he entered the town; *'nā tē tro*  
*'lās kō'rum* I put it in your hand;  
*tro zrl ē-āyōi 'ba yād i mā na āyad*;  
*tra awā zyūstē r* he flies through the  
 air. Cf. § 219. — Av. *tarō* and  
*antaro?* Cf. Parachi, *tar* (IIFL. I,  
 § 101).
- 'tāra* Mm a single hair. — *yā t°*. —  
 Prs.
- 'tiro* Y, *°a* Mg, *'tūro* Mm darkness, *°'ra*  
 G dark. — Av. *taōra* (pl.). Cf.  
 EVP. s.v. *tōr*.<sup>1</sup>
- 'toru* Yzh, g lower. — *t°* *'pōrīk* sh  
 lower lip; *toruor-draī* g bedding,  
*kurpa* (: 'put-below').
- tūr* Z trap. — Cf. Wkh. *tōr*, v. EVP.  
 s.v. *tōr*?<sup>2</sup>
- tūr* Yzh, p mountain-ash. — Khw.
- trō'boda* Yzh, *'pāls 'tribono boda* g ankle;  
*trōbōn ta lasboda* sh wrist. — But  
 Prs. *tarband* means only 'a wet  
 bandage'. V. *boda, usk'māžiko*.
- trif* Z: *'raft* Ysh, Z to steal. — *'tīgkē'ki*



- u'gah* to *ašəra'wəf* *yu* t° Ysh the woman stole at once one of the gold coins. — Cf. Av. *trəfyāt*, Phl. *trufak* (v. Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, 61; Nyberg, J.A., 1929, 293; Bailey, J.R.A.S., 1933, 1004; Schaefer, Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus, 216). Already in Av. *tr* > *trə*, cf. Ishk. *truf*, Shgh. *cif* with secondary *tr*- treated as ancient postvoc. *ər* (*arāi* 3, but *puc* son).
- trok* Yzh, sh saddle-girth. — Kho. *trang*, Wkh. *trāng*, Shgh. *te'rang* (v. s.v.). — Cf.:
- trok* Yzh, °g g, r narrow, *troyo* B tight.
- trog-wəliko* Yzh, *tro-wəliko* sh irrigation rivulet running across a field. — Prob. from *trok* narrow, and not related to Or. (Lentz) *tur-wēd* Hochgraben, or to Psht. *trai* small stream, mill-race (v. EVP. s.v.).
- taryo* Y (*to*° g), *targiko* Mm shed for goats and sheep, *ayē-i māl*. — Cf. Bur. *tārkh* walled enclosure??
- tiry* Yzh, r, t° sh, *tir'yo* Mm, *tər'ya* g, Z, *turyo* B sharp. — Av. *tīra*-, cf. Kohrū, Keše *tir*, etc.
- trik* Yzh thing, matter. — *co'min* t° *astet*? 'ēi ēiz *ast*?
- '*tark* Yzh poplar. — Turk. (but Khov. *terek* chenar). — V. *ra'meno*.
- trā'mā* Mm, g, t, °ō autumn. — Pra. — V. *pa'iz*.
- ta'rān* Yzh, sh soft, wet, unfinished cheese; *təringd* Z fresh, new. — Cf. Pra. *tar(r)* moist, fresh.
- trušnē* Yzh, °a B, *tišno* Yr, *tižna* g thirsty. — Yr, g fr. Pra.; Yzh, B fr. Khov. *trugni* (Ir. lw., cf. BSOS, VIII, 664). — V. *kāk*, *z'orij*.
- trišp* Yzh, r, *trə*° sh, g, *trišpo* Mm, °e g, *trīs* (*trīšpā* t.) Z *trišpo* B

- sour, acid; *trišp* B thirst(!). — Cf. Sgl. *te'reš* (lw.?), Wkh. *te'rešp*, Bal. *trušp*. Poss. \**tršpa* < \**tršā* (v. EVP. s.v. *trāc*), cf. Russ. *terpkij* sour, acid (< \**trpākū*), v. Trautmann, Balt-Slav. Wb., 325).
- '*trāznik* M(g), *terax'nōk* Z spark. — Z compares the group of words mentioned s.v. *cə'rox*.
- ta'rāzū* Yzh, tū° sh scales; *Trāzū* g, n. of a constellation, Libra. — t° *a're*, *mām dā* t° Ysh bring the scales, I shall weigh. — Pra.
- '*trās*- Y: *trayd*- Yzh, *trēzi-em* sh, *trē'jvē-m* r, 'trāj-: *trayd*- Mm, 'trōnj-: 'trayd- t, 'trōj-: *trayd* Z, 'trdj- G to bind, tie. — mlān *trāim* Yg, 'trēzym pf.; mo 'adam 'yavo *trēz*, mai 'adame 'yavo 'tražet zh, tu na'ko va 'yavo *trāzet*. — Pra. *taranjidan* to tighten (v. Z s.v.). (Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 138).
- '*tasa* Yp copper tray. — Ar-Pra. *tās* goblet.
- tā-i-sar* M top of the head. — Cf. Sgl. *tā-i-sar*, Pra. \**tār-i-sar*? V. 'kāka, *pxoyak*.
- tāš'ko* Yzh, t° g, to° r, ta° sh, p, Mm adze. — Cf. Pra. *tēšp*, *taš*.
- tāt* Y, *tot* Mm, g, (g), Z, *tāt* G father. — āi *tāt*; na to *tāt*; yo *kysī mən tāt kysī* Yr; mō a'maf *tāt* this is your father; *taten što* the father said. — Sgl. *tāt*, Wkh. *taš*, cf. Z s.v. *tūt* Yr mulberry. — Pra. V. m'rič, *tūi*.
- '*tūta* Mt Adam's apple. — Cf. Pra. *tūta* a sty on the eye-lid (orig. 'swelling'?).
- '*tavdoy* Yzh, *tavdaga* Mt a tree with small berries, *tauda*, Khov. *čilažum*?. — Pra. \**tafta* is unknown in this sense.

*to'vūnyo* Yzh, *'tovu°* sh, p box, chest. —

Cf. Prs. *tabang(ū)*, Psht. *taicang* tray, wicker basket, chest. — V. *sandug*.

*tu'vor* Yzh, sh, Mm, *to°* Yr, *tū'vor* g.

*to°* Z large axe. — Cf. Prs. *tabar*, etc.

*tuvēr'zin* Yzh battle-axe. — Prs. *tabarsin*.

Kho. *taparziq* is an early lw.

*tōvrs'tōn* Yr, *tōwi°* Z, *tāvi'stān* Mg summer. — Prs. V. *'wōdyo*.

*'tūcaniŋ* Mm stirring-stick; *tēv-*: *tēvd* Z to stir. — Z compares Ishk., Shgh. *tēv-* etc. to stir (but connection with Prs. *tāftan* is improbable). *tēv-* < \**tāwaya-* fr. IE. \**tew-*, cf. \**twec-* (Walde-Pok., I, 749).

*tux* Yzh steam. — Khov. *tox*, cf. Sgl. *toxl'xē*.

*tarta'bandē* Yp boarding enclosing the hearth, °*dī* Z fence. — Prs.

*tīx-im*: *'cāst-əm* Y (*tē-* g); *'cīx-əm*: *cāst-am* Mm, *cīx-im*: *cōst-am* t, *'cīx-im*: *cōst* (g), Z, *cōsta* B to fall. — *woos tīim* Yg, *psāt tī'xīm* sh, *cīxēt* 3 g. M(g). — < \**haca-had-*, cf. *nīx-*, *cad-*.

*'taya* Yzh, g, r, *'tāy* sh, *'tō-i* Mm, *'tō-ika* g colt. — Cf. Sgl. *ta'yāk*, Wkh. *tōy*, Sar. *tāē*. — Turk.

*ta'yār* Ysh, *tē°* B ready, completed. — *t°* *sūi*, *kōr*. — Ar.-Prs.

*'tāzo* Yzh, g, °*a* sh, *'tāza* Mm, *tāzo* B well, in health. — *pādšā t°* *sūi* Ysh; *to tat ta'x-ō tōndu'rust astet?* u. — Prs.

*tī-* Yzh quick, g sharp. — *tīz as!* — Prs.

*ta'zīa* Yzh heron, Khov. *manḡāy*.

*'tīx-əm*: *'tāyd-əm* M(g), *tēx-*: *tuyd* Z to cut, split. — Z compares Shgh. *tēx-* to shave (with *-x-* from the preter.), Rosh. *tōw*, Wkh. *tōš*, etc. (with which

17 — Kulturtörskning.

cf. also Sgl. *tāl*, Psht. *tāšal*, Oss. *dasin* to shave) < Av. *taš-*. — But *tīx-* points to \**tācaya-*, \**tājaya*, cf. Oss. *tajin* adze. Acc. to Lidén fr. IE. \**teg-*. — *tuyd-* (q.v.) to shave is based upon the past stem.

*taži'an* *čog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — Cf. *tažta?*

## T

*tfo* Yzh, *tifo* g n. of a small bird which says "*tif tif*", Kho. *tif*. — Acc. to Lor. Khov. *tif* is a kind of hunting bird.

*tok* Yzh, *tok* sh wild pear. — Khov. *tōgg*, cf. also Psht. *tāngū* fruit resembling an apple. A more recent lw. than *kyogo*, *čogo*, q.v.

*'takyē* Yzh n. of a part of the plough. *tī'pē* Ysh much. — *boh tī'pē dau'let*. — Kho. *tip* full.

## Θ

*θam* LSIy come, *θamus* then. — Very doubtful forms. *θ* is not found in any other Y word.

## V

*-va* a verbal particle denoting the conditional and the indef. pronoun. V. §§ 252, 210.

*vo* nota accusativi. — Cf. V. §§ 208, 215.

*'vīo* Y, Mm, *vīyd*, °*a* Z, *vī'va* G he was. — *šū'wān v°*, *yū 'wulo v°*, *loh pūrē v'et* Ysh: *mun wulo šiloxo šūi vīo* my wife had become destitute; *'vīo yū ā'dam*, *wo 'hādāmen to luydi v'at* Mm; *yū wīya vīo*; *mən uclr luvro*



vlem. Cf. §§ 225, 233, 250. — vī as irrealis and cond. v. § 253 sq. — Av. būta-, Wkh. vītk, etc.

'vad-: 'vāst Yzh, r, 'vōnd-: vōst- Mm, t to bind, to tie together (something broken), 'pēvand mēkinam'; to place loaves on the hearth to be baked (Mt). — yau vāstēm Yr. — Av. band-, cf. Sgl., Wkh. vānd-, Shgh. vīnd-, etc. — V. trāz-

ve'dō-um: ve'dī-am M(g) to warm one's hands by the fire. — \*upa-(han-)tap-, with secondary preterite(?). Cf.:

vō'dāy-əm: vō'dāy-d-əm Yzh, sh, vīdayda B to mix. — \*abi-(han-)tak-(?). Cf. Oss. āndayīn to solder. Cf. § 118.

vōl'yo (w<sup>o</sup>) Yzh, sh, w<sup>o</sup> r, 'val'yo Mm, °ā (g), °a MFB, val'ye LSIm, velyo y, būryo(l) B up, above. — vōl'yo a'im, vōl'yo o'yam Yzh, 'val'yā a'yam M(g): mən kyēi vōl'yo as'tēt Yzh my house is above; šat val'yo Yzh 'raftan bālā'; vōl'yo 'bālā āmad'. — Av. vradīva- + kā might result in Y \*vōryo, vōryo, but in Mm we should expect \*vōlgo(?).

vul'gōr Yr, vour'yār M(g) shoulder-blade; vour'yār Mg, t, °gar m upper part of the back, between the shoulders; vourgōr m. Z spine. — Prob. < \*vul'gōr. Cf. Psht. vōlai shoulder-blade.

'velivō Yzh, vōl'° sh lightning. — Prob. < \*velivo < \*vōi-daipā-, cf. Sogd. vōdymp'h (Buddh.), vōdymp' (Chr.) = \*vōiśmābā, Bartangi (Sköld) vō'dēbj < \*vōidaipaka-. Sar. (Bellew) vōdāfz (d = dʳ). Sak. bātava t, acc. to Konow < \*vōitapā-. — A root \*daip-, \*dip- is unknown from Ir., but its existence is proved by the Sogd. and Bart. forms.

vōn Yzh, g, r, vān sh main root, bottom,

foot of anything. — Av. būna-, Prs. būn, etc.

vō'n-um: vō'd-ēm Yzh, sh, vōn-: vōt u, 'vīn-um: 'vōd-əm Mm, vōn-: vūd, w<sup>o</sup> Z to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings). — vō vūlo (vō to vūlo) vōnem Yu I bring a (your) wife; vō 'mun vō'na 'marā bigir'; 'pūra vō'dēm Yzh I brought my son; vō mara vō'det šolo pādšāan sh they brought the man before the king; šō pādšāan vō vū'lo vōt galavānen u the cowherd took his wife away from the king; vō'det 'šāro sh 'burdan pāyān'; vō'det Mm 'burdī'; vō vūlo šuon šē vōt kōne Yu 'zan-i-āra na mītānī giriftan'. — < \*upa-nt-, upa-nlta- (v. § 118), cf. Par. ēn-: ānt- < \*ā-nī-, and v. Bloch, L'indo-aryen, p. 44.

vō'nayaro Yzh, g, r, vīnē'yārīko zh high hill, cliff, 'šāx-i kalān', Khov. zom. — Tālāš Mīr vō'nayaro Yr. — Cf. vān and yar.

vān Yzh, sh, g, vōn r, vān'ov Mm, vān'ova g, vān'g' Z, vān' G long. — vōos vān šūi Yzh now he stretched himself. — \*barīn-, cf. Av. barāzan- (barāšna-), barāšnu- height, hill.

vrai Yzh, sh, r, a, B, vō'rāi Yzh, g, vō'rāl Mm, °ōi g, t, tī, Z, °āy G, vō'i M(g) brother, cousin. — mən 'vōrai šō tō 'vōrayen us'tūr Yzh my brother is bigger than yours; āi vōrāi, šē vōšēf-este sh o brothers, why are you weeping. — Av. brātar-, cf. Sgl. vō'rūd-, Wkh. vō'rīt (also from the nom.).

'vri-īm: vō'rī-əm Yzh, 'vri-īm: vō'rī-əm (j) sh, 'vri-ām: vō'rī-ām r, vri-īm: vō'rī-əm g, vō'rī-əm: vō'rī-šk- Mm, t, G, vō'rīr-: vō'rīr-, vō'rī-šk- Z, vō'rī-šk- B to

break. — *mən va skud vrlm* Yg I broke the stick; *vrlt* 3 pl., *vria* imper. 2 sg.; *mo ādam vrl*, *māi ādame vrlt* zh. — Orig. *vri*: *vrišk*, *vriš* < \**brai*š: \**brī*ša-, cf. Sgl. *vrl*: *vrlt*, Shgh. *vra*ž, etc. Cf. § 238.

*vār* M(t), *vār* LSIm time. — *yidir vār fta wīnəm* I see you a second time. — Early lw. from Prs. *bār* < \**iā*ra-? But note the vowel. V. § 58.

*vāro* Ysh after. — *xi mol v° 'az i bād*. — Cf. Av. *aparəm* postea.

*'vira* Yzh, sh, °o M(g), 'vū°, 'vū° Z burden. — *yo vira kōi-kān?* whose is this burden? *wo 'vira la'yado da kyei* Ysh he put the burden down in the house. — Av. *bāra*, Sgl. *vār*, Wkh. *vīr*.

*vī'ra-um* Yzh: *vī'rāp-a* sh to load, *'bār kardan*. — Cf. *'vira*.

*vār* Z light red. — V. Z s.v.; Bartholomae, *Mir.Mund.*, VI, 5; and Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 36, 3, 67.

*'vroč-am*: *vrexč-am*(?) Yzh to roast. — The forms are not clear. *vroč*-(with -š from the imperative *\*vroč?* < \**vrō*(n)š) < \**brinj*-, cf. Khov. lw. *vrējē-im*; Bal. *brijag*, Sak. *brjā*-, Psht. *vrīt* (lf < \**brī*ša-). But Wkh. *vareš*-, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *vrīt*.

*vrāčoya* Yzh to that side, 'ūsūn'. — Cf. *vāro* < *apara*- and v. *mir-čoya*.

*vrāf*:- *vrāft* Y, *vrāfs*:- *vrāfsōy* Z to fly. — *vrāfē* 3 sg., *vrāfēt* 3 pl. — Z compares Shgh. *vrāfē*- to stand (cf. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *vrāfē*) cf. Wkh. *vrāfs*- id., Yazgh. *vrāfs*- and v. Bailey, Orient. Stud. in honour of C. E. Pavry, 22. — Y \**vr* > *vr*-. Cf. *vrēm*.

*'vriyo* Y, °d Mg, °ā (g), °a t, °go m, °vriḡa f. Z, *vrēga* G eyebrows. — *'vriyē* pl. Yp. — \**brūkā*-, cf. Bakht. *burg*, Oss. *ārflg*; but Wkh. *vraie*, Sogd. *br'ick*, Talish *bav* (\**brā*va-?); Sgl. *vrīc*, Psht. *vrāja* (< \**brū*č-); Shgh. *vrūy*-, etc. (< \**brā*ša-??).

*vory* Yzh, u fruit. — *vo čirief la poṇekaf la voryen yurd* u he seized the apricots with the leaves and with the fruit (or: foliage?). — Cf. Prs. *bar*, etc., v. Bailey, BSOS., 6, 73.

*vurya'kōndi* M(g) n. of a small shrub used as fuel. — Cf. *vāz-vurgo* s.v. *zevīyo*.

*vrōka'kvē* Yzh, sh, *vrōka*° p a kind of cheese-box, made from strips of willow bark. — Khov. *vrōketi*-(tī?) bark of willow or poplar used for making baskets (Lor.).

*vrēm*:- *vrēmē* Z, to stand, *vrind-am* Mm I am standing, *vrind-am t* I rose, *vrēnd-am* G I rise, *werema* LSIm stand (imper.). — \**upa-rāmaya*-, cf. *vrāf*-. Note Z *vrāfs*- but *vrēm*- with v.

*vrāimīn* Yr cousin(?). — Cf. *mīn*.

*vraipūr* Ysh nephew, brother's son. — Cf. *vrai*, *pūr*.

*'vrēri* Mm, *v'vrēry* Z brother's son. — < \**brā*ḍryaka-, cf. Av. *brātūrya*. V. EVP. s.v. *vrārō*.

*'vrēriḡo* Mm, *v'rē'riḡd* Z brother's daughter. — < \**brā*ḍr(i)yakā-. V. *'vrēri*.

*vrīsum* Mm, 'vrē° Z, *vrēšom* G silk. — Prs., cf. Psht. *vrēšm*, Shgh. *v'rēšum*, etc. V. *vrāš*-mē.

*vōrut* Yzh, *v'rūt* sh, *vrūt*° g. *brūt*° r, *brūt* Mm. (g), ti, *b'r*° g. t. Z, G mustache. — *pa ka'čio 'vrūtēf* 'dea Ysh cut your mustaches with scissors.



— Prs.; Y *er* points to early borrowing.

*vrazi'dinē* Yzh pillow. — Kho. *warz'dini* thick, round bolster for leaning against (Lor.), in its turn fr. Ir. (cf. RSOS. VIII, 683).

*'vārzəyo* Yzh, *'varzəyo* sh, r, *'vəzəyo* g, *'vəzərgo* Mm, *'vəzərya* g, (sh), *'vədzirga* t, Z, *'vərga* G, *verzəyo* B wing; *'vərzəyo* Yp the 'wings' of the spinning-wheel (v. Ill.). — \**bazrakā* cf. Khov. lw. *waraz-un*, Prs. *baḡr*, and v. EVP. s.v. *wasar*.

*vīr'zanē* Yzh, g, *ur'zə* sh, *vīr'nī* Mm, *və* g, *və* m. ti, Z, *vīr'nī* Mt pillow (filled with shavings of willow wood Yzh). — < \**byzanaka*, cf. Khov. lw. *vraznī*, Sgl. *vəzd*, Wkh. *vərz*, Bal. *barzī*, and v. Z s.v. — V. *vrazi'dinē*.

*vispāc*, v. *wačpāc*.

*vīs* G to set (about the sun). — With orig.

\**w-* and with *š* from the past. Cf. Wkh. *wīs*, Yaghn. *vīs* to set < \**wi-isa*?

*'višə* Y, *'viškə* Mm, *ə* a g steep hillside, ravine, *'pušta, sasta'*, Khov. *dahār*. — Cf. Psht. *wał* ravine, crevice, if = *wał* < \**bišta*.

*'vəza* Mm, *'višo* (g), *'vəzo* g, t, *ə* a Z he-goat. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *wuz*. V. *fer'yāmə*, *nar'boz*.

*və'zo* Y, *'vəzo* Mm, *'vižə* (g), *'vəza* g, t, Z, *wu'za* G she-goat; Yzh, Mm also female ibex. V. *'vəza*.

*vəz'bum*: *vəzbi-'im* Yzh to tighten; *wəzib*: *wəzied* Z to press together. — < \**abi-zamb*, cf. Av. *zamb* to crush, Wkh. *vizam* to rub to powder.

*vīzə* Y, *vuzə* Mm, *vīzə* g, (g), t, *vīzə* ti the arm above the elbow; Yzh also

calf of the leg; Yg, r arm below the elbow; *buzga* B muscle. — Cf. Av. *bāzu*, Psht. *wəzai* shinbone, etc.

*vəz-γūnəy* Z goat's hair. — Cf. Psht. *wəzγūnə*, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *wuz*.

*və'zān-əm*: *və'zād-əm* Yzh, sh, *'vzān*: *'vzād* g, *'vzān*: *'vzēnd* r, *və'zān*: *və'zād* Mm, *və'zān*: *və'zēnd* t, *vzān*: *vzē(n)d*, *və* Z, *wzān* G, *wizeda* B to know. — *vəzīt* 3 sg.; *zo* *Pārsə vzānəm* Yg I know Persian; *zo dūr āgoya čī wīzidam* B I couldn't come to-day. — Cf. Shgh. *w(ə)zān*, Sak. *vaysān* to recognize, etc.; Sgl. *pəzīm*. V, Z s.v. \**wi*, *abi* or *upa-zan*?

*və'zāto* Yzh womb, pregnant (animal), Kho. *garbīn*. — < \**upa* or \**api*-*zāto*, cf. Av. *api-zāto* the future birth. V. *pežāzē*, *zāzko*.

*'vəzurgə*, v. *ze'vīrə*.

## W

*wo* that, ille. — V. Gramm. § 208.

*wo* Ysh, Mm, u Mm, u Yu, Z and. — Prs.

*wūi* Y, Mm, Z, G, *wty* Mt, *wūy* ti, *wī* g, *wī* (g), *wūiz* (?) B wind. — *wūi kīk(istə)* Yzh, g it is blowing. — Av. *vāta*. Cf. *Wūi*.

*wačpāc* Ysh, *vispāc* (š) u back (adv.), *wəšpāc* LSIy behind. — *wo žīgkiko* v *šūi* Yu the woman went back. — Cf. *špāc*.

*wačārum* Ysh alms, *'gadāt'*. — *wə* nā-*mən del* give me alms. — Khov. *wəthārum*, etc. (Lor.).

*wəđəyo* Ysh, r separate, Judā. — *wəđəyo* *kenəm* sh I separate; *'xostə žə yo'wən* *wəđəyo* *šūi* r the husks were separated from the grain. — Perf. ptc. of *wār*.

*woš-ēm*: *wošt-ēm* Yzh, *woš-um*: *wošt-um* Mm, *'woš-u/am*: *wošt-e/am* t, (g), Z to weave. — *wošt* pres. 3 sg., *wošto* pret. 3 sg. Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *bāstan*, etc., Wkh. *āf*, Sgl. *if*; \**ub* in Av. \**ubda*, Psht. *ūdā* to weave, *būda*, Prs. *pūd* wool (\**upa-ubda*), Oss. *urđ* warp, chain (< \**ubdra*, cf. Pashai *udrī* snare < Ir.), Kurd. *ūnān* to weave; \**wāp* in Orosh. *wāb* (Lentz) sheaf, Phl. Psalter *w'py*.

*woš'sto* Yzh, *woš't'o* sh small wasp, *'woš'siyo* Mm, °a t, G, *'woš'siye* M(sh), °iya f. Z wasp. — V. NTS. V, 46, s.v. Bal. *gicabz*.

*wahā'ray* Yzh hungry, *wā'hrāk* sh, *wazrāz* B hunger, *'wozrāgi* pl. Mm, *'wazrā* Z hungry. — zo *w°*, *tu w°-a?* Yzh; *mai 'luđi ni'datat 'wuro*, *w°* Mm the daughters were sitting there, hungry. — Tomaschek (BB, 7, 206) suggests derivation from *wē-khorāk* 'without food' (?).

*wo'jou* Yr span from thumb to little finger, *wa'zab* Mm span from thumb to forefinger. — Prs. *wajab*.

*woko* Ysh, r there, 'uko'. — *w° ntnomrō* Yr there is the spleen; *wokō cōs dārū vto*, *woko cōs kīmat vti* Ysh 'uko ēi dārū būd, ūko ēi kīmat bāša'. — Taj.-Prs. ūko + *wo*.

*wu'l-um*: *'wust-um* Yzh to throw. — *pa yar wu'lum*, *wu'lē* I throw, he throws a stone. — Cf. Ishk. *wēd* to put; Feill Lar *bistin* to throw, Siw. Zaza *wist* he threw; and cf. EVP. s.v. *wēstol* (*wulēm*) to throw, shoot.

*'wolo* Yzh, sh, *'wilo* Mm, °a g, *'wōla* Z, *wō'la* G large irrigation channel. — Cf. Wkh. *wōd*, and v. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. *wōla*. Cf. *'wōliko*.

*wu'lai* Yzh, *w°* g, *ulā'yō* r, *wōlio'yo* sh, *wu'lōi* Mm open, *wil* Z to open. — Cf. Skr. *vi-dhā* to spread, diffuse? Cf. *wulōyo*.

*'wulo* Yzh, Mm, *wu'lo* Ysh, u, *u'lo* g, r, *'wula* M, g, t, *'wēlā* (g), *'wōla* ti, *wōla* Z, *wu'la* G, *ulo* B, *wula* LSIm wife. — Pl. *wuli* Ysh, *'wulē* n. *wo xoi wulo līšē* Ysh he saw his own wife; *wo yoi 'wule nām l'i'o* he called his own wives; *no 'ā'beli 'pūrōf 'wuli awzde* sh he brought wives for both his sons. Cf. Av. *vaδū-*, Sogd. *wδw*, etc.

*waly* Yzh, *wālx* sh, *wālu* Mm, *wālu* LSIm feast, merriment; *wale* B marriage. — If the originally meaning is 'wedding-feast' (cf. Prs., etc. *sūr*, *tōi* 'feast' and 'wedding'), we may compare Av. (*upa*)-*vad* to marry; v. Sgl. *wōtuk*.

*wu'ya* Yzh, *wu'yāka* (pl.) sh, *wu'yāka* r, *'wul'ga* Mm, *wu'giyo* g, *'wulgiy* (g), *wu'γē* pl. t, *wēlx*, pl. *wēlye* ti kidney. — \**wydkā* or *wyōkā*, f. < Av. m. dual *wyōdka*, from which also Khorasani *bulk* (Houtum-Schindler), Prs. lex. "pulk", Ishk. *gul*, Kurd. *gultē*, etc., Yazgh. *wiōgaθ* (Sköld), Sak. *bilga*. Orm. *yulkak*, Sgl. *wōfk* may be derived from \**wydk* or \**wytk*. — Oss. *urg* (and the Ir. lws Syryān *wōrk*, Cheremiss *bāryš*) with early loss of the dental, cf. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 220. — Prs. *gurda* < \**wyataka*, cf. Bal. *guffay*, -iy with ff through IA. influence? — \**wydkā* scarcely from \**wert* (Marstrander IF. 20, 347, Charpentier, MO. 8, 109). — V. EVP. s.v. *pušta-warga* and cf. Wkh. *wātk*, Sgl. *wōfk*.



*'wēliko* Yzh, *'wē°* sh, *wē°* r, g, *'wē°* Mm small irrigation channel. Cf. *'wolo*. *'wūlēyo* Y, Mm, °ā (g), *'wūlēyē* g, *'wūlēya* t, *'wūleya* Z span (from thumb to little finger). — Cf. Shgh. *wē'dēd*, Sgl. *wū'dit*, Wkh. *wē'lēt*, Sogd. *wy'd't* ('foot' acc. to Benv., JA, 223, 221), formally < Av. *vi-dāti*-distribution, cf. Skr. *vi-dhā-* to spread. Kati *welyōu* is possibly borrr. from Mj. — In N.Bal. we should expect \**gidāth*, but we find instead *girārth*, *gu°*. — V. *wōjou*.

*'wūlyēyo* Yzh, *'wūlyēyo* sh, *'wūlyā* Mg n. of a small shrub, '(y)irya, iryan'.

Cf. Av. *varōdā-* shrub. V. Wkh. *yurya*. *waina* LSim (tor) hunting. — Cf. Av. *vā(y)-* to chaze, hunt?

*'wēn-*: *līšē* Y (sh also *'līšē-am*), *'wēn-*: *līšē* Mm, (t), (g), : *līšk* Z, : *līšē* G to see. — *wēnēm*, 3 sg. *wēt* Yzh, *wō xōi zēmonaf līšē* sh he saw his own children; *līšē-va*, (v. § 252); *mēn vōtō līšēm* g; *yū ādamen xūben līšē* n a man saw a dream; *wō xūben ku līšēt* u where did you see that dream? *mōn xūben līšēyēm* r; *mēn fta līškim* M(t). — < Av. *raēna-*: *dēwēta-* (v. Z s.v. and G, p. 153), cf. Par. *dēwē*. — Mj.-Yd. belongs to the small group of Ir. dialects which has neither the western (incl. Psht.) type *bin-*: *dīd*, nor the north-eastern, Sgl., etc. *wēn-*: *wēnt* (Sogd. *wēn*). Cf. in E.Ir. Sak. *dī-*: *dāta*, Par. *būch-*: *dhuq*, Orm. *juṣ-*, *jun-*: *dwē-k* (and Bal. *gind-*: *dīt*, *dīst*).

*wēn-un*: *wē't-un* Yzh, *wē'n-em*: *wē't-em* g, *wē'n-am*: *wē't-am* Mt, (*yūcēn-*): *wē'yel-un* m to untie, loosen, '*yala mākunim*'. — Cf. Skr. *vi-tan-* to unfold, spread. — V. *yū'can*.

*wēnd*, v. *wō*.

*wūy* Yzh, sh, *wūn* r, g, *wūgg* Mm, g, (g) marmot, '*wunduk*'. — Cf. Sgl. *yūpēk*, Wkh. *wēnek*, *wundek* (from Taj., Pers. (dialect) *wanak*).

*'wār-em*: *'wāt-em* Yzh, sh, *'wār-em*: *'wēt-em* Mm, *wētta* B to separate. — *wād'yo*, *wōdyo kēnēm* Yzh, sh I separate, '*jūdā mākunem*'. — Cf. Av. *var-* to select, with secondary preterite (v. § 238)? — Cf. *wōdyo*.

*wōr* Yzh, sh, *wōr* r, *wōr* g oath. — *wōr xōrēm* zh, *wōr xōrum* g I swear. — Av. *varah-*, cf. Phl. *var*, Orm. *ywar*. V. *qasam*.

*'wōru* Yzh, *'wār* g upper. — *w° pōrtik* zh, g upper lip. — < \**w(r)ar* < Av. *upara-*.

*'wūro* f. Yr a large duck.

*'wārfo* Yzh, r, °ā g, *'wārfo* sh, Mm, g, *'wārfe* ti, *'wārfa* f. Z, °ā G snow. — Av. *vāfra-*, and Orm. *yōf* m., but Psht. *wāwra*, Zaza *vāur* (Kurd.-Pers. Forsch. III, IV, 170) and Saka *baura* f. (not Saka m. as supposed by Konow, Saka Studies, 123), cf. § 177. Meillet's rejection of the derivation of *vāfra-* from Skr. *vap-* (BSL, 35, CR. 26) is unfounded, cf. e.g. Palola *kir* 'snow': Skr. *kir*.

*wā'riyo* Yzh, *'wā°* sh rain. — Av. *vāra-*, Wkh. *wōr*, Khw. (lw.) *wāru*.

*'wōryo*, °āyiko Yg, *'wāyiko* f. zh, *'wōrgiko* Mm, *'wōrgika* f. Z she-lamb, one year old, "worth one rupee" (*yak rupā ḍudā*). — < \**warakā*. Cf. Sgl. *wērak*. V. *wōrya*.

*wūry* Y (*wūry* g), Mg, (g), t, *wūrg* m, Z, *wūrx* M(sh), *wūrk*, *wōrg* G wolf. — Av. *vārka-*, cf. Sgl. *wōrk*, Burushaski (lw.) *urk*.

wur'yār, v. vul'yār.

waryt'jin M(g) n. of a water-fowl, 'kāl-miry' (?). — But cf. Wkh. s.v. 'kāl-mory.

wōryiko, v. wōryo.

war'waden Yzh trouser-string. — Prob.

< \*war-vaden < \*warta-bandana, v. s.v. wōryo. Cf. Sgl. wōl'vōš.

wārican Yg the Milky Way (?). V. 'pado.

wār'wāne Yzh, wōr'wānā sh, wōr° r, wōr'wāne g a kind of wild, uneatable berries. Prob. a pl. form.

wōr'ya Yzh, wō° g, wōri'd r, wā'rē (pl. wāri'ān) sh, 'wārē Graminoph., 'worya Mm, wōryoyo g, 'wōry Z new-born male lamb. — Cf. wōryo and nar-worya, prasi'lanē wā'rē.

wōr'f Yzh, r, Mt, wōr'f Yzh, Mg, wōr'f m. Ysh, Mm, Z, yūr'f Yg, wōr'f G woollen thread. — < \*yūr'fzho, cf. Sgl. wōr'f, Yazgh. wōr, poss. Bal. gu'g root (fibre). V. EVP. s.v. wōza.

wōr (pl. 'wōrē) Y, wōr Mm, g, (g) main roof-beam, 'fir-e-kālān'. — Cf. Sgl. wōf. \*warta- dissim. from \*wartra- 'protection'? V. wōra.

'wōra Y, 'wōro Mm, °a t summer; 'wōrā M(g), °e ti early spring, 'awāl-e-bahār'. — < \*wāhrt + ā, cf. EVP. s.v. wōrai, and Par. Voc. s.v. 'xāra.

wōr-um: wōr'c-um Yzh to knit, wō'r-um: wōr'c-um sh to weave (?), war-: wōr'c Z to stretch the warp on the loom. — wōr'cē he knitted. — Cf. Av. vart- to turn? Oss. yā'dārt (reel on) spinning wheel with dissim. < \*wa(r)taθra- (but cf. Miller, Osset. § 3, 21)?

'wōro Y, 'wōro Mm, 'wōra f. Z, °ra G trousers; wōro B clothes. — Cf. Sgl. wōf trousers, Prs. garda leather breeches of a wrestler, Arm. vartik'

trousers (v. Nyberg, MO. 25, 181), Orosh. tar-wēg belt, Psht. nicārai belt of a pair of breeches; perhaps from Ir.: Kati wēf, Waig. šf Kafir breeches. — Av. var- to cover.

'wōryo Yzh, 'wōrgd Z quail. — V. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. wōras (de Morgan gives Psht. ourladza = \*(w)uraja), Phl. cartak, Prs. wardij, walaš, etc., Brahui bārū from Ir.? Cf. Ishk. wōre.

wōs Y, wōs Z now, then. — wōs 'što ke then he said; to yār wōs kū-š? where is your friend now? wōs do sūy cyem r 'āli da kuca mērum'. — V. EVP. šs (s.v. šsēdē), and cf. Paikuli 'wōs now. 'wō'sa Yzh, wā'sa sh, wō'so r, wā'si wide, broad, wāssa B loose. — Cf. Sgl. wā'sē. Cf. Av. vāsō (adv.) unlimited, Prs. bas?

wō'sorico, wō'sorico Yzh, wā° sh widow, unmarried woman, wōsoro B widow(er). — Prob. from Khov. wō'soru, in its turn from Ir. \*βē-sar- (cf. Tomaschek, BB. 7, 199 and Morg. BSOS, VIII, 670). V. bico.

'wōst-om: wō'tā(y)-im Yzh, sh, : wōstōy-om M(g), wōst-: wōstōy Z to place, leave behind. — Pres. 3 sg. wōst; pret. 3 sg. wō'tāi 'mānd'; štāen wō'tāim Yzh I put it below. — Av. awa-stā- to place, put.

wōs'to Y, wōst G, LSIm; but dīst Mm, g, (g), t, Z twenty. — Av. risāiti, cf. Sgl. wōst, Wkh. wōst.

wōš Ysh, g, r, Mm, Z, wōš Yzh, wōš B, wōš Mt gross. — < Av. vāstra-, v. EVP. s.v. wōš and cf. Sgl. (w)ūš, Wkh. wōš.

wōšc Yg morning; wōšc M(g) it dawns, 'rōz mēšawca'. — Cf.:



: *wuškroi* M(g) flew up, 'ba hawā raft',  
: *uškāy-am* Mm, *wušk'*: *wuškoy* Z  
to rise. — < \**uštā* < \**utsthā*, cf.  
Par., Bal. *ušt-* to rise; Sogd. 'ušt-  
(Benf. JA. 223, 177). — Cf. Av. *uštāna-*  
vital force: Skr. *utthāna-*, and v.  
Turner, BSOS, 5, 131.

*wuškuj*: *wuškujoy*. Z to seek. — <  
\**uštunj*, cf. Skr. *tu(ñ)j-* strike, push,  
etc. + *ut*?

*wuškī-ostia* Mm ankle, wrist. — Cf.  
*ušk-mā'iko*.

*wu'sūles* Mm cotton thread. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wō'sāi*, Ishk. *wōsi* id. + *leso* (q.v.)?

'*wušīyo* Ysh, r, *ušīyo* zh, sh, *uši'yō* g  
hunger, hungry. — *zo ušī'yo kenem*  
zh I am hungry, *mo 'māya u° kit*  
this man is hungry; *wušīyo kər* sh  
he became hungry. — From. \**uysitā*(?),  
cf. Prs. *gurs*, etc.

*wušīyaday* Ysh, *ušiyad* zh, *ušvādāy*  
Mm, (*w*)*ušyād(ig)* Z hungry; (*w*)*ušoy*:  
(*w*)*ušyād*. Z to become hungry. —  
*no ušiyādəm* Ysh I am not hungry;  
*zo wušiada'y-əm* sh, *zo ušiyad-y-əm* zh  
I am hungry; *mo ādam ušī'yadē*, *mai*  
*adamē ušī'yadet* zh. — *wušiyad* <  
\**uysayanta-* 'hungering' > 'having  
become hungry'? *wušiyad* used as  
a secondary verbal stem. Cf. §§ 248,  
259.

*wō'zo* Yzh, r, p, 'wōzo sh, 'wōzo g, 'wāzo  
Mm, °a ti, *wāza* t, Z, *wē'za* G root-  
fibre. — Cf. Prs. *bēz*, Psht. *wēz*, Shgh.  
*wyāš*, etc. V. § 152.

*wā'xān* Yzh tasteless. — From Khw.  
*wēxāl* < Ir. \**βē-xwād* (BSOS, VIII, 670).  
'*wōxtrogī*, v. *waharay*.

*waxš* Yzh to grow (about plants). —  
*wōxšē-este* it is growing; *umād asted*  
*ke mən yō waxšē* I hope that my

barley will grow; *yōu wōxšē* the  
barley grew(?). — Av. *vaxš*.

'*wiya* m. Y, Mm, Z, °o Mg, (g), t, ti  
long-leaved, wild willow. — 'yū 'wiya  
r/o Mm. — Av. *vaēti*. Ishk. *wēd*,  
Sak. *bī*, v. EVP. s.v. *wala*. — Cf.  
Oss. *yēs*, *yēs* brushwood, scrub; Saka  
*bīau* bush, tree < \**waitsa-* (but Skt.  
*velasa-*). — V. a'wusto, *ēli'kyō*.

*wōyo'ma*, v. *yāmo*.

*wō'zā-im* Yzh, *u'zā-im* g, *uzāy-əm* pt. r  
to be tired; *u'zāy-əm*: *u'zāy-i-m* sh,  
*u'zāy-am* r, *wō'zāy-am* Mm, *ūzāiya* B  
to be tired behind. — *u'zāy-am* Ysh  
I am tired, *u'zāiyet* r you are tired.  
— Cf. Par. *ūzeh-* to be left behind,  
Oss. d. *izayun* to remain, Turf. NW,  
*wyzd* left, Av. \**ava-* (or *vi-*) *zaya-*.  
Cf. also Sgl. s.v. *fortnd*.

*wuzi'ā-um*: *wuzi'ēd-um* Yzh, *wuzi'āv-am*:  
*wuzi'āvd-əm* sh, *u'ziāw-* r, *uziāud-um*  
r, *wō'zāv-am* Mm, *wēzēw*: *wēzēd* Z to  
extinguish, to blow out a fire. —  
*yūr uziāudum* Yr I extinguished the  
fire; *zo va yūra u'zi-aum*: *yūra*  
*u'ziāwa!* r. — Cf. Yazg. *ūzēw*: *ūzēl*  
intr., *ū'zau-ū'zāvd-* tr., v. *wuzyo*,  
and cf. Z s.v. — Z compares Prs.  
*wazidan* to blow, but cf. Turf. NW.  
*wēzēd* (Mir.Man. III, 64), Saka *bugsu-*  
to extinguish.

*wēzd* Yzh, sh, *wāzda* r, *wāz* g, *wēzd*  
Mm, g fat (raw, of a recently killed  
animal). — V. EVP. s.v. *wāzda*, and  
cf. Sgl. *wēst*, etc., Wanchi *wāz* (Lentz),  
Yazgh. *wēld* (Sköld), and from W.Ir.  
*Zaza wāzd* tallow, Kurd. *baz*. — Cf.  
Charpentier, KZ, 46, 26.

*wēz'd-um*: *wēz'dā-im* Yzh, sh, *ūz-əm*:  
*ūzda'i-m* g, *wēzn-* Mm, t, (g): *wēz'nāy-*  
m, *wēzn-*: *wēznōy* Z, *wēzn-* G to

wash (hands and clothes). — *wuz'dē* 3 sg. Yzh, *last ūzēm* g. — Cf. Wkh. *wuzd* and v. a.v. *z'nay*.

*'wuz'yo* Ysh extinguished. — *yūr w° šūi* 'ātes murd'. — Perf. ptc. of *'wuz*, intr. of *wuziā*.

*wa'zir* Yu vizier. — *yū wazir luydo* a vizier's daughter. — Prs.

*wu'zir* Y, Mm, t, (g), *w'zir* B, *wu'zir* Z yesterday. — Cf. Zaza *vāzēr*, *wizyēri* yesterday. Acc. to Tomaschek, BB. 7, p. 198 from *\*zyō + ayar*, but prob. < Av. *uzapara* (= *uzirah-*) afternoon, cf. Oss. *izār* id.? V. *iztko* and Sgl. *wəcō'rin*.

*'wēziyū* M(g) a large kind of pine, resin, *'wajiyo* m pine.

*'wēznu* Yzh garlic. — Khov. *wəz'nū*.

## X

*'xā-im*: *'xāst-əm* Yzh to thresh. — *xosto* *xāim*. — Cf. Sgl. *xūy*: *xūiā*, Or. *xay*: *xūst*, to thresh, Bakht. *axū* threshing, W.Oss. *xayayun*, E.Oss. *xoin* to crush with one's feet, *ār-xōin* to thresh < *\*xwāh*, Saka *head-* to crush, Av. *xāsta-* threshed (v. Bartholomae, Mir. Mund. II, 27 sq., who wrongly compares O.Engl. *swadu* trodden path).

*'xio* Yzh (with post-velar *x*) a fruit-bearing shrub growing in the hills (*dar kōh ast, mēwa dārad*).

*xi'āban* Yu, in the Prs. formula *x° bar x°*, *bi'āban bar bi'āban*. — Prs. *xiyā-bān* flower-bed.

*xūbun*, v. *xōrun*.

*'xabar* Ysh, u news, information. — *x° lārēm* 'šunīdam'; *x° kōr* no ādamaf he proclaimed to the people; *to doof* *x° čes-āt* don't you know anything

about them? *zo x° yu'rūm* I get news about a.t. — Ar.-Prs.

*xa'čtr* Yzh, *ka°* g mule. — Turki *qačir*, Psht. *qačara*, Bal. *khačar*, etc., but Prs. *qātir*.

*xō'dā(i)* Ysh, *xu°* LSI God. — *ba nām-i-x°*; *xō'dāiyen* 'bande the slave of God; *ā x°* oh God. — Prs.

*xud'ba* Yzh, *°ō* sh wedding. — Ar.-Prs. *xuṭba* sermon, *xitbat* asking in marriage.

*'xādem* Yzh, *'xādēm* sh baker, or distributor of food at a feast (*baxš mēkina da tūi*). — Ar.-Prs. *xādim* servant.

*xedi'ya* Yzh play, game (Khov. *istuk*); *xadiya* B to play. — Inf. of *xō'd-*.

*xō'd-ēm-* Yzh, *'xōd-əm* sh, *'xōd-əm* g, *'xōd-əm* r: *xād-m* Y, *'xād-am*: *xō'diy-am* Mm, t, *xō'd-ām* (t), *xād-*: *xādiy* Z, *xād-*: *xād'tya* G to laugh. — Pres. 3 sg. *xāt* Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *xandīdan*, Sgl. *xānd-*, Wkh. *kānd-*, and in Kafri: Ashk. *kōn-*, Kati *kan-*, etc.

*xōf* Y, *xaf* Mm. Z scum, foam. — Cf. Sak. *khavā*, Sgl. *xōf*, Wkh. *xep*, Shgh. *xif* (lw., but *tāf* 'drivel' is genuine); Oss. *xāf* 'pus'; Prs. *kaf*, v. Z a.v.

*'xof-əm* Y: *xō'fai-m*, *'xift-əm* zh, *'xift-əm* sh, r, *xēft-əm* g, *xaf-am*: *xift-am* Mm, *xef-əm* (g), *'xof-am* (t), *xifta* B to cough. — *xof-əm-ste* Yg. — Cf. Sgl. *xōfuk*, Prs. *xafa*, *xufa*, Bakht. *kufa*, Par. *khūf*, Khov. (lw.) *kap*, Oss. *xuṭin*.

*xōfui* Mm, *xō'fui* Z, *xāpui* Yzh cough. — *'xāpui* *'dāstē* it stuck to me(?), *'čāšpida* *kat-i-mā* (?). — V. *xof*.

*xafa'bandē* Ysh tight-fitting necklace. — \*Prs., cf. *xafā* strangling, choking.

*'xafs-*: *'xāved* Yzh, u, *xāfs-*: *xōvd-* M(g),



*xafs*: *xāvd* Z to descend, 'xambīdim', Khov. *xīcamiman*. — *da yū šāhr xard(ā)* he (they) alighted in a town (*dar yak šahr xambidan*). — Cf. Z s.v., and Sgl. *xav*, Sar. *šāvs*, Wkh. *šam*, etc. — Ir. \**xa(m)b/p-* to bend, curve (Prs. *xam(b)* crooked, dome, etc., *xamēr* slightly curved, *xabtdan* to be crooked, etc.), and *čamb/p-* (Prs. *čam* crooked, *čambar* circle, *čafta* vaulted, curved, etc.). V. *xap*.

*xuftan* Yzh, sh evening. — Prs.

*xu'gor* Y, *kugor* B sword. — From Khov. *khog'gor*, etc., in its turn from Ir., cf. Sogd. *xnyr*. — V. BSOS, VIII, p. 668.

*xūyo* Yzh, g, r, *xūyiko* sh, 'xūgo Mm, *xū'ya* g, 'xūga t, Z, *xū'ga* G (acc. to Junker with unvoiced g) spring, fountain. — Cf. Wkh. *kik*, Orm. *xāko*, Av. *xā*. V. *Xūyiko*.

*xāki* Yzh, u earthen; greyish green, earthcoloured, *xā'ki* G grey. — *banda-i-xāki* a human being. — Prs.

*xōkova* Mm first watering of the fields. — Cf. Shgh. *xākār*. — Prs. \**xāk-āba*†

*xā'lou* Mm, g, °*šw* Z wet. — Prs. *xalāb* water mixed with mud.

*xāl* Ysh (not zh) taste. — From Khov. *xāl*, in its turn from an Ir. dialect with *l*, cf. Prs. *xīwāl*, etc. V. BSOS, VIII, p. 670. — V. *maza*.

*xālē*, ° Y empty. — Ar.-Prs.

*xī'āle* Yp thought. — Ar.-Prs.

*xāl* Y, *xā'la* G perspiration. — Cf. Wkh. *šil*, Sar. *šaiš*, Yazgh. *šwīd* (Sköld), Khov. (lw.) *xēl*, and EVP. s.v. *xwala*.

*xālo* Yzh, Mm, 'xulo Ysh, 'xūla t, Z, °*la* G embroidered cap. — Cf. Psht. *xōl*, Prs. *xōl*, etc., Georg. lw. *khudi* cap.

*xāl'fān* Yzh, *xāl'fān* sh, °*ōn* Mm large skin bag for keeping flour; 'xālfuan Z large goat-skin bag for crossing a river. — If genuine, poss. from \**xarōšān* < \**xwarōša-pāna* 'food-keeper'. Z compares Roshan. *k'aluōr*, etc., but this is not possible.

*xō'lōryo* Yzh, sh, g wet clay, used for building walls; mud, bog. — Cf. Prs. *xard* black, viscous clay (with dial. *rd* < *rd?*), Shgh. *šarō*, *šark* wet clay. V. *Xōlaryūi*.

*xā'lās* Ysh, u finished. — *x°* *kō'yet* they finished it; *x° šūi* (the work) was finished; *šūkiko* *x° šūi* the woman got rid of them. — Ar.-Prs.

*xulzadi* Yp nettle. — Cf. *xūl?*

*xām* Y, *xōm* Mm, g, Z raw. — Prs.

*xōan*: *xōāt* Yzh, *xōōn*: 'xōāt g, 'xōn: 'xōt sh, r, 'xan 'xāt Mt, 'xar-am: 'xat-am m, 'xar-am: 'xōt-am (g) to buy. — Pres. 3 sg. *xīt*, 1 pl. *max* *xōnam* Ysh, 3 pl. *xōnet*; Pret. 3 sg. *xōt* zh, — *xar-* from Prs.; *xōn*, etc. prob. from \**xarn* (with secondary *rn*, cf. § 133) < \**xran*, cf. Sgl. *xōrn*, Oss. *ālān* < \**xran* (scarcely \**xrin*). The explanation of the *-a* is doubtful. Cf. also Orm. *š'in*, Zaza *herin*, Turf. Phl., Sogd. *xrin*, and v. Bartholomae, ZII, 4, 177 sqq. — *xōt* < *xōn* + *t*.

*xun* Yzh, g, r, Mm, g, t, B, *xōn* Ysh, *xōn* m, Z raven. — Cf. Sgl. *xarn*, Yazgh. *xworn*, Wkh. (lw.?) *šun*. V. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xūrn* < \**h(u)* *xarana* or \**ku* *xarana* (cf. Nep. *kupangkhi* crow). Cf. also Ostyak *varšai* crow, etc. (v. Jacobssohn. Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 36)?

*xāno* Yp lid of a wooden trough. —

Cf. Prs. *xuān* covered table, spacious tray.

*xana'daro* Yzh, sh professional female baker. — Prs. *xānadār* house-keeper.

*xap* Yzh, u silence. — *xap ken* sh he silent; *wo xap kəp* he kept silence; *mo xap ēt kit?* why is he silent (*xaba ēt mēkina*)? — Prs., cf. Sgl. *xap*.

*xap- (xap-ʔ)* Yu to fell. — *ambəh pēzə xap* fell much timber, 'bizambān'. — < \**xamb-*, cf. *xafs*.

*xāpui*, v. *xʰfui*.

*ʰoro* f. Y (*xəʰ* g), Mm, *ʰərd* g, *ʰara* Z, *xa'ra* G donkey. — Av. *xara-*, cf. Sgl. *xər*, Wkh. *xār*, etc. Reg. the genus, v. § 179.

*ʰoxə-* Yzh, *ʰur-* sh, *xu'r-əm* r, *xor-um* g: *ʰxu'r-um*, *əm* Y, *ʰxūr-um*: *xu'r-ām* Mm, *ʰar-am*: *xū'r-ām* t, *ʰxōr-im* (g), *xar-* Z, G: *xur-* Z to eat; *xorovda* B to feed. — *mo ʰadam na'yan ʰxut* Yzh this man eats bread; *va mun xut u*; *mōx na'yan xu'rəm* sh; *xorif-este* you are eating; *yo ādam (mən pūren) na'yan xu'ro* sh this man (my son) ate bread; *xu'rat* you ate; *tə na'yan xorʰet-a?* sh have you eaten bread? *no xu'rān na'yan čəš* sh there is no bread to eat. — Av. *x-ər-*, cf. Sgl. *xədr-*, etc.

*xuri* Mm itching. — Cf. Sgl. *xūr-*, *xurāš*, Prs. *xār*. Y. *ʰoxə*, *xārišə*.

*xu'ri* Mm, *ʰxūrya* Z sister's son. — \**hwakriya-*, cf. Sgl. *xir*, Wkh. *xariyōn*, Shgh. *xēr*, v. EVP. s.v. *xōrʰ*. V. *nə'wisa*, *vraipūr*.

*xu'rāb* Mm lean. — Cf. Sgl. *xarāb(ə)*, Wkh. *xarāb* < Ar.Pr. *xarāb* bad (cf. also Sköld, Mater., p. 89, n. 215 \*). On the other hand Prs. *lāyir* 'lean'

has acquired the meaning 'bad' in several Ir. dialects, and some Ir. words for 'good' originally mean 'fat, stout'.

*xar'boza* Yzh, *ʰo* r, *ʰbūzo* g, *ʰbūza* G melon. — Prs.

*ʰxrd-əm*: *ʰxrist-əm* Yzh, *xir'd-am*: *xʰrist-əm* sh, r, *ʰxrd-əm*: *ʰxrist-əm* g, *ʰxrd-əm*: *ʰxrest-əm* Mm to shave, scratch; *xrid-*: *xrist* Z to comb, scratch. — *ʰxrdim* Yzh I scratch myself; *ʰxrdə* 3 sg.; *ʰxu'xir va yārfo xristə-əm* g I have shaved my beard yesterday. — \**xrint*: \**xrista-* (cf. § 227), through contamination of \**kyt-* and \**xri-* (v. EVP. s.v. *xriyol*)? V. *fxau*, *tuyd*.

*xu'rigo* Mm, *ʰd* Z sister's daughter. < \**hwakriyakā*, cf. *erēriyo* and v. *xuri*. *xar'gūš* Mm, g, (g), t, (sh), Z hare. — Prs. V. *šiy*.

*ʰxryō* Y, *ʰxirgo* Mm, *ʰya* g, *ʰga* G, *xʰirga* t. Z water-mill. — *xiryo ya'gytim* Yzh 'šakidim'. — Cf. Sgl. *xu'dāri*, Wkh. *xə'dōrg*, Z s.v., and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xə'dārj*. With \**hwatārakā* 'self-grinder', cf. Bal. *watās* 'self-fire' = pistol.

*xōr'yū* Yzh, g, *ʰyū* r a bird resembling a dove, but larger, Khow. *gyux* (?). — Can the name mean 'donkey-eared', cf. Prs. *xargōš* hare, etc.?

*xir'yar*, v. s.v. *xursago*.

*xu'rāk* Yzh food. — *yurd xʰ* no *xu'rān* she bought food to eat. — Prs.

*xu'rom* Yzh, p, *xu'rum* r, *xu'ram* Mm, *xirām* (g) threshing floor. — *xosto l'adam da xu'rum* Yr I threw the straw on the threshing-floor; *xʰ d'rōim M(g)* I threshed. — Cf. Sgl. *xōr'mōn*, Wkh. *čə'rām*, *čirām* (NB č-l), Sar. *šurūm*, Orosh. *š'rum*, Shgh. *xolan'jak*



(lw. < \*xəram-jakf), Par. *kha'mōr* (< \*xamarn < \*xaman), Orm. *ḫamənd*, *xarmanjāt* (lw.), Prs. *xīrman(gāh)*; (cf. also Bal. *khurmānt*, Brahui *xurruṃ* grain-pit). Prob. from *xram* = Skr. *kram-* to step, tread, etc., cf. Khw. *krom*, Kati *kr'am-* to thresh (cf. Paht. *ṛō-bal* < \*gū(u)-pada- threshing), but with various phonetic aberrations.

*xurom-'fia* Yzh, sh winnowing-stick.

*'xurmuṣo* Yzh, °'muṣo sh, *'xurmōyo* g, *xurdiko* Mm pea (Taj. *mājik*, prob. = *muṣung* *Pisum sativum*), but acc. to Yzh = *patek*, *Lathyrus sativus*. — Prs. *xurd* + *muṣo*, q.v.?

*'xirman-i-bī'bāt* Yn (in Prs. formula) threshing-floor.

*xīr-pul* Yzh bare-footed. — Cf. Prs. *xīr* bare-faced, impudent, etc., Brahui *xēr* open gravelly ground, and *polo*.

*xar-pə'laṅg* Mm a kind of leopard. — \*Prs.?

*xar'pūst* Yzh a white mushroom, Bad. Prs. *pu'fuk*. — Prs. \**xar-pōst* on account of the greyish colour? V. *pu'fānek*.

*xōrs* Mm, *xōrs* g, *xōrs* (g), t, (sh), *xōrs*, *xōrs* Z bear. — Prs. V. *yarā*.

*'xōris* M(t) moraine, heap of stones; (g) pebbles, 'xāk'; ti pebbles, sand. — Cf. Prs. *xār(ā)* a hard stone; but *-is*?

*xu'rūso* Yzh n. of an animal resembling a fox, but larger, which attacks ibex'es, Cyon *Alpinus Pallas*? — < \**xrausā-* 'crying' (Prs. *xurōs*, *xurōh* cock), cf. Sgl. *xrēsag*.

*xursa'go* Yzh, *xirsa'go* Mm, °gə g; *xir'yar* Yr millstone. — Cf. *xāryo* and \**sago* (= Prs. *sang*), *yar*; cf. Wkh. *xəḍəry'yar*, °bort, Par. *xəra'gir*,

(but Oss. *gār-guroine* 'stone-quern', hand-mill).

*'xārišē* Yzh itching. — Prs. V. *xuri*. *xerisēē* Yzh, xə° sh, *xərīšē* r, *xēšē* g, *xərīš'kyiy* Mm name of a small tree growing in the hills, whose wood is used for making axe-handles, 'xarišta'; *xə'rista* M(t) tamarisk. — But Prs. *xarišta* an arched roof, etc.

*xaršīn* M packing-needle. — Acc. to Steingass *xar* — (e.g. in *xar-amrūd*) denotes the largest or coarsest of its kind. Cf. *šinfo* and r. *juāl-dūz*.

*'xarvo* Yzh hut on a mountain pasture, Norw. "seter".

*xa'raṅ* Yzh mattress. — Khw. *xə'lāṅg* mattress; Sar. 'khavung' (Bellow) bedding?

*'xōisk* Mm small anvil(?), *'xōyisk* Z sledge-hammer. — Cf. Prs. *xāyisk*, Wkh. *xeyisk*, etc. sledge-hammer.

*xə'smānek* Yzh, r, and Burbunn (acc. to p), *xə'mānek* Yp, *xə'mān* g pellet-bow. — Prob. < \**sangk(a)mānak*, cf. Wkh. *səm'bōnak* < \**sanbānak* < \**sang(k)mānak*. V. § 137.

*xis'mat* Yzh service, work. — *mən min* x° *kərum* I have done so much service (work). — Ar.-Prs.

*xə'sur* Yzh, sh, Mm, *xu'sur* Yr, *xu'sər* g, *xu'sir* Mg, *xu'sur* Z father-in-law, husband's brother. — Genuine, or from Prs.? Cf. Sgl. *xə'sər*, Wkh. *xə'sər*, *šūrs*. V. *yūi*.

*xə'sərē'rō* Yr wife's brother. — Cf. Sgl. *xusərē'rē*, Par. *xasur'bīra*, Prs. *xusar-pūra*, Brahui (lw.) *xāspar* < \**xāsurva-pūdra*. V. *rōvūn*.

*'xāstē* Yzh, °n p straw, 'kāl', Khw. *tuš*. — Cf. *'xosto*.

*'xisto* Yzh, °tə sh unbaked dough. —

*'xista kenēm* zh I knead. — Borr. from Khov. *'xasta* unbaked, leavened dough (Ir. lw.)? Cf. Sgl. *xēste* bread, Prs. *xāsta* risen, leavened (reg. the vowel cf. Taj. *xēst* = Prs. *xāst*). — Waziri *xīst* kneaded, Or. *axlē*: *axīxt* to knead, *axēxt* dough, *xēxt* fresh dough (and Wkh. *žēē* bread?) can scarcely be derived from \**xāsta*- (v. Henning, ZII, 9, 179) on account of the meaning. Cf., perhaps, Av. *hvaršta*-well belaboured, which would also explain Or. *x*- instead of *š*.

*'xosto* Yzh, r grain. — *xosto xāim* zh I thresh; *x° lyadēm da xurum* r I put the grain on the threshing-floor.

— Cf. *xā*, Av. *xāsta*-threshed.

*'xusto* (f.?), Yzh, *xīst* sh, r, g, B wet.

— Cf. Wkh. *žastē*, *xaic*, Sar. *xāst*, Shgh. *xest*, Peht. *xušt*. With dissim. from Av. *xāusta*-liquid, moist; Sak. *kūstā*, etc. serum (Bailey).

*'xī-im*: *'xī-im* Yzh, *x°šī-m*: *x°šī-m* g, *x°šī-em*: *x°šī-m* r, *xīty-em*: *xī-i-im* (or *xīlo korum*) sh, *xīty-am* Mm, *xī-i-am* (t), *xīty*: *x°šīy* Z, *xīty-am* G, *xīya* B to weep. — Pres. 1 pl. *xītyem-esto*, 2 pl. *xītyf-este*, 3 pl. *xītyet-ste* Yzh. — Z compares Av. *xāudra*-, but cf. Sgl. *šid*-, Ishk. *šin*-to weep, Sogd. *'yš'ywn*, Phl. *šēwan* lament, Abdu *š'wen* weeping. (Av. *xī*- 'distress' is doubtful).

*'xōš-am*: *'xīš-im*, -am Y, *'xāš-am* Mm, *'xāš-am* t, *'xāš-am* (g): *'xīškv-am*, -ām, -am m, t, (g), *xāš*: *xīšk* Z to pull, drag. — Pres. 3 sg. *'xōšē*; *'hāzer* *'xīšim* Yzh I sighed. — Cf. Sgl. *xāš*, Wkh. *xāš*, Yaghn. *xāš*-, Sogd. *yrš*- (Reichelt, Vimal. Sūtra, 156) to pull, Yazgh. *xarāš*-to pull, smoke,

Prs. *farxāsta* dragged along the ground; but *kašdan* to pull, etc. V. § 132.

*x°šš* Y, *'xūšo* Mm, °a g, *'xūša* Z, *xūša* G mother-in-law. — < \**hicasrū* + -ā. Cf. Sgl. *xoš*, Wkh. *xuž*, etc., Prs. *xusrū*, etc.

*xūšš* Mm, *'xūša* ti ear of corn. — Prs. V. *sor*, *yūya*.

*xušēi* Yzh, sh, °e LSIy, *xuški* Mm, *'xušk'oy* Z, *xuškvé* G greater, elder, 'kalāntar'. — *xušēi-ē vraī* Yzh, sh, *xuški vrōi* Mm; *iš to xušēe* sh elder than yourself; *šō xōšm xušēlen xīsmat* ken serve one who is greater than yourself. — Bailey suggests connection with Sogd. *xyštr* master, Sak. *hvašta*-principal, first. Cf. also Osa. *xīstar*, *xēstar* elder, eldest, poss. from Av. *hvašta*-best, greatest, eldest. But the vocalism is not clear. Cf. also Tedesco, BSL 25, 53.

*xuš'ko* Yzh, *'xu°* sh rice with lentils. — Prs. *xūška* boiled rice without butter.

*'xāškən* Mm, *'xaskən* g, *'xaska* G horse-dung. — Cf. Peht. *xaršin* (Mohmand *xrāš'no*, Wanetsi *xarsina*). The Mj. word is prob. influenced by *yū-skən* (q.v.).

*xī'leniyo* Yzh, *x°šlā°* sh reed. — °len° < *xōl*, q.v.?

*'xāšma* G supper. — Cf. Sogd. *xāšm*, etc. < Av. *xāšfnyā*. Early lw.? Cf. § 96. V. *šām*.

*xō'sān* Yzh happy. — *ādāmē xō'sān šot*. — From Khov. *xu'sān*, in its turn from Ir. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 671. Benv., JA, 223, 242.

*xō'sānē* Yzh, *xušānē* LSIy pleasure, happiness. — *x° kenet* they will make merry. *x° ko'net*. — Khov. *xōšā'nē*.



'xštra m. Yzh, g. Mm, Z, 'xštra Yr, 'xštra sh, 'xštro Mg, (g), 'ra G milk. — Y-M agrees with W.Ir., while Shgh. has *šurd* (< Av. *asvīpta*<sup>o</sup>), which is found all over Ir., and Sgl. *xom*, Wkh. *šāz* are isolated. Psht., Par. andOrm. have retained the usual Av. word *payah*. — V. *xšurd*.

*xšir-kvesa* Mm wooden milk-cup. — Cf. Prs. *kāsa*.

*xšō'sōve* Yzh, g. 'vo sh, 'xšō'vo r, x<sup>o</sup>'savo Mm, x<sup>o</sup>'sāve g, 'ā (g), x<sup>o</sup>'sava t, 'xšōvo ti, 'xšāved t. Z, 'wa G night. — x<sup>o</sup>'sō'vō tā mīx, x<sup>o</sup>'sō'vōyl mīx Ysh by day and by night; no x<sup>o</sup>'vō'xšō'vo de šā don't call the night 'night'. — Av. *xšapā*, Psht. *špa*, etc.

*xšurd* Yzh, sh, g. xš<sup>o</sup> r, x<sup>u</sup>'šurdo Mm, xšido g, xšīda t sweet. — < Av. *asvīpta*-(vant)-milk (v. EVP.s.v. *šauda*). Sak. *šidā* cf. Ktesias ουστα-χόρα n. of a tree which means γλυκό, ἡδύ (cf. Prs. *šir*-in sweet). Prob. also connected with Prs. *šifan* to trickle.

*xš(u)wān* Yzh, xšuwān LSIy shepherd. — Cf. Chr. Sogd. xšp'n, and the Sak. transition of *fš* > *kš* in *kšundai* husband and (acc. to Bailey) in *kšārma* shame. — V. *šupān*.

*xatā'* Ysh fault. — Ar-Prs.

*xatra'lōy* Yp muddy, dirty water. — Cf. Khw. *khatr* id. (Lor.).

'xōvun Ysh, 'on r, 'xūbun zh, 'on u, 'vun Mm, G, kūvan B, xūb(e) (Prs.?) Yg sleep, dream. — *xūben ay'oi* Yg I fell asleep; 'xūben 'līšcim Yzh, xūbe līšcem g; xūben līšc Ya; xō xūben wīnem-este vīo I have been seeing a dream; šō xōvun anga šuyom r I woke from a dream. — Cf. Sgl. xōdm, etc. V. Benveniste BSL 30, 75 sqq. (add

Phil. Pa. 'xōvun sleepless). Reg. v/b v. § 59.

'xāwund Yzh master. — Prs.

*xowīza* Yzh, 'xo<sup>o</sup> sh bug. — Cf. Prs. *xazdūk*, *xawazdūk*, *xūda*, *xabazdūk* (acc. to Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, 6 from Aramean) beetle, scolopendra, chafe. V. Sgl. *xā'məḡḡek*.

'xāxo Yzh, sh, p thistle. — \**xāra-xā*, cf. Prs. *xār* thorn?

*xa'xālič* Yp a sweet-smelling, greyish, composite flower.

'xəyo Yzh, p, g, 'xəyo sh, r, 'xəyo Mm, 'a t, 'xəya g, 'xəya ti, 'xəya t. Z, 'xəya G wall. — \**xatā'*? Cf. Gabri *xada*, Khw. *xatan* house, room (v. BSOS, VIII, 660)?

*xōi* (in sandhi also *yoī*) Y, *xōy* Z own. — *vo xoi wulo*, *xō'monaf līšc* Ysh he saw his own wife, children; *no xoi pūrāf* for my (own) sons; *do xōi kyāi* to his own house; *wo 'yoī 'nām lī'o*, *wo 'yoī 'pūrāf 'nām līo* he gave his own and his son's name; *tu čamin vo xōi nāfs ken?* what shall you do about your own soul (: family)? *v<sup>u</sup> to xai vrai yurdon u*. — Av. *x-atā*, etc.

'xoyo Ysh self. — 'xoyo ayōi-va he would have come himself; *xōyo kū šūi?* where did he go himself? *wos na xa'yīn lō'ro kē'nūm* now I let build a house for myself; *na xāin no xupān deš* there is nothing for him to eat; *šō xō'in 'az xud'*; *na 'xāyī kī'o kīt* he makes trouble for himself. — V. *xoy*.

*xu'yāyeno* Yzh, *xu'yāyeno* sh, *xu'yāyeno* Mm wife's or husband's sister. — < \**hvaahā-ynā*. Cf. Prs. *xāzana* < \**hvaahā-janikā*, Par. *xijinjek*, Kurd. *xodizīn*, Wkh. *xūyun*, Sar. *xayūn*.

*xuzd-um*: *xuz'dāi-m* Y, *xuzd-um*: *xuz-dāy-əm* Mm to send, dispatch, 'rahi kardan, mēfiristam'. — *wo mən xuz-dāi* 'māra raedān karda ast'; ādam *xuzdum*. Possibly < \**xueazn*, but no similar word traced in Ir.  
*xuz'būi* Yzh, *xo°* r sweet smell. — *xo° lārəm*, *xuibi nāyoiste* 'būis mēdya'. — Prs.

## X

*xi'mānē* Yzh, *xi'mōnē* g, r, *xi°* sh, Grammophone, *šumonna* B male ibex.  
 — Phonetically < \**(a)šmānaka-* (scarcely \**āš*°), but connection with Skr. *ātman-* (cf. e.g. Ishk. *jan'war* markhor, *jāndar* ram, etc.) is exceedingly problematic.  
*xi'roi* Yzh, *xi°* p, *xi'roi* g, *xi'roi* Mm, *xi°* g, *xi'rāi* (g), (sh), *xi'roi* Yr, *xi°* sh, *xi'rāi* Mt, *xi'ray* Z, *xi°* G three.  
 — *xi'roi pūrē* Yr. — Av. *θrāyō*, etc.  
*xi'ra'sāl* Yzh three years ago.  
*xi'roineist* Yr sixty.  
*xi'rox-ē*: *xi'roxē* Yzh, *xi'rēx-i* M(g) to shy; cf. *kirax-: kiraxōy* Z to tremble?  
 — *yasp xi'roxē*. — < \**xi'roš* < \**θraθ* < \**θrah*, v. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch d. Phl.* II, 199.  
*xi'risen* Yzh, r, *xi'rēzen* sh, *xi'ryūzen* Mm, *xi'ryūzen* t, *xi'risen* B the day before yesterday. — Tomaschek, BB, 7, 196 < \**θri* + *azan*; better < \**θrita*°.

## Y

*yā* Yzh, *yō* Z or. — *yā pū'sak škōr*, *yā na'yōn škōr* send either clothes or food. — Prs.

*yāi*, v. is.

*yō* Y, *yā* Mm, Z that, G this. — Gr. § 207.

*yōu* Yzh, *yōu* sh, *you* r, Mm grain (collective). — 'you *yā'bil kenəm* Yr: *vō yōu rās ke'əm* r I heaped up the grain. — Av. *yava-*, cf. Sgl. *you*, etc.  
*yū* Yzh, r, p, Mg, t, Z, G, *yū* Ysh, u, g, Mm one. — *yū 'wulo*; *zā ašera'fiof yu t'roft* she stole one of the gold-coins; *wo yū māra* this one man; *da ā šak'r* Yu in a town; *yū pādā pūr . . . ā warir luydo* Ysh; *yu čad mi'xi* Mm a few days, 'yak čand rōz'; *č-č* Ysh from one. — < \**ēy* < Av. *aēvō*, cf. EVP. s.v. *yan*. Scarcely with Junker (Sitz.Heid.Ak.Wiss. 1914, 22) < \**ajūa*.

*yūi* Mm, *yiy* g husband's brother, 'yūwar'.  
 — Poss. from \**yātah*, a secondary masc. of \**yātā* (Sgl. *yūd*) husband's brothers wife. But Kabul Prs. *hēwar* (Par. *hēwar*), Bad. *yūwar* points to an ancient form \**hēwar* with unexplained loss of *d*, from \**dēwar* (cf. on the other hand Sgl. *tēu*, and v. Meillet, BSL, 30, CK, 90), and a secondary m. sg. \**aiwah* (instead of \*(*d*)*aiwā*) might also have resulted in \**yū*. Possibly a cross between the two stems. V. *yūi-sulo* and *rocuu*.

*yā'bū* Yg pony. — Prs.

*yōba* Mm, *ibia* LSIm dance; *yōb-: yōby-* Z to dance. — Cf. Wkh. *vibyā* very quick ambler (Sköld)?

*yād* Yzh, sh memory. — *nāman yād astet* zh I remember; *yād kə'm* fto sh I remembered you. — Prs.

*yādē* Yzh, sh, *yādē* g, p, *id'yo*(??) r, *yō'diy* Mm, 'yāndi ti, °*dīy* g, °*dīy* t,



'yandiy (t), yā'dāy (t. 'yā'diga) Z, °ēy G blind. — mo 'marā ('zīgiko) 'yade Yzh this man (this woman) is blind; but yū 'mār 'yandiy, yū 'zīgika yand'iga M(t). — Av. anda-, Sogd. 'nt, etc., v. EVP. s.v. rūnd.

yū'dūr, v. dtr.

yaf'cirigiko Mm, yueg m. Z arrow. — Av. išu- + ʔ — V. plā.

you'go Y flood. — y° hawār kit zh the river roars. — Y g must represent Ir. ḡk/g. Prob. < \*āḡangā < Av. āfant- (qv.) + kā.

'youyo (yāu°) Y, °go Mm, °ya g, °ye ti, yōuyā (g), 'yōwga Z, yāu'ga G, yaūya LSI, °oy water. — yāuyo tim, loyolm Yzh I bathe(d). — < \*āpakā, cf. Wkh. yupk, Sgl. vək, Zaza 'aukā.

yūy Yzh, sh, r, yōy g. Mm, yly Z yoke. — Prob. < \*yauga- (Pra. yōy, Bal. jōy), not \*yuga-. Cf. Sgl. yōy.

yūyo Yu, 'yūgo Z one (among several), 'yaki'. — wo yūyen nām Z. viō the name of the one was Z. — Prob. from yū one, not from \*yūtākā separate, other (Shgh. ylyo). V. yukvego.

'yēyōn Yzh, 'yā° sh, g, r liver. — \*yaxmya-, cf. EVP. s.v. yīna (v. also Kranse, KZ. 68, 304). With jī'gar (q.v.) cf. also Sak. gyagarra.

yūyāmo Yzh, yu° sh four days hence; 'yūyāmo Mm, woyō°ma t, woyū yāmo B the day after to-morrow; yūyemo G to-morrow(?). — \*yūtaka- separate (cf. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, II, 249, and Par. Voc. s.v. lū) + yāmo, q.v. — Cf. sūyāmo.

yokta'ha Yg, yakta'i Z shirt. — Pra. yaktahī, Shgh. yektā'yē (Lentz).

\*yukvego Mm one (among several). —

wo yukve'gin k'edo rə zəmtn one of them dug in the earth. — Cf. yūyo. yāl Yr, yālī (pl.?) Mm, g mane. — Pra. V. éalo.

'yelu Yzh stack of corn. — Cf. Wkh. yāō to pile up?

'yila Mm little.

'yālko, v. 'yeḡko.

'yāmo Yzh, sh the day after to-morrow(?); yāmo B, 'yāmo Mm, yo°ma t, yēm Z to-morrow; yāmo Yg, yē'ma G yesterday(?). — Cf. sūyāmo, yūyāmo and sa'bā, sa'ār.

'yūmenā M(g) n. of a shrub, Khov. medrāz(?).

'yana Yr husband's brother's wife. — Cf. Kab. Pra. yagga brother's wife? V. ixcogo, yūi-wulo.

yāntīlyā M(g) lizard.

'yān-əm: yāgvi'im Yzh, yān-əm: ya'gl-m, yir-əm g, 'yān-um: ya'gyt-im sh, yān'v-əm: yūr-um Mm, 'yēn'v-əm: 'yūr-um t, yōn'g': yēn'g'- Z to grind. — Pres. sg.: yān-m, yānē, yeikv; pret. 3 sg. yāg'yo Yzh; xiryo ya'gytim sh 'šaktālim'; yir-əm = polm kīr-əm g. — < \*ar-nā: \*ārta- (\*ā + rta-); yāgvi-, etc. is a secondary formation from \*yānt < \*arnita-; yēn'g' is formed from the pres. stem (v. § 243). Cf. Sgl. yūn-, Shgh. yān-: yūd- (cf. Z s.v.), Orm. hīnī-, ēl-, Psht. aṇēl; Or., etc. yēḡ- from 3 sg. yēḡt (< \*yānt, cf. kīḡt he does); pret. yūg- or yēḡt- (from the pres.). Cf. also Bakht. ardan, Talish hore to grind; Gazi 3 sg. arūe (Bailey). V. yārē.

yār Ysh friend. — Pra.

'yārē Yzh assistance. — y° dalīm, — Pra.

yōruya, v. ararōy.

*'yärmē* Yzh, °o sh, g foreleg, shoulder-blade, °o p arm above the elbow. — Av. *arəmə*°, Wkh. *yurm* forearm, Sar. *yarān* (Biddulph) arm (or perhaps = yorn elbow?), Prs. *arm* arm from elbow to shoulder, Zaza *ērmē*, *ār'māl*, Talish *ām* shoulder; but Oss. *arm* hollow of the hand.

*yursiliko* Yzh, °ul'iko sh shoe-string. — *yur*° < Av. *aōdra*-shoe + *si/uliko*, poss. < \**losiko* (v. *lozo*) with assimilation of *o* to the preceding or following vowel.

*yarš* Y, *yerš* B bear. — Av. *arša*-, Shgh. *yūrš*, etc. V. § 132. V. *xərs*.

*yuršio* Yzh, *yar'šio* sh, r, *yūršii'yō* g, *yeršiiyo* B barley. — Connected with Sgl. *vörros*, *urros*, Psht. *örbašē*, *uorbus*, *arbaši*, etc., Sak. *rūsā*, but the original form is uncertain. \**ar-paryū*? V. *arəmin*.

*yurv* Mm, *yüre* g, (ti), *yire* t, (g), *yiro* Z, G mouth.

*yārya* Yzh delay. — *y*° *kəyet* you came too late.

*'yurzən* Yzh, sh, *'yūrən* g, r, Mm, g, ti, Z, °*rn* Mt, (g) millet, Panicum millaceum. — < \**(h)ārzana*-. Cf. Wkh. *yīrz*°, Sgl. *wūrdān*, Psht. *fdan*, Wanetsi *ēzden*, Par. *ārzn*, Orm. *a'zan*, Kurd. *harzin*, Prs. *arzan*, Sak. *ēysä* (< \**alysana*) Bakht. *halum* (with Prs. *l* and -um from *ganum*), and (acc. to Bailey) Prs. *alum*, Phil. (Bund.) *'lum*. V. AO. 7, 200. — Cf. *yavarso*. V. *arəmin*. The resemblance to Greek *ἄλπος* (cf. Geiger, BSOS, VIII, 548) is prob. accidental.

*'yurzəyo* Yzh crushing-stone in a hand-mill (*yešio*): *'yurzəyo* sh, *yūrəyo* g, *yurzəyo* r, *yūriko* Mm hand-mill for

grinding snuff, Khov. *purduynču*. — *yūr*- < \**yādra*-? Cf. Sar. *yār-yacāk* (Bellew) handmill?

*'yaržo* Y, *yo*° Mm, *'yōržd* g, t, °a (g), ti, *'yorža* Z, *yār'ža* G beard. — With metathesis from \**raiža* < \**raišā*-, Prs. *rēš*, etc. Cf. Psht. *šira* < \**riša*.

*'yārē* Yzh, °o sh, g, r, *yō'rēy* Mm, *yā*° g, *'yāri* (g), *yō'rēy* Z flour. — *y*° *kenem* Yr, *yadmī* *y*° g — < \**ärtaka*- (= *ā* + *r*-), cf. Psht. *šr*°, etc. — But Psht. *uor* 'small' < \**rta*-, Prs. *xurd* < \**hw rta*-.

*yūr* Yzh, sh, r, LSly, *gūra* Yg, p, *yūr* Mm, g, (g), ti, Z, G fire. — *zə* *va* *yūra* *uziavum* (*žafum*) Yg I extinguish (kindle) the fire. — Y *r* points to \**ärt* (cf. Par. *ār* and Sogd. *'rš*, v. Reichelt, ZII. 4, 247), with metathesis from the unstable Av. stem *ātr*- (a cross between *ātar*- and *ādr*-).

*yiskig*, v. *išēty*.

*yasp* Y (*yāsp* sh), *yōsp* Mm, g, (g), Z, *yasp* G horse. — *yaspē* Yr pl.; *yaspē* *yazərdət* sh 'aspara *davāndan*'; *ro* *yaspə* *palān* *šio* he saddled the horse; *sko* *yū* *yasp* *pādā* *pūr* *suvār* *šūi* the prince mounted one horse. — Av. *aspa*-, Wkh. *yaš*, etc.

*'yaspə* Yzh, g small yellow and white locust. — Diminutive of *yasp*? Cf. Ital. *cavalletta*, Germ. *Heupferdchen* id., and (acc. to Lidén) Swed. diall. of Finland *hästmöra* 'large ant', etc.

*yuspən*, v. *rzspən*.

*'yastē* Yzh, sh, °o g, r, *'yōstiy* Mm, *'ya*° g, *'yastē* ti, *yāstey*, *yōstiy* Z, *yāstēv* G bone. — < \**astika*-, cf. Sgl. *ostok*, Sogd. \**stk*, Wkh. *yašē*, Prs. *ast*, etc. *'yiston* Mg, *yiston* m. Z, °*ān* G felt. — < \**wi-atarana*? V. *liertā*, *'nāmyo*.



yū'saxo Yzh one year old. — Cf. loh-saxo.

yōšk Y, yōšk Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear. —

\*asruka, cf. Sgl. āšk, Wkh. yašk.

yō'urso Yzh, r, yō' sh, 'yō'iso r, 'yavurao Mm, 'yō'urka ti, 'ye'urso (g) a kind of juniper, arča. — Av. hapərasi, cf. Ar-Prs. awiras, v. NTS. I, 40; V, 40.

yū'vərən Mm, t, ti, °ārsn (g) upper part of the door-frame. — \*upara-sayana-? V. alarsnē.

yucəzgo Mm plough-wedge, fāna.

yūi-wu'lo Mm, yūy-wula g husband's brother's wife, 'yanga'.

yū'wan-ēm: yū'icat-ēm Yzh, yūco'n-ām: yūco't-ām sh, i'wōn-ēm: i'wot-ēm r, yū'wōn-ēm: yū'wot-ēm Mt, yū'icēn-ēm: (wī'yot-um) m to loosen, untie. — V. wēn.

yūcistolos Yzh, sh, r, °elos g thirty.

yū'wiz Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khw. iels.

yox Ysh, B, yax Z, G cold. — no yox 'sto he did not say it was cold. — Prs.

yaxio Y (sh also yā°), °iyo Mm, yāxiya g, 'yōxiā (g), yēxiya, yēx° Z ashes. — yāxiō xuyet-ā? Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < \*āθ(r)yā- (v. § —1). Av. ātrya-, Shgh. θtr, Or. aθer, cf. also Psht. irē, Sgl. wuter, Sogd. 's'y (Prs. xax-ir ashes beneath which are latent sparks)? But why x? Cf. yēxiō.

yux's-am: yūx't-am Yzh, g, 'yuxs-am: yux't-am Mm, wuxsa B to learn. — Cf. Sogd. yuxs- to learn, Wkh. yēik, Sar. iẓman learning, Sak. āuska 'accustomed' (\*ni-yučaka), añuta 'unaccustomed' (Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 13

< \*ni-yang-, but j + k not > sk). V. Meillet, BSL, 23, 76; Markwart, Ungar. Jahrb. 7, 98; Lommel, Or. Stud. Pavry, 285. — Cf. Sgl. apaxē.

yaxsoriy, v. laxsivē.

yēxiō Yzh, yēxiō sh, yēxiō g, r, 'yōxiō Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), zəyerki, dašū(?). — \*yūθryā-, v. yur-zuyō (cf. § 101)?

yēxiō Yzh, 'yāxiō, yāxiō Mm, 'yēxiō g, yēxi t. Z nest. — Cf. Shgh. yēθ, Or. yōθ, Wkh. yōθ(t), Ishk. yēā, etc. (v. Z s.v.). < \*(y)āθyā- < \*ā-hadyā-? Prs. āšyān(a), Phl. 'hy'ng (Mir. Manich. III, 48), Keshe huyā'ne, etc. — Cf. ag'min-yēxi.

yēxiō Yzh, g, r, yē° sh, yēsko LSIy, 'yālko Mm, 'yēlka g, °ā (g), yelko LSIim duck. — yēxi- might be derived from \*āθy-, cf. Skr. ātl-, but M yāl-? yē'ya Y, 'yēya Mm, °o g, 'yāya m. Z, yēya G bridge. — Av. haētū, cf. Sgl. yōtuk, etc. V. § 176.

yāya Mt, (g) ear of wheat. — \*(h)auša-ka-, cf. Prs. xōša, Psht. wažai. V. sōr, zušō.

yōzda Mg, (g), t, (sh), °da Z, G eleven. — Prs.

## Z

zo Y, Mm, zā Z, za G, ze LSIim I. — V. § 204. — B's zo 'that' (rel.) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

zōbo, v. zōmbd.

zibi'jrm Yzh, °im earthquake. — < \*zam-bīnjum < Prs. zaminjumb (also Shgh.), Brahui (lw.) zimi'jumb; cf. Sgl. zrlē'zsm, Wkh. (Bellew) zalanjūm (infl. by zal-zala), Sar. zmādjunj.

<sup>1</sup>*zifkyān* Yzh, <sup>2</sup>*zifkyin* p rolling-pin.  
<sup>1</sup>*zīgaki* (pl. ?) Yp side-plank of the spinning-wheel. V. III. Cf. *zīk*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyo* Y, Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zāya* Mg, <sup>1</sup>*zāya* Z crow, *zāy*. Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyē-um*: <sup>1</sup>*zāyēd-um* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*zāyēvum*: <sup>1</sup>*zāyēd-am* Mg to twist; <sup>1</sup>*zāyē-*: <sup>1</sup>*zāyēd* Z to rub, grate. — Cf. *yāc-* + \**uz*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūy-um*: <sup>1</sup>*zūyēd-um* Yg to pour out. — *yauya da zūyūm* (drim) I pour the water (into a wooden bowl?) Yr.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyā(v)*: <sup>1</sup>*zāyāv-um* Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', <sup>1</sup>*zāyāi* Mm flies, *zoyua* walk, *zoyurdum* I walked LSIy. — *zyūa as!* Ysh come quick; *tra ašēd zūstē* g he is flying through the air; 3 pl. *zūāt*. — \**uz-gaub/p*?? — V. *zāyā*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyāl-om*: <sup>1</sup>*zāyāst-om* Ysh to run away (from a wild animal). — Av. *zga-*, to flow, fly away; cf. Sgl. *zīd-*: *zūst* to flow, Paht. *zāyāl-*: *zāyāst-* to run away, Sak. *haysgasta* "gegangen" (Lennemann, Lebrgedicht, VI, 101), *vaysgad-* to dismount.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōyno*, v. *zā'nax*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zāyāriy(-am)* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zāyāri* Z, *zāyāriya* G, *zēyerge* LSIu thirsty. — \**uz-garaka-*, cf. Paht. *yārai* glutton, Prs. *šard* gluttony, etc.  
<sup>1</sup>*zākār* Yzh, g, Mm, *zār* (g), G poison. — Prs. V. *saṅkiyo*, *šaro*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zīk* Y, *zūk* Mm, Z, G, *zīg* Mg, (g) t, <sup>1</sup>*zīk* ti knee. — *zīken pōrēzīna* sh the knee-cap. \**zānuka-*, cf. Sgl., Wanetsi *zūng* (but Kurd. *hiñi* etc. < *znu*).  
<sup>1</sup>*zīl* Yzh, r, *zēl* sh, *zēla* g, *zūlv* Mm, *zūlv* g, (g), *zūlv* t, *zūlv* ti, (dāl Z) heart. — *mon trē zīl aštet* Yzh, r I remember; *tro zīl zāyādi* I did not

remember. — Prob. < \**zādyā*, v. EVP. s.v. *zāy*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zūl* Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zār'; B strong; *zūlā'ear* G strong. — Prs. (with l from *zūlm*?).  
<sup>1</sup>*zā'mai* Yzh, *zā'māi* sh, g, <sup>1</sup>*zā'i* r, *zā'mōi* Mm, g, (g) son-in-law, sister's husband, *zā'māy* G sister's husband. — Av. *zāmātar-*, etc.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'm-om*: *zō'māi-m* Yzh to yawn. — From Khaw. *zomēik*, in its turn from Ir. (v. BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf. Oss. *zambin*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmbo* Mg, t, <sup>1</sup>*zā* (g), <sup>1</sup>*zā* ti, *zōbo* m gums. — Cf. Paht. *zāma* jaw, Wan. "zāmbae", Skr. *jambha-* (v. AO. II, 280); Sogd. *zmb*, Or. *zimb* river bank, side?  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'min* Mm, *zā* G, B earth. — *k'ēdo vō zōmin* Mm he dug in the earth. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'mēn* Y, Mm, *zuman* LSIy child. — *uo xoi zō'monaf līšē* sh he saw his own children; *zōmēn paidāi* a child was born; *jīṅko zō paidāi kīt* r the woman bears a child. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *zōmēn*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmō'nak* Ysh a small child. — *mon zō* *zō mon uulo* my child and my wife; *no mēn zō'zēf*; *mon zōmana'ken* obl. — Cf. Sgl. *zōma'nok*. V. *zō'mēn*.  
<sup>1</sup>*zō'margire* M(sh), <sup>1</sup>*zōgāde* t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zāma-gira'; *zō'mārgirū* (g), *zō'gārmīyo* g yellow, large lizard(?). — Cf. Av. *zamarō-guz-* hiding in the ground, Or. *zīmār* earth, ground (Lentz).  
<sup>1</sup>*zōmr'stān* Yzh, sh, *zōme* G, *zōmr'stān* r, *zāmī* Z, *zōmī'stān* Mm, g, t winter. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*zōnr'o* Yzh, *zēn'o* sh, *zōn'yo* g, *zē* r, *zē'nīyo* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*zōiya* g, *zō'nīyā* (g), *zō'nīya* Z daughter-in-law, brother's wife,



- zaw'ya G husband's brother(?). —  
 āi zā'ni pl. sh; zā'nī'ef, zā'nī'ef pīstet  
 the daughters-in-law asked. — \*anuā-  
 cf. Wkh. sīzā, Sgl. wuz'nel, Shgh.  
 zēnāy, Sar. 'cīnull'.
- (<sup>o</sup>)zī'ānē Yzh, zī'ān g, r early afternoon,  
 pēšin. — < \*uz-ayana-, Av. uz-ayara-  
 or < Av. uzayairina- (v. § 133). V.  
 wuzīr.
- zīm Yr, Mm, g, t, Z, G saddle. — Prs.  
 V. pa'lan.
- 'zundo Y, Mm, g alive. — amux tad z°  
 vii Yzh if our father were alive. —  
 Prs.
- zā'nax Yzh, sh, g, zē'nox r, 'zoyno Mm,  
 ° g, ° a t, Z, 'zōyna Mti, ° a (g).  
 zāx'na G chin. — Y from Prs., M  
 with metathesis from \*zon(o)xa (v.  
 § 127), cf. Gaz zā'gan.
- zā'nay-əm: zā'nā'i-m Yzh, zā'nay-əm:  
 zā'nāi-m sh, zā'nay-əm r: zā'nāi-m g,  
 Mti, wū'zāy-əm Mm to bathe, swim.  
 — Av. snaya-: snāta-, cf. Sgl. zānē,  
 Shgh. zēnē (q.v.), Par. sunī, Sogd.  
 sn'y, Oss. nain. — wuzd-, wuzn- (q.v.)  
 'to wash' < \*awa-snā- (with shorten-  
 ing in compound), Skr. awa-snāpaya,  
 to wash; cf. Or. wēz das to swim(?).  
 Wkh. wuzd- to wash, pres. I sg.  
 wēzdeyūm, 3 sg. wēzdešt (Sköld) has  
 been influenced by dē-m, dēst (q.v.).  
 Note also Oss. nain to bathe, but  
 aṣsān (W. Oss. aṣsmun: aṣsnaḥ) to  
 wash; Prs. šinā(h) swimming, but  
 šinān, wēnān a herb with which they  
 wash clothes.
- zāg'gar Yzh, zāng Z rust. — Prs. zāgg'ār.
- zāpē Yzh, zāpē sh, r clothes, quilt, 'bištara',  
 Khov. zap. — zāpē āydem Yr I put  
 on clothes, zāpē llo sh, zāpēf obl. pl.  
 LSim.
- zōr Yzh, sh old (about a person), t.  
 'zōro zh. — Cf. Prs. zar old man.  
 Yzh zōl < Prs. zāl? Cf. B zoriko  
 old woman.
- zā'rūr Yzh necessary. — na maf cē  
 zārūr? na max z° šūi, kō ... —  
 Ar-Prs.
- zā'rūrī Yzh necessity. — no zoi zārūrīen  
 out of (my) own necessity. — Ar-  
 Prs.
- 'zariškyo Mm, zārviškyika g spider. —  
 Av. \*zairi-porāsti- 'yellow-back'?
- zīt Yzh, sh, Mm, g, ti, Z, G, zito (t.?)  
 Yr yellow. — Av. zairita-, cf. Par.  
 zītō (v. § 125), Shgh. zīed, Wkh. zart,  
 Sgl. zāl. V. azito.
- zō'vīy Yzh, p, Mt, ti, (g), zē° g, zī'bēy  
 Yzh, zō° g, zō'vīy(?) r, zō'vū Mm, Z,  
 G, zēv(?) LSim tongue. — \*hizwāka-  
 cf. Sgl. zēvūk, Yazgh. zō'vīg (Sköld),  
 Wkh. zik. Cf. §§ 107, 181.
- zō'vīrya Yzh, zō° r, zī'b° sh, 'wēzurgō  
 Mm, 'zīzīrya g, 'wēzīrya t, ° ā (g),  
 'vīzīrya ti, vēzēul'ga Z birch, 'haft-  
 pōst' (Yzh birch-bark). — Y zēv° <  
 M vōzv°, dissimilated from \*vōzv-  
 urgo, cf. Shgh. vōzyn (v. Z s.v.),  
 Tajiki burz, birk (< \*bīrzk?); Par.  
 bhīn tree. V. also Sgl. bōrīē, Wkh.  
 furz s.vv. — \*byza-wārakā- (with  
 v < w after z, cf. § 107), or °pāθrakā-  
 'birch bark'?
- zāxēi'dīn Yzh kettle. — Cf. Khov. ē'dīn,  
 Ishk. ēdan kettle; Prs. ēdan cast  
 metal.
- zaxm Yzh, r, G, zaxmō Yzh, g, zoxm  
 Mm wound. — Prs.
- zax'mō Yzh, B, Mm, zō° Yp, zax'mō Mg,  
 'za° Z field. — Obl. pl. zaxmaf  
 LSim. — \*zamaxā-, cf. W.Oss. zānxā.  
 zāžko Yzh child-bearing. — žīgko z° šūi

'zan bača karda'. — Av. zača + kâ-, cf. Sak. ysamtha birth, Prs. zahk first milk after parturition, zahdân womb. — V. pəzāčē, vəzāčō.

zly: zūy- Z to bear a child. — Av. zaya-. V. pīrke-zē.

## Ž, (J)

ž-: žt- Y, žūy-: žt-om Mm, 'žoy-am: žt-ām t, žoy-: 'žt- Z, žūy-: žta G to say, speak. — Pres. 1 sg. žam Yzh, žəm sh, r, žom g; 2 sg. tu ču žui? zh what do you say? žē čē žui sh don't say, 'na gu'; 3 sg. žut zh; 1 pl. max žam; 2 pl. maf čē žaf? 3 pl. žet; imper. 2 sg. žā; pret. 1 sg. 'žtim zh, 'žtəm r, žtum, žim g, na to 'žtom sh; 3 sg. 'žt(y)ō; 3 pl. 'žt(y)ot sh; pl. 'žto-əm r. — \*jat-: jasta-, cf. Goth. qipan, etc. V. NTS. VII, 116 ff.

žē, žō, žē Y, Mm, žā Z from. — žē xo'ān sh, 'az xud'; ži dalen from below; žō lura-yan 'az dūr'; ž-im kyeyen from this house; žōi from one; yō amūno žē pūren astet r this apple belongs to the son. — Av. hača. V. § 50.

žūi Mm, žēi (g), žōy Z place. — žēi kinam M(g) I hide (a thing). — Prs.

žī Ysh still (?); žī, žī Z but, also. — wos na žūi na tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi žī formi-ā? has she now gone to her father's house, or(?) may she be at home? — Av. žōi? Bailey compares Kashan diall. jī 'ham' (Zhuk.). žto Y, žūko Mm, 'a g bow-string (Ysh thin string for a pellet-bow, v. soj). — Av. jyā, Wkh. jōi, Sgl. zē, Psht. žāi.

žōi Ysh, sh lake. — Khov. žōi irrigation-

channel (< Prs. jōy?) does not fit the meaning. Poss. < Av. zrayah-. žām Yzh, žū sh, žūg leather (for shoes), xām, Khov. γέυ. — \*jauka- < \*g'zeu- (a base theoretically expected in the loc. sg., etc.)? Cf. Skr. go-, Kalasha gao 'leather'?

žū-, v. čū.

žib-: žibi- Y to rise, juba R to stand, jibim awake. — ži'bām zh, 'əm r, g, 'žibām sh; imper. žib; pret. žibim; wos žibe tar ōyem now I rise and go. — \*jimp/b- to bend (upwards), v. W.P. I. 545??

žū'āb Yzh answer. — zo 'nā to ž' daltm. — Ar-Prs.

žaf-um: žaft-um Yzh, g to chew, masticate; to light a fire; žaf-um: žaft-um r to embrace, 'časpānum'. — žafum-ste Yg, yūra žaftam g 'āteša kardam'. — With žaf- cf. Prs. žāvelān to masticate, Psht. žōwul; žaf- may be a separate verb connected with Prs. žafsīdan (= čafs°, časp°) to stick, adhere. Then, again, there is žāf-: žēft Z, jēft LSIm to send, command.

\*jafā-, in vā lašino žafa-ū Yu put fire to the wood-pile. — Cf. žaf.

žift Yzh pair, LSIm united. — Prs.

žī'gar Mm, g, (g), t, Z, žō G, žiger B liver. — Prs. V. yē-ən.

žiga'rēn Ysh light brown. — Cf. Prs., Wkh. žigari.

žāya Yu place, spot. — da žāya šūi he came to a place; mo čā'min žāya from where is he? — Khov. (Ir. lw.).

žōy Y, žōy Mm cloak, female dress, žēy LSIm clothes. — žōy aydām; cf. \*stur žōyo.

žyūrg Z crop of a bird. — V. Z s.v. and cf. Prs. žāgar, jō; zāgar, 'ur.



*zu'yus kur'mo* Yg scorpion.  
*zə'hānd* Ysh, r, *jə'hānd* r, *jo'hōn* Mm.  
 (g), *ja°* Z, *jahān* B very, much. —  
*j°* *bilānd* Yr very high, *j°* *ādame*  
 many men; *z°* *sāl* sh many years;  
*j°* *rūpāyo* Mm many rupees. — From  
*Prs. jahān* world?  
*zu'kū* Yzh, sh, *ʔkū*, *ʔkū* Z whence? —  
*yo mayə zu'kū* tu *zu'kū* *ʔū'i*. — V.  
*ʔe* and *kū*.  
*jikyā* M(g) n. of a water-fowl. — Cf.  
*tingo*.  
*zīl* Yg blanket. — Khw. *ʔil*, Wkh., etc.  
*jil*. But *Prs. zīlū*, *zailū* a kind of  
 woollen blanket.  
*ʔilo* Yzh hail. — Possibly genuine, cf.  
*Prs. zālā* (v. AO. I, 286). V. *mōyiki*,  
*zālabārān*.  
*zālabārān* Mm hailstorm. — \**Prs.*  
*juāl'dūs* Yzh large packing-needle. — *Prs.*  
*jalay* Mm saddle-covering.  
*zime'z-im*: *zime'zī-m*, *zime'zī-m* Yzh to  
 pull up weeds.  
*žen* Yzh, sh, *ʔon* g, *jen* r bed. — Khw.  
*ʔen*.  
*ju'āna* Mm, *°ayo* g, (g), *juwe'na* Z male  
 calf, 1—2 years old. — Cf. Wkh.  
*ju'āna*, Sgl. *juwēdē*. \**Prs.*, cf. *Arm.*  
*yavanak* young of an animal.  
*zān'dār* Ysh animal. — *yo cis-mrn z°?*  
 — *Prs.*, cf. Khw. *zāndār* bird, Sgl.  
*ram*.  
*zūna'yē* Yzh, *°yo* r, *zu'no* sh, *zingyigo*  
 M(g), *ʔingyōyo* ti, *zungey* LSim small  
 boy. — \**a-jarnaka*, cf. *Psht. zənai*,  
*zənai?* But *z?*  
*zəna'yēri* Yzh giddy. — Khw.  
*žen'pālīko* Yzh foot of a bed.  
*zina'zo* Ysh bier. *Ar.-Prs. jināza*.  
*zang* Yzh, sh war, fight. — *zang kenēm*  
 = *dufām*. — *Prs.*

*ʔangal* Yzh, g, u (corr. by zh into *kyesina*),  
*°gal* sh, *jāngāl* r, *jaŋ'gul* Mm forest.  
 — *no ʔangalen ʔot* they went into  
 the forest. — *Prs.*  
*ʔiŋko* Yzh, *°ko* sh, r, *°go* g, p, *ʔiŋko*  
 Mm, *°a* g, *°ā* (g), *ʔin(k)a* Z woman.  
 — *jīŋko zomōn paidā kit* Yr the  
 woman bears a child; *ʔiŋko zāʔko*  
*ʔūi* zh; *ʔow loh ʔiŋkof avezdo* u he  
 brought the two women. — Av.  
*jaini* + *kā*.  
*ʔiŋkiko* Y, *°iga* Z woman, wife. — *ʔiŋkiko*  
*ʔiʔyo* sh the woman said; *ʔiŋkikē ʔiʔyo*.  
 — *Demin.* of *ʔiŋko*.  
*ʔaro* Yzh poison. — \**jaʔrā*, cf. *Prs.*  
*zahr*, and Khw. *ʔār* (from Ir., v.  
 BSOS, VIII, 680).  
*ʔa'ra-um* to bear, endure, Khw. *ʔirīman*.  
*ʔer* Yzh, u surrounding. — *ʔer niʔam*  
 zh I surround; *ʔistāri po fiz ʔer ʔut*  
 the stars surrounded his face. — Cf.  
 Khw. *jer* in a row?  
*ʔirabē* Yzh, *°a* g, *jurā'bo* r, *ʔerāb* sh  
 stockings. — *yū z°* zh. — *Prs. jurāb*,  
 and Khw. (lw.) *ʔarāb*.  
*ʔir'ly-əm*: *ʔir'yā-im* Yzh to scream, Khw.  
*ʔiryōik*. — Cf. *Prs. ʔayār* cry, clamour?  
 Khw. *ʔiryēik*, etc. from Y?  
*ʔir'mālē* (pl.) Yzh, *ʔilmāl* p kernel. —  
 Cf. Khw. *ʔol* kernel?  
*ʔor'ʔo* Yzh, *ʔor'ʔo* sh, g, r, *zar'ʔo* Mm,  
*zār'za* g, *ʔor'ʔo* B partridge; *ʔor'zo* B  
 bird. — \**zaričē*, cf. *Ishk. ujirj*, *Prs.*  
*zarič*, v. EVP. s.v. *zarka*.  
*jausa'rēn* Yzh, *ja'uʔē* sh at daybreak.  
*ʔiede'raus* Mm bat. — Cf. *ʔib* to rise,  
 (fly?) and *raūso* (s.v. *rūso*)? V. *bverz'ya*  
*rūso*, *ʔābparakilay*.  
*ju'wān* Yzh young; *ʔūwān* sh, *jewān* G  
 youth, young man. — *ʔūwān vto*;  
*ʔūwānen ʔito*, *lle nō ʔūwānn*. — *Prs.*

*ju'wāri* Yzh, r, °ē sh, *ju'ārō* g, *jo'wāri* Mm jowar. — Ind.

*zū'y-am*: *zū'yt-m* Yzh, sh, *zūy-im* r, *zū-um* g, *'zūy-am*: *zū'y-um* Mm, *'zūy-am*: *'zūy-am* t, *zūy*: *zūy* Z to sew. — *zūyūm* viś g plpf.; *zūya baś* sh 'ba dāxtan'. — \**uz(h)yū*, cf. Skr. *ut-syūta* sowed up?

\**zezi*, in *šota šezikan* Yr bamstring.

*ja'zir* Yzh ruin. — Khov. *jazir* ruin, from Ar.-Prs. *jasr* slaughtering, decreasing?

*za'firo* Yzh, *ja'jiro* p, *zāfiro* Mm, *'zajira* Z chain. — Y < Khov. *jan'jir* (cf. Shgh. *žinjil*, Sköld), M from Prs. *zanjir*.

### List of Names.

*Idāy*. v. *Yidg*.

*Iy'dak* Yr, *Iy'dāk* Mt, *Yu'y'dāk* m, (g) vill. in Munjan.

*Imir'dino* Yzh, *Imurjrn* u (Taj. form) vill. in Lutkoh. Khov. *Imirdin*.

*Undu'stān* Yr 'Hindustan'.

*Infigān* Yzh = *Idyef* 'the Yidgha speaking part of Lutkuh'; Sköld *Indijāni* = *Minjānt*(?) Taj. form of \**Indio*.

*Anju'mān* Ysh, °an r, *'Ajumāno* Mm the Anjuman Pass.

*Apč'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal (Bragamatal), Kati *Apsei*.

*Ar'cū* Y the Artsu Pass (leading from the top of the Lutkoh valley into the Bashgal valley).

*Oryo'čo* Ysh Orghuch in Chitral.

*'Iriko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Owirik.

*Ir'zōy* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Yorjogh.

*'Ajumāno*, v. *Anju'mān*.

*Ar'ziiko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Uraq* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Iskutul* Ysh, *'Skutul* u *Iskutul* in Sanglech.

*At'yato* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Khov. *U'yuti*.

*Ov'zizo* Yp n. of a place in Parabek (Lutkoh).

*Fuelm*, v. *Yu'waim*.

*Iš* Yzh, *Iš* u vill. in Bakhshir, Izh.

*'Išyar* Yu Shah-i-Sidim, at the foot of the Dorah Pass; acc. to zh *I°* is the name of the big rock (the 'Snake-stone'), not of the hot spring at Shah-i-Sidim.

*Badax'sān* Ysh, r *Badakhshan*; B° *yer* zh the Dorah Pass.

*'Bəyūšt* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Bogosht). < \**Ba'gašita*, cf. *Baxšir*?

*Burbu'nū* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Burbunu.

*Bre'yeyo* Yzh, *Bra°* u, *Bra'yayo* r Munjan. V. BSOS VI, 439 sqq.

*Bir'zin* Yzh, *By'zrn* u vill. in Lutkoh, Khov. *Bi'arzin* (< Ir. \**wyzana*?).

*Bāš'kār* Ysh Bashgal.

*Bax'sir* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Beahkar);

*Bax'sira Ta'you* zh 'the Bogosht (Bakhshir) valley joining the Lutkoh river at Izh'. Survey map Beahgar. Khov. *Baxšir* < \**Baya'sita*, v. *Bəyūšt*? (Cf. e.g. the relation between Khov. *šapt* and Wkh. *šapt* 'wolf'). V. *Təri Baxšir*.

*Čir'wul* Yu n. of a place near Droshp.

*Čitrəyo* Yzh, r, Mm Chitral. na, da *Čitrəyi* 'in, to Chitral' Ysh, *yū šī* *Čitrəyen* Mm 'a man from Chitral'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 sq.



- Da'yeyio* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Daghiri.  
*Dëam'bi* Yr, *Dëam'bëh* Mt, *Diam'bë* (g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Daggula'dore* Yzh clan in Gurti, Lutkoh.  
*Də'rā* Yr, *Du'rā* the Dorah Pass.  
*Drošp* Ysh, u vill. in Lutkoh.  
*Dra'wuso* Ysh Drosh in Chitral. na 'Drauso šqi.  
*Dəst-i-Būt* Ysh a place in Munjan, between Miliyeg and Shahr.  
*Dəst-i-Ru'bāt* Ysh a place in Sanglech.  
*Fə'rastufi* Mt a lake in Munjan, Frastof.  
*Go'ik* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gobik.  
*Gu'lyū* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gulugh.  
*'Gurtio* Yzh, u, *'Guṛti* g vill. in Lutkoh, Guṛti. Khw. *Guṛti* (*Guṛti*).  
*'Gistini* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Gistini.  
*Gorər'bar* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.  
*Gəvri'stən* Yr, *Gouri'stən* u, *Gauri'stən* sh Kafiristan. From Prs. *gabr* Zoroastrian, pagan.  
*Gəzan'dore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr and Imirdin in Lutkoh.  
*Ṭəlamandore* Yzh a clan in Burbunū in Lutkoh.  
*Gharmai* vill. on the Kokcha in Yamgān (acc. to the map India and Adjacent Countries, 37, C. 4). < \**γarm* hot.  
*Ṭəz* Yr, *Ṭəz* Mt, *Ṭəz* (g) vill. in Munjan, *Aiyāz* (acc. to M(g)).  
*Haidar'dore* Yzh clan in Gistini and Parabek in Lutkoh.  
*'(H)artəf* Yzh (obl. pl.) the Ozhor-valley in Chitral. Badakhshi *Hart*.  
*'Kūa* Yg 'the Kho tribe, the Khovar language'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 n.  
*'Kəbul* Ysh Kabul.  
*Ka'lā* Mt a vill. in Munjan; *Ka'la* Yr a vill. in Kuran, *Kalaomir*.  
*'Kale-i-Šo* Yr, *'Khala-i-Šo* M(g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Kām* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Kəm'diš* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Kandu'zala* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Kandoojal, Kundzar.  
*Kunji'kāf* Yu a mythical mountain, Koh-i-Kaf.  
*Kə'rən* Ysh, *Bəla-Kə'rən* r, *Krən* Mt a district in Munjan.  
*Katwā'ri* Ysh Ktiwi in Kafiristan.  
*Kv'lvam* Ysh Kulam in Kafiristan.  
*'Luliko* Yu vill. in Bashgal.  
*Ləzo* Mm vill. in Munjan (= Kala, Qalā?).  
*Maḡu'gāl* Yu vill. in Bashgal, Mandogal.  
*Mayna'wul* Ysh, Mt, *'wul* Yr vill. in Munjan, Vavilov *Megnul*. Cf. Av. *mayna-* naked?  
*Mili'yeg* Ysh vill. in Munjan, prob. = *Miāndeh*. — *mili* < *madya*; *yeg* for *-yāṣg* < \**kaḡaka-*, cf. Madhyā-kath (Barthold, Turkestan, p. 128)?  
*'Munio* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Khw. Manur. < \**Mānūtā*?  
*Miān'dəo* Yr, *Miān'dəa* Mt, *Miān'dia* (g), *Miāndeh* Mm vill. in Munjan.  
*Mon'ji*, pl. *Mon'jigi* Mm a man from Munjan; *Mon'ji rōi* the Munji language; *Mon'jiy* G Munjani.  
*Mon'jān* Mm Munjan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 439 sqq.  
*Mur'dān* Yu a place near Droshp.  
*Mə'rādore* Yzh clan in Birzin, Lutkoh.  
*'Māstiko* Yp n. of a woman.  
*Nəu* Yr, M(g), *Nau* t vill. in Munjan.  
*Narku'rata* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Nar Karet.  
*Pəç'xūgo* Yu a place in Lutkoh, *Garm Čišma*, Khw. *Pəç-nc*, 'Hot Springs'.  
*Pa'naū* Mt, *'Phanō* (g) vill. in Munjan.  
*Panj'sir* Ysh, *Pan'sir* r Panjshir.  
*Pə'rāyo* Mm Kafiristan. Cf. Sgl. *Parōy*.  
*'Pəruy* Ysh, *'Paroy* u vill. in Sanglech. Sgl. *'Pəroy*.

- <sup>1</sup>*Parāuko* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Kh. <sup>1</sup>*Parabek*.
- Per'kyān* Ta'gou Yzh the part of the Lutkoh valley inhabited by Yidghas.
- <sup>1</sup>*Pārsē* Yg Persian. — zo *P<sup>o</sup> vāzānm* I know Persian.
- Par'wos* Yr vill. in Kuran.
- <sup>1</sup>*Rūi* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Rui.
- Ru'bāt* Ysh, Mt, *Ru'bāt* Yr vill. in Kuran.
- Ru'bāt-i-Tang* Ysh vill. in Kuran.
- Ram'gvil* Ysh Ramgul in Kafiristan.
- <sup>1</sup>*Rāzer* Ysh, r vill. in Kuran. — Poss. fr. Av. *razura*-forest.
- Skar'zer* Ysh, <sup>1</sup>*Skōrzer* r vill. in Kuran. — \**Uska-Razer*? Cf. *Sar-Jāngūl*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Skwō* Ysh, *Sōk'vō* r vill. in Kuran, Survey Map Sekwao, Burhan-ud-Din Sekui.
- Sumbul'dore* Yzh a clan in Wart, Lutkoh.
- Su'māldore* Yzh a clan in Upper Zhitr, Lutkoh.
- <sup>1</sup>*Sānek* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sanik.
- <sup>1</sup>*Sang'lic* Yzh, *Sang'lic* r, u, *Sang'lic* sh, *Sang'lic* Mm Sanglech.
- Sarjag'gāl* Yr, Mm vill. in Munjan.
- Stō'yino* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sighin.
- Storft* Y the Struik Pass (Mil. Rep. Shifchik), near Dorah.
- <sup>1</sup>*Stur'lāmo* Yu vill. in Bashgal, *Bar-gramafal*, Khaw, *Lufdeh*, Prs. *Dek-i-Kalān*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Stufun* Y the Ustich Pass, near Dorah. Mil. Rep. Ustajn.
- Šud'gol* Yu vill. in Bashgal. Robertson Shidgol.
- Šoy'yo* Ysh, *Šuyoyo* Mt Shoghor in Chitral, Badakhshi *Šoyot*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Šāhar* Ysh, M(g), *Šār* Yr, *Šahr* Mt, *Šār-i-Munjān* (sh) vill. in Munjan.
- Šō-i-Pari* M(g) vill. in Munjan.
- Šāh-i-Si'dim* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, at the foot of the Dorah Pass.
- Šā'xān* Yp n. of a man.
- Šō'rōn* M(g) vill. in Munjan = *Šāhor* (cf. Burhan-ud-Din *Šaran*).
- Šī'xāidore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr, Lutkoh.
- Šē'xāmandore* Yzh a clan in Barbutū, Lutkoh.
- Šū'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal; Robertson Shui, Pshur.
- Ta'gōu* Ysh, r, *Ta'gōu-i-Mun'jān* Mt vill. in Munjan.
- Tuyakaf* Ysh, *Tuyokaf* r vill. in Kuran.
- Te'li* Ysh, *Tē'li* r, Mt, *Tr'li* Mti, *Thr'li* (g), also *Xu'li* ti (local form) vill. in Munjan. < \**(h)āḍad*, or a similar base.
- Tālaš* <sup>1</sup>*Mir* Yr Terich Mer in Chitral. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.
- <sup>1</sup>*Tuniko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Thonek Thunik.
- Tōri* *Bax'šir* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Turi Bashker.
- <sup>1</sup>*Tōrko* Yzh Turikho in Chitral.
- <sup>1</sup>*Wilū* Yr, Mt, (g), (sh) vill. in Munjan.
- Wulf* Ysh, r, M(g) vill. in Munjan. — Cf. Av. *vāθra*-flock, troop (cf. Pashai *sāṭha* 'village' < *sārtha*, etc.)?
- Wi'rān* Ysh, <sup>o</sup>*ān* r, <sup>1</sup>*Wiveno* Mg, <sup>o</sup>*āne* ti, <sup>o</sup>*ano* Yu "Veron", Prasan, *Pārūn*, in Kafiristan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.
- Wayt* Yzh, *Warto* p vill. in Lutkoh, Wharth.
- <sup>1</sup>*Wayo* Mt vill. in Munjan.
- <sup>1</sup>*Xūyiko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh. V. *xūyo*.
- Xolar'pāi* Ysh, *Xeloryāi* a pass between Munjan and Sanglech. — V. *xelāryo*.
- Yidg*, pl. *Yid'gi* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*Idy*, pl. *Idyē* Yu, Mti 'a man from Injigan'; *Idy* Yr, sh, *Id'yaf* zh, *Yid'yūn* Mm 'Injigān, the Yidgha-speaking part of



Lutkoh'; *Yed'ā* Yg, n, Mt, *Yid'gān*  
*rōi* Mm 'the Yidgha language'. —  
 Prob. Yidg < \**Hinduka*-. *Yed'ā* <  
 \**Hindukaka*-. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443;  
 and Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 894, n. 2  
 about T. *ānātkāk*. If this derivation  
 is correct, the Iranian settlement on  
 the south-eastern, "Indian", side of  
 the mountain-range must be of con-  
 siderable antiquity. Cf. § 14. — V.  
*Injigān*.

*Yuy'dāk*, v. *Iy'dek*.

*Ya'mak* Yr vill. in Kuran.

*Yakhserighar* pass between Upper Munjan  
 and Upper Bashgal (Survey Map). Cf.  
*lax'srē*, *yar*.

*Yu'icim* Ysh, *I'icim* r a side-valley of  
 Kuran. Survey Map *Yoim*.

*Zā'bāk* Ysh, *'Zāba* u Zebak.

*Zitik* the Zidig Pass, near Dorah.

*Žurm* Mm vill. in Badakhshan.

*Žitr* Yzh, *Žut'r* n vill. in Lutkoh, Jhitar.

SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI





## INTRODUCTION

1. The first information about Sanglechí was given by Shaw in the short Comparative Vocabulary appended to his article "On the Ghalchah Languages".<sup>1</sup> The 116 words collected by Munshí Faiz Bakhsh and transcribed by Shaw are not very correct,<sup>2</sup> but they have formed the sole base for our knowledge of this important dialect till now, and have been discussed by Tomaschek in his *Centralasiatische Studien* II,<sup>3</sup> and by Geiger in *GIPh*.

Of the adjoining and closely related, but slightly more persianized, dialects of Zebak and Ishkashim Sir George Grierson has given, as far as the material at his disposal permitted, excellent accounts in the *LSI* and in the separate publication "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami"<sup>4</sup> embodying the material collected by Sir Aurel Stein. These works have been my constant guides during the preparation of the present account of this dialect-group.

Finally Zarubin quotes a number of Ishk. words in his *Munji vocabulary*.<sup>5</sup>

2. The Ishk. and Sgl. material discussed in this volume was taken down in Chitral in May and June 1929 from visitors to the bazar of Chitral Town.

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, XLV, 134 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Note e.g. *yūr* (یور) "fuel" for \**yūz* (یوز); *zulūk* "tongue" for \**zuwūk*; *vurd* "brother" for \**erud*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *SWAW*, phil.-hist. Cl. XCVI.

<sup>4</sup> *R. A. S.*, Prize Publication Fund, Vol. V.

<sup>5</sup> *Cl.* above Y—M, § 1.



From Ishkashim I had two informants. They were, however, both of them so unsatisfactory for my purposes that I did only keep them on for a couple of sittings.

1. The first was a middle-aged man from Ishkashim (*Išk'āšrm*) Ishk. proper. His mother-tongue was Persian, but he said that his was the only one among the sixty houses in the village in which the local language was not used.<sup>1</sup> He professed, however, to know Ishkashmi, and most of the forms given by him agree fairly well with those known from other sources. In some cases of however, he probably did not know or remember the true Ishk. forms and gave Prs. ones instead.

2. The other was *Malak Muhammad*, a native of the Zebak Zb. district, but settled in Ishk. (*Škāšim*). He gave me a short list of words in the dialect of Zeb., which in the main appears to be correct. But there are some suspect forms and words in his list, (e.g. *wōl* "ear"; *nāyd* "night"; *mis* "nose"), and he certainly gave Prs. words in several cases where native Zeb. ones are still in use.

From the Sanglech valley I had five informants:

3 and 4. *Aziz Bēg* and his brother *Daulat Bēg* were natives of Sgl. p 1 the hamlet of Porogh. They were kind, and willing to do their Sgl. p 2 best, but even this was rather poor. Their pronunciation was rapid and slurred, many sounds disappearing more or less completely in connected speech. Perhaps this is a result of their dialect being used only within a very narrow circle of close relations and acquaintances, who are accustomed to each other's peculiarities of articulation.

It was also very hard work to get grammatical forms out of them, and they were utterly incapable of telling a story, or of giving any but the most disconnected and fragmentary accounts of happenings in their own village and similar subjects. I managed, however, to prepare a fairly extensive vocabulary during the few days they could be induced to remain in Chitral.

<sup>1</sup> But recruits from Ishk. and Zeb., whom I met at Kabul in 1924, denied the very existence of any separate language in their village. Cf. also Sköld, *Materialien*, p. 3.

5. Also *Laškar Bēg* came from Porogh. From his lips I took Sgl. p 3 down a short tale.

6. A fourth inhabitant of Porogh was *Gul Mahamad* from whom Sgl. p 4 I compiled a list of words.

7. *Āsūd* hailed from Iskitul, the village above Porogh. From Sgl. is him I compiled a vocabulary of his dialect, which presents various peculiarities of its own.

8. *Baxtaucār* was a quite intelligent young man from Sanglech Sgl. s proper, the uppermost village in the valley. Unfortunately I had only occasion to work with him during one short sitting, and all I could do was to write down a list of words.

9. The material collected by the late Dr. Sköld and incorporated Sk. into this work belongs to the Ishk. dialect. Nothing further is known to me about his informants.<sup>1</sup>

Ishk. or Sgl. forms given by a professed Wakhi from Wark are marked "Wkh." "Wkh."

Ishk. material quoted from Grierson is designed by Gr., and his Gr. Zeb. material by Gr. (Zb.). Quotations from Zarubin are marked Gr. (Zb) Zar., and from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (Shaw, Ghalehah Languages) Zar. MFB.

3. An account of the geography of the country in which Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is spoken is given by Grierson in the Introduction to his book on Ishkashmi.

Ishk. is spoken in and around the village of Ishkashim in Afghan territory at the Oxus bend. According to Stein it also extends to a few villages on the Russian side of the river,<sup>2</sup> and it will be seen below that it is possible that a mixed Wakhi-Ishkashmi dialect is spoken in Wark in Western Wakhan.

It is doubtful whether the subdialect called Zebaki is spoken at all in the market village of Zebak (*Izivük*) itself. My informants, both in 1924 and in 1929, all agreed that Prs. was the exclusive language of this place, and it is quite possible that they told the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Materialien, p. 3.—I have found no texts among his material.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Sköld it is used in Rind, and by half the population of Namadgut.



truth, and that Zeb. is spoken only in some of the surrounding villages. We know that the Zeb. material of the LSI comes from Bāzgir, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim, and it may be that my informant Zb. was a native of some village in the neighbourhood of Zebak.

Acc. to Grierson<sup>1</sup> Sanglechi (or perhaps Zebaki) is spoken also in the valley leading from Zebak to the Nuqsan Pass (the Deh-i-Gul) and in the valley of the Wardoj below Zebak. I have not been able to check these statements.

My informants told me that the true Sanglechi dialect is spoken in the villages of Porogh, Iskitul and Sanglech. Sgl.s. asserted that it was also spoken in Flakhmarik, but p4 denied this (statement).

Acc. to Burhan-ud-Din, Fareg (Porogh) possesses 8 houses, and Isketul' and Sanglič 15 each. But Vavilov,<sup>2</sup> who is no doubt a more reliable source, gives 40 houses for "Porx" (60 before the flood in 1923), and 30 for "Isketul'". The same author states that Isketul' lies 14—15 km. above Zebak at a height above the sea of about 2900 mètres, and that Porx is situated a little below Isketul' at a height of 2840 mètres. Sanglech, the uppermost village of the valley, is 20—22 km. above Isketul, and 3280 m.<sup>3</sup> above sea-level.

4. As observed already by Grierson,<sup>4</sup> Ishk., Zeb. and Sgl. "are all slightly varying forms of one and the same language, which we may call *Iškāšmī*".<sup>5</sup>

Ishk. is clearly distinguished from Sgl. in several respects. Thus, in a number of cases, Ishk. *ō* corresponds to Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ū* to Sgl. *ō* and Ishk. *a* to Sgl. *o*. Cerebral *ŋ* is not known to Ishk., and the use of *l* is more restricted than in Sgl., while on the other hand Ishk. usually has *t* < *ʃt*, corresponding to Sgl. *t*. Ir. *ð* in

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. pp. 108 sqq., and 517 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 519. But 3280 m., p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ishk. etc. p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Or, what I would prefer, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi.

some words apparently results in Ishk. *s*, but Sgl. *t*, and Sgl. *đ* has been dropped or replaced by *d* in Ishk. Other points of phonetical difference are restricted to individual words among the material available to me. Thus, e.g.: Ishk. *štok* "girl"; *šafūn* "comb"; *rēmuz(d)* "sun"; *kərčīn* "cock"; *rəšnī* "fire"; *pomec* "to dress"; *fak* "thee"; but Sgl. *aščāk*; *āfšūn*; *ōrmōzd*; *kurčūn*; *šanūi*; *pānec*; *tafak*, etc.

In the field of morphology, we may mention the absence of the accusative prefix *va* in Ishk., the differences in the inflexion of the pronouns and the verb substantive, the opposition between Ishk. (but also Sgl.s) 1st sg. *-m* and Sgl. p. is. *-n*, and the development of secondary preterites in Ishk.

As regards the vocabulary, Ishk., which on account of its geographical position is more exposed to foreign influences than Sgl., has given up a number of ancient words which are still in use in the latter dialect. Thus e.g. Ishk.: *yōzda* "11", *dwōzda* "12", *bīst* "20", *garm* "warm", *gardak* "neck", *šafēd* "white", *mātou*, *mā* "moon", *šab* "night", *lab* "lip"; but Sgl.: *kođos*, *diđus*, *wīšt*, *γōrm*, *γorōk*, *aspēd*, *wulmēk*, *fəršōu*, *rīvlav*, etc.

5. The variations recorded within Ishk. are most of them insignificant, consisting chiefly of slight oscillations in the quality or quantity of vowels. Thus, e.g., from my material: *muʔ* "fist", *wuluk* "flour", *kərčīn* "cock", *ōvd* "seven", *vʀrū* "brother"; Sköld: *mut*, *ūluk*, *wūlāk*, *kʀčīn*, *uud* *wrūd*, *wru*; Grierson: *mut*, *uluk*, *kurčīn*, *uud*, *wrūd*; Zarubin: *mot*, *wuluk*, — — —, (<sup>w</sup>)*ūvd*, *vʀrūd*.

It is impossible to decide how far such discrepancies are due to real difference of pronunciation of a local or individual nature. To a certain extent they are probably due to the "personal equation" of the recorder. But forms such as *fʀrēt* "asked", *aiuuld* "brought", *das* "ten", as compared with Sköld's *forast*, *avū(l)d*, *dah* and Grierson's *frut*, *avul*, *dah*, etc., point to the existence of certain variations within Ishk.

6. Zeb., as described by Grierson in LSI, resembles, perhaps, more Sgl. than Ishk. But it shares with Ishk. several characteristics.



Thus e.g.: *ō*, *d* for Sgl. *ā*; cf. also Voc. s.vv. *mēn* "apple", *štāk* "girl", *rəšni* "fire", *pumec* "to dress", *atayd* "entered", etc.

In a few cases the Zb. forms of the LSI agree with Sgl., but those given by my informant with Ishk. Cf. e.g.: *kərčīn* "fowl", *rēmōz* "sun", *tīnen* "thy". It is, however, doubtful whether we can rely much upon the forms given by Z, whose vocabulary was interspersed with Pra., Wkh., or simply incorrect forms. It is, of course, only natural that the villages of the Zebak district should form a transitional zone between Ishk. and Sgl.

7. Sgl. itself is not an altogether homogeneous dialect, but presents several variations in the three villages from which material is available. And even the forms given by the different informants hailing from Porogh are not always absolutely identical.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether there are many other places in the world where local linguistic division has been carried so far as among the inhabitants of the handful of houses in the Sanglech Valley hamlets.

Thus e.g. Sgl. p. has *wərvēs* "fox" (Ishk. *wurvēs* etc.), but Sgl. p. s. *wərvēs*; Sgl. p. *mokodok* "frog" (Ishk. *mukuduk*, etc.): is. s. *moydōk*; Sgl. p. *nəmē(δ)k* "salt" (Ishk. *namul'āk*, etc.): Sgl. is. s. *nəmēyδ*, etc.; Sgl. p. *wužinjāk* (Z *wužin'jak*) "woman": is. s. *wužin'jak*; Sgl. p. *kuł*, *kuδ* "did": is. s. *kuł*. Cf. also: Sgl. p. *xwār* "to eat": s. *xor*; Sgl. p. *wāl* "trousers": is. *wāl*; p. *rig/vlav* "lip": is. s. *ri'vlav*; p. *wəništ*, *wunižd* "turned round": Sgl. is. *wəniyd*, s. *wunižd*.

Sgl. p. 3 shows a specially pronounced tendency towards diphthongization of *ē*. Cf. e.g.: *t'ēym*, *m'ēl*, *d'ēr*, *r'ēyn*, etc. Sgl. p. and is. agree as against the uppermost village of the valley in the following words: *wužir'ir* "partridge"; *žānžək* "entrails"; *žan* "to kill"; *žənāi* "fire"; 1st sg. *-en*, 1st pl. *-em*; but s. *wužir'ir*; *žanžək*; *žan*; *rəšnāi* (cf. Ishk. Zb. *rəšni*, etc.); *-em*, *-en* (= Ishk., Zb.). Cf. also Sgl. p. *pōvd* "drank" (Ishk. *pəvd*): Sgl. s. *piδ*.

In some other cases it is Sgl. is. alone which differs as well from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the vacillation in the use of the personal endings *-əm* and *-en* (v. § 132), and in the preterital stems.

the villages below as from s. Most characteristic is the transition of *ž* to *γ* in *wəniγd* "turned round"; *wəydan* "millet" and *wəyduk* "long". We also find Sgl. is. *f<sup>2</sup>rōs-* "to ask" and *yəxōai* "sister" corresponding to p. s. *f<sup>2</sup>ras-*, *frūs-* and *ixwāi*, *xōai*. In Sgl. is. there is moreover a certain tendency to lengthen vowels, cf. Voc. e.g. s.vv.: *cām*, *kužuk*, *astamayzak*, *sað*, *jāndār*.

8. The situation is rendered still more complicated through the possibility of a dialect of the Sgl., not the Ishk. type, existing in western Wakhan. My informant from Wark in Lower Wakhan, not far from Ishkashim, professed to speak Wkh., but of the words given by him the majority was of Sgl.-Ishk., not of Wkh. origin.

Some of them are typical Ishk. words. Thus, e.g.: *pəšir* "cheek"; *mukuduk* "frog"; *vuks* "snake"; *k<sup>h</sup>rust* "bark"; *čuwīn* "apricot"; *rəxni* "fire"; *nic* "nose"; *posk* "hide"; *dkik* "egg"; *ōzik* "tear"; *čōm* "eye"; *zōl* "yellow"; and others with *ā*, *ō* corresponding to Sgl. *ā*. But more often the Wark forms agree with Sgl. Thus e.g.: *ōrmōzd* "sun"; *b<sup>h</sup>reš* "birch"; *fōrxa* "night"; *fīsē* "nose"; *γic* "coal" (Sgl. *žic*, I *zic*); *γōruk* "neck"; *kiskūd* "roof"; *məryök* "sparrow"; *hari* "work"; *puðf* "meat"; *sūi* "hare"; *spēð* "white"; *šau* "horn"; *xūi* "black"; *tiwde* "burnt" (Sgl. *təv*, Ishk. *sav*); *wuyden* "millet"; *wulmē* "moon"; *wužeržer* "partridge", etc., etc. Cf. also *kenen* "I do" and *tʃak* "thee". "Wkh." of Wark employs the fricative *ð*, and it changes *ž* into *γ* (besides *š* into *x*, *š*), just as is the case in Sgl. is. Note also *fəryəmē* "kid", which looks like an archaic form of Sgl. *fəryəm*, and the curious (hybrid?) form *hibð* "7".

It is, of course, quite conceivable that Wkh. of Wark is no genuine dialect at all, but only a mixture of Wkh., Sgl. and Ishk. forms made up by one who did not know any of these languages properly. But each of the theoretically possible explanations present difficulties of its own, and it would be quite idle without further knowledge to enter upon speculations about the possibility of a mixed dialect being spoken in the border villages of Ishkashim and



Wakhan.<sup>1</sup> The question is not, however, devoid of a more general interest and ought to be investigated on the spot.

9. On the whole Ishk.—Sgl. is, however, a well defined dialect group, which is clearly distinguished from all its Ir. neighbours in the Pamir. Especially Ishk. in its vocabulary frequently presents points of resemblance with Wkh. But this may be due just as much to recent contact as to any special, inherited relationship.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said about the lexical accordances with Yd.—Mj.

A survey of the historical phonology and morphology of Sgl.—Ishk. will show the originality of this dialect-group on several points, but also its connection with the rest of the Pamir dialects.

The general appearance of the language, phonetically and morphologically, is less aberrant from the Ir. normal than that of other Pamir dialects. This is probably due to its geographical position on, or close to, the ancient trade route from Faizabad to the Dorah Pass.

We do not know anything about the ancient history of the small Sgl.—Ishk. (speaking) communities.<sup>3</sup> But nothing prevents us from believing that it has developed during a very long period in the districts where it is now spoken. It is likely that it once extended further down the Kokcha Valley, bordering somewhere upon Saraghlani.

The future of Sgl.—Ishk. is probably more immediately threatened than that of Wkh., Yd.—Mj. and the Shgh. group, both on account of the small number of speakers and through the proximity of and comparatively easy access to the central, Persian-speaking parts of Badakhshan.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Sköld, p. 2 sq., Namatgut, just below Wark but on the Russian bank of the river, is half Wkh. and half Ishk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, *st* > *t*, *f* in both dialects, and e.g. *pær* 'to drink'.

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld's identification of Paikuli *szwlsn*, *szwlsn* with Sanglech (AIM; VII; p. 68) is not convincing.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

10. Any attempt to determine the exact phonetic value of all the sounds of the different dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. without a prolonged study of the language can, of course, only be quite provisional, and in a still higher degree this applies to the construction of the phonological system. About the phonology of Ishk. I do not venture to make any assertions.

### *Consonants.*

11.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>ʈ, ɖ</i>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>		<i>č, ǰ</i>			<i>h</i>
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>				<i>x, ɣ</i>		
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>ʃ, ʒ</i>	<i>š, [ž]<sup>1</sup></i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>(ŋ)<sup>2</sup></i>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

The consonant system of Sgl. appears to be based upon the following correlations:

<sup>1</sup> *ž* is probably a variant of *ǰ*, v. below.

<sup>2</sup> *ŋ* is a variant of *n* appearing before velars, and not a separate phoneme. When appearing alone it is probably a variant of *ng*.



1. Voiced: *b, d, ḍ, g, ḡ, v,*<sup>1</sup> *γ, z, (ž) ž.*

Surd: *p, t, ṭ, k, ṡ, f, x, s, š š.*

The surd sounds *c, q* and possibly *š* have no voiced counterparts.

2. Plosive: *p, b, k, g.*

Fricative: *f, v, x, γ.*

3. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ, ḍ.*

Sibilant: *s, z, š, ž.*

4. Oral: *b, d, ḍ, g.*

Nasal: *m, n, ŋ, (ŋ).*

5) Plosive: *d, ḍ,* or, perhaps, Nasal: *n, ŋ.*

Lateral: *l, ḷ,* Lateral: *l, ḷ.*

6. Labial: *p, b, m f, v*

Dental: *t, d, n s, z*

Retroflex: *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ š, ž*

Palatal: *č, ĵ*

Velar: *k, g, (ŋ) x, γ*

12. The uvular *q*, the glottal *h*, and besides *r* and *w, y* are disjunct phonemes.

Of the above sounds *q, h, ḍ, b, g* (except in sandhi for *k*) and possibly *č* are found only in loan-words.

Aspiration of surd stops, especially of *p*, is heard, possibly more markedly in Ishk. than in Sgl.

While *ŋ* is a variant of *n*, the cerebral *ṇ* must be considered as a separate phoneme, when it occurs unconditioned by a following *l* or *ḷ*.

13. *Labials:* *f* and *v* are labio-dentals.<sup>2</sup> Sk. does not always distinguish between *v* and *w*.

*Dentals:* In Sgl. postvocalic *d* is usually sounded as a *ḍ*. Sgl. p 1 frequently pronounced <sup>o</sup>*ḍ*, while p 2's *ḍ* approached, and often was mistaken for, *l* (e.g. in *šilök* = *šidök* 'become'; *kolos* = *koḍos* '11'; *Iskitūd* = <sup>o</sup>*ūl*). Also Sk. gives *ḍ* in a few words. Note *ḍ > ṇ* in p 2 *dān-pəḍf*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below regarding *v*.

<sup>2</sup> Bilabial *ɸ* was, however, noted in *əpür* '4'.

*t* and *d* are nearly, and *ð* quite inter-dental. *r* is alveolar, and in some cases it is pronounced even further back. In a few words Sk. writes *rd* for *rd*, cf. the similar tendency in Psht, Bal. and other Ir. dialects of the East. Postvocalic *n* is sometimes retracted towards the position of *ŋ*.

*Palatals*: It is possible that *j* and *ɟ* are distinguished in initial position, *j* being used in some loan-words in preference to *ɟ*. But in postvocalic position *ɟ* is used always, or nearly always.

From the phonetic point of view initial *y* is a fricative, not a semi-vowel. But it forms a pair with *w*.

*Cerebrals*: *ʃ* and *ʈ* are really post-alveolars. In genuine Sgl. words *ʃ* easily becomes *t*. *ʃ* and *ʈ* are usually readily distinguishable from *ʃ* and *ʈ* in Sgl., but perhaps not in Ishk. Note Sgl. is  $\text{ʃ} > \gamma$ .<sup>1</sup>

*l* is not always clearly distinguished from *l*. It has no flap, and is articulated with the tongue in a more advanced position than Psht. *r*. Regarding the situation in Ishk., cf. § 4.

*Uvulars*: It is doubtful whether *q* is always distinguished from *k* in ordinary, careless pronunciation, and whether it is felt to be a foreign sound. But I always heard *qiv* 'to call'. Sk. and Gr. give *q* in several Ishk. words.

14. There seems to be no gemination of consonants in Sgl. But Sk. has noted geminates in several Ishk. past stems and also e.g. in *albatt*, *ɣalla*, *kull*, etc.

Final consonants are articulated weakly and sometimes disappear. Thus, e.g.: *tā(t)* *bē* 'to the father'; *Izivū(k)* *bē* 'to Zebak'; *xā(n)* 'house'; *nīlostō(k)* 'is sitting'; *mə'miš xā* 'rō-tana = *ma* 'miš *xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in our house'; *ko* = *kuð* 'did', etc. Note also the sandhi in *awā dūð* = *awā dūð*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7.



## Groups of Consonants.

15. Through borrowing from Prs., recent elision of vowels, composition, suffigation and analogical formation of past stems in *t* nearly every kind of consonant group have found their way into Sgl.

Those appearing only in compounds (e.g. *af-mahā*, *am-dak*, *dān-pəθf*, *γōb-naduk*, *γam-gīn*, *juwēdn-maydī*, *tōk-sari*, *wəl-vōš*, *xōn-bərš*, etc.) are not on a line with groups occurring in uncompounded words. Also before recent suffixes we find unusual combinations (e.g. *ifč*).

Through elision there arise—especially in Sköld's material—groups such as *əšcāk*, *ēpōšt*, *jnūb*, *psād*, *pxōk*, *pšaimāni*, etc. Cf. also *fsək*: *fūsek*; *pšūr*: *pəšūr*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such combinations are probably not true, 'phonological' groups. More doubtful is the case of *kr*-, *pr*-, etc., e.g. in Sk. *krüst*: Sgl. *ko'rost*.—In secondary preterites the combination of any consonant with *t* or *d* seems to be possible. Thus, e.g.: *kimd*, *kurt*, *šext*, *Prəft*, *talapt*, *žēbt*, *spārō*, *āwuld*, etc.

In words of Sgl. origin the more important groups of consonants are: *dk* (*nəmedk*), *df* (*pəθf*, etc.), *dm* (*xōd/dm*), *vd/δ* (*passim*), *vz* (*ōvzū*), *vr* (*v<sup>(r)</sup>r*), *xs*, *xš*, *γ<sup>(r)</sup>n*, *γ<sup>(r)</sup>m*, *γd/δ*, *fš*, *fər*, *st*, *sk*, *sp*, *št*, *šk*, *šp*, *zd*, *z<sup>(r)</sup>n*, *žd*, *žd*, *rv(δ)*, *rk*, *rg*, *rx*, *ry*, *rf*, *rs*(?), *rš*, *rz*, *rn*, *rv*, *lm*, *lk*, *nd*, *n*, *nz*, *ng*, *mb*.

In initial position we find: *b<sup>(r)</sup>r*-, *d<sup>(r)</sup>r*-, *f<sup>(r)</sup>r*-, [*fl*], *t<sup>(r)</sup>r*-, *v<sup>(r)</sup>r*-, *xr*-, *xw*-, *z<sup>(r)</sup>n*-, (*r*)*sk*, (*r*)*st*-, etc.

## Vowels.

16. As far as I have been able to make out, Sgl. possesses the following vowel phonemes: *ā*, *ē*, *i*, *ū*, *ō* and, possibly, *ə*.

*ā* is usually palatal [*a*].

*e* is most frequently a comparatively low [*ɛ*], but *e* tends to be raised into [*ɛ̄*] and is sometimes diphthongized into [*ɛ̄ɪ*].<sup>2</sup>

*i* is usually open [*ɪ*] and may even approach the position of [*ī*], [*ɔ̄*] or [*ə*].

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. x.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 7.

Similarly *u* [ʊ] frequently merges into the neutral vowel [ə], or even into [ɐ].

It is impossible without further investigations to determine, in all cases, the phonological value of [ə], [ɐ], [ʊ], etc. These sounds vary with the speaker, and there appears to be some vacillation even in the speech of a single individual. Cf. e.g.: Sgl. p 1 *yrr* 'stone'; *šət* 'dust'; *mut* 'fist'; *yex* 'ice'; p 2 *yir*, *šit*, *mət*, *yəx*; p 3 *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yəx*; is *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yəx*. Some of these variations may be due to the influence of surrounding consonants, others are perhaps merely the result of inexact notation.

An overshort svarabhakti or prothetic vowel appears e.g. in *b(ʰ)rūt* 'stone', etc.

Sgl. *ō* is usually articulated near the cardinal point, or a little lower. It shows, however, a tendency to move slightly forward towards the mixed vowels [ɔ].

Diphthongs are *ou* [ɔu, ɔu, ɔu, ɔ:u], *oi* and *ai*. They are, however, probably to be considered as combinations of two sounds *a* + *y*, etc.

17. Although there can scarcely be any doubt that vowel length is of phonological significance, secondary lengthening of stressed short vowels and abbreviation of unstressed long ones appear to be quite frequent. The problems raised by these apparently conflicting facts are not peculiar to Sgl. and will need a special study, which takes into consideration the conditions in a great number of modern Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y—M § 35.



## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

18. Initial *k*, *t*, *p* remain unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *kādi* 'when'; *kīf* *k*, *t*, *p* 'hump'; *kas* 'to see'; *tu* 'thou'; *tovōr* 'axe'; *t'ēym* 'seed'; *pōi* 'sour milk'; *pū* 'to become rotten'; *pac* 'to cook'; *pədf* 'meat', etc., etc., v. Voc. s.v.

Acc. to Grierson, § 21,<sup>1</sup> an initial surd is sometimes changed into a fricative. Of the two examples given *xafuk* 'foam' has *x* in all neighbouring dialects, while *fēi* 'shovel' has original *f*, cf. *fūk* 'shoulder-blade'.<sup>2</sup> *Ishk. sav/w* 'to burn' (Sgl. *tər*) is probably derived from a form in *θ*, cf. Wkh. *θāw* and v. § 37.

*de* 'a particle denoting existence' and *dunda* 'so much' probably have *d* < *t* in unstressed position. Cf. Psht. *de* encl. pron. 2 sg. < \**tai*, etc.

19. Ancient *č* regularly becomes *c*, just as in Y—M and Wkh. Thus: *č* *ce* 'what'; *čəmənd* 'how many'; *čə'mōk* 'winking'; *čərx* 'spinning wheel' (but *čərx* borr. from, or influenced by Prs.). The majority of words in *č* are lw.s. Thus, e.g.: *čəl* 'forty'; *čišmē* 'a spring'; *čəf* 'small'; *čūl* 'penis'; *čūwēl* 'apricot' (Gr. *cuēnd*); *čudan* 'cooking-pot'; *čəl Z* 'multicoloured' is prob. borrowed from Shgh. *čūž* (Sar. *čiel*) with *č* regularly from *k*, cf. M *kaš*, Yazgh. *kāw*. *čūt* 'she-goat' may be somehow connected with Werchikwar *čūt*, and also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Geiger, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> V. Wkh.

*čumól* 'basket' appears to be a migratory word. The origin of *čōv* 'little' and *čos* 'fart' is unknown.

As there is no other certain instance of *č* in any other genuine Sgl. word than *čām* 'eye' (poss. with *č* from Prs.) it seems probable that also *čen-*: *čid* 'to pick' is a Prs. lw. Reg. *čiš* 'urine' v. Voc. s.v.

### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

20. In the *-ka-* suffix, *-k-* is retained unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *ostok* *-k-* 'bone', *ust'ruk* 'star'; *wok* 'one'; *durk* 'wood', and reduplicated in *worokok* 'lamb'; *ākik* 'egg'. I heard *g* in *kirūg* 'plough', and once in *yorōg* 'neck'. These are probably sandhi forms. Also *wulāki* 'first' and *wulyēka* 'alone' contain the *ka-* suffix.

Other instances of intervocalic *-k-* in genuine words are not available. *kodos* 'eleven' < \**aicakadasa* has lost its initial syllables irregularly in unstressed position. In (*o*)*kōvd* 'boot' it is very doubtful whether the initial vowel is ancient. *vōkōlīn* 'the day before yesterday'; *lākīn* 'belt', and *čukān* 'a kind of dye' are of unknown origin, and *pakōl* 'cap', *bakəl*, *bakēṇḍi* 'calf', and *čuk-* 'to beat' are lws.

On the whole it seems probable that the retention of *-k-* is phonetically regular, cf. the parallel development in Orm.<sup>1</sup> and Y—M.<sup>2</sup> *šajor* 'hedgehog' is certainly a lw., and in *moyḍok* (*mokodok*) 'frog' and *nāmēyḍ* (*nāmēḍk*) 'salt' *y* is due to assimilation with *ḍ*.

21. Intervocalic *-t-* regularly results in Sgl. *-ḍ-*, thus coalescing with original *-d-*. Examples of *-t-* are: *oyḍ* 'came'; *aḍ(a)*, *iḍ* 'that'; *diḍ* 'smoke', *dūḍ* 'gave', *kuḍum* 'which'; *kuḍ* 'dog'; *kiskūḍ* 'roof'; *kōvīḍ* 'pigeon'; *numōḍ* 'felt'; *pīḍ* 'drank'; *spēḍ* 'white'; *šīḍ* 'went'; *xudāri* 'watermill'; *zēmūḍ* 'son-in-law'; *zənūḍ* 'washed'; *žōḍ* 'killed', etc. In *saḍ* '100'; *aštāḍ* '80'; *amēḍ* 'hope'; *māḍar* 'mother', etc., *ḍ* has been substituted for Prs. *d*. *Čatrdḍ* 'Chitral' has probably been borrowed from a form in *-ḍ*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HFL, I, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> With *-t-*, *-p-* > *-y-*, *-v-*, but *-k-* > *-g-*. Cf. Y—M §§ 45 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.



In Ishk. we in most cases find *d* corresponding to Sgl. *ḍ*. Thus: *ḍyad*; *dīd* (*dūd*)<sup>1</sup> 'smoke'; *dūd* 'gave'; *kudum*; *k'ud*, *kaskūd*; *kovid*; *vorūd* Zar.; *xōdōri*; *zenūd*; *ḡad*. Cf. also *wēd* 'willow'; *dēd* 'fight', etc.

22. Ishk. *d* does not represent a stage of development intermediate between *t* and Sgl. *ḍ*, but is due to the influence of Prs., which is much stronger in Ishk. and Zeb. than in Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the possible Prs. influence on initial *d*, cf. § 29.

Apart from the intrinsic probability of this explanation we also have evidence of the previous existence of *ḍ* in Ishk. Thus Wkh. *kowid* 'pigeon' must have been borrowed from Ishk. and not from the more remote Sgl.; *krič* Gr. 'hut' is derived from *\*k(a)ḍič* = Wkh. *ktič*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *pərnīč* 'threshold' < *\*paḍ(a)nič*. (Orosh. *paḍin* < *\*paḍani-*) and *prēšt* Gr. 'wrist' < *\*p(a)rḍēšt* (Sar. *pardūst*). Also Ishk. *xōdm* 'dream': Sgl. *xōdm* proves a secondary change of *ḍ* to *d*.

In Sgl. *pədit* 'kindled', *wuḍit* (-*d* Zar.) 'span' the sequence *\*ḍ-ḍ* has been dissimilated into *ḍ-d* (-*t*).<sup>4</sup> But notice *pārdūd* 'sold' (*pārḍē-*), which has been influenced by the uncompounded form *dūd* and other preterites. *dūd* 'gave' shows that the initial voiced stop is at any rate older than the dissimilation *ḍ-ḍ* > *ḍ-d*. In Sgl. *wuḍəγḍ* 'daughter' (Ishk. *wudugḍ*) the intervening *γ* has prevented the dissimilation.

23. A further reduction of *-ḍ-* has taken place in the unstressed suffix pres. 3 sg. *-ū*, *-ō*<sup>5</sup> in *ko* = *kuḍ* 'did', and in *šiān* < *ḡiḍān* 'they became', *ḡuō* = *ḡuḍōk* (and *ḡilōk* = *ḡiḍōk*). Cf. also *tə-vō* = *tə-ḍ/dō* 'thou art'. In Ishk. the reduction takes place even in some stressed words, e.g. in *vorū*, *wru* (and *vrūd*) 'brother', *xū(d)ōri* Sk. 'water-mill', cf. *pū* 'foot' < *pāda*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr. *dit*, with invoicing of final *d*, not with retention of original *t* (Grierson § 22). Cf. also *pədit* 'kindled'; *wuḍit/d* 'span'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *kurič*, *kurtz*, etc. 'hut, protecting roof' might perhaps be a dialect form related to the Ishk. word. Cf. Prs. lex. *γōl* 'ear', which is an Ishk. form.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y-M, §§ 52, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Once I heard *isyūd* 'may he come'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 14.

In *rēčik* Gr. 'entrails' *č* has been elided before *-čik*.

As is the case in other Ir. dialects the prefix *pati* has been reduced to *pə*, etc., e.g. in *pəneč*, *pəneč* 'to dress'; *pəčīn* 'to light a fire'; *pəzīn* 'to recognize'; *pə* 'with, on'. Cf. *potūn* 'thigh' < \**pat-tōn*, or \**pat-tōn* < *paitištāna*.

Reg. p 3 *č* > *l* v. § 13.

24. The preservation common to most Ir. dialects, of *t* in *wišt* 'twenty' is due to early syncope. Cf. also *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge'<sup>1</sup> < \**ētk*, or \**ēdk* < \**haituka*, and v. Voc. s.vv. *wōtuk* 'feast'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'.—*vəžduk* 'high' is derived from \**bṛzataka*.

*atīy*: *atuyd* Zar. 'to enter' (Sgl. *axtəč*, with metathesis) may have got its *t* from a form corresponding to Sogd. *tys*: *tyt*. *it* 'arrived'<sup>2</sup> (*ič*) goes back to a secondary past stem \**it-t*, cf. Or. *yat(t)* (from *yad*) and the numerous Wkh. preterites in *-tt*.

Regarding *zōt* 'son' and 'water' ashes, cf. § 37. Final *-t* is found in lws, corresponding to Prs. *-d/-t*.

25. Ancient *-p* shares the fate of *-t* and results in a voiced fricative. *-p* As *-v* is a sound which is not foreign to Prs., it remains also in Ishk.

Thus, e.g. *kōrič* 'pigeon'; *təv* 'to burn'; *toṽor* 'axe'; *vərvēs*, etc. 'fox'; *vīn* 'beard' (< \**upāna*); *vēk* 'water'; *va* a particle denoting the acc. (< *upa*); *rīv* (*-lav*) 'lip'; *yīc*, *yev* 'to spin'. Cf. also *ōvzui* 'heart' (v. Voc.) and *Izīvūk* 'Zebak'. *šab* Gr. 'night' is a lw., but *fəršōu* may be derived from \**fra-xšapā*, with secondary change of *-ōv* > *-ōu*. The etymologies of *kōvōk* 'weeding'; *šoval*, *šāval* 'road'; *šāvi* 'shirt', and *nīv* 'to bring' are unknown.

*kapāl* Gr. 'skull' is a lw. But *api* 'to be lost'; *apanis* 'to lose'; *apaxš* 'to hear'; *apēūn* 'windowing fork' suggest the possibility of pretonic *-p* remaining unweakened (cf. *atīy*, § 24), an unstressed vowel having less assimilation force than a stressed one.

26. The regular outcome of *-č* is *-c* as in Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The affricate *-č*

<sup>1</sup> Yaghn. *itk*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 26.

<sup>3</sup> But note Sk. *pīṛ* 'to boil'.



evidently had greater power of resistance than *t* and *p*.<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *pac* 'to cook'; *ıurcün* 'smoke-hole'; *cə* 'from';<sup>2</sup> *koci* 'anybody'; *pənce*, *punce* 'to dress'. The ancient suffix *-či* appears in *erīc* 'eyebrow'; *šec* 'female'; *nīc* 'nose'; *ıwōrc* 'quail'; *ıwānīc* 'female calf'; *žic* 'coal'; *foe* 'mouth' (?). Cf. also *dēc(āk)* 'skin-bag': Wkh. *đeck*; *māreik* 'ant': Orm. *marcōi*, etc.; *wəcərīn* 'three days ago' (?) < \**upa-čadrūma*?. *wuc* Zar. 'to find room'; *vuc* Gr. 'uncle' and *koc* 'to copulate' are of unknown origin.

A differentiation has taken place in *ʔstən* 'needle' (< \**š(u)čən*) and in Ishk. *stok* 'girl', Sgl. *šecāk* (< \**šičak* < \**striči* + *akā*).

A suffix *-č*, which occurs in *īfē* 'spindle'; *krič* 'hut'; *pərnīč* 'threshold'; *ıwūč* Gr. 'moth'; *walč* 'rafter'; *yarč* 'avalanche'; *yēča* 'nest', and, with sonorization, in *xinj* 'whey'; *jānj* 'woman' and possibly in *lānžək*, etc. 'entrails'. It might, of course, be borrowed from some unknown dialect, but a more probable derivation is from the genitive \**čyāh*, cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 25. Cf. also *mič*, *mōč* 'us', § 111.

Gauthiot, MSL, 20, p. 70, derives *kərčīn* (*kurčün*) 'fowl' < \**kark'in*. More probably it contains a suffix *-čün* (< \**čyāna*?) cf. *pəčün* 'bullet'. Note Sgl. *pečuk*, but Ishk. *pučuk* 'worm'.

### Initial Voiced Stops and Affricates.

27. Ir. *g-* is represented by Sgl.—Ishk. *γ*. Thus, e.g. *γōl* 'ear'; *γōndəm* *g-* 'wheat'; *γenōk* 'hair'; *γōrm* 'hot', etc.—*γərdāv*, *g<sup>o</sup>* 'whirlpool' and *γort-* 'to wander about' are of Prs. origin, but have been adapted to Sgl. phonology. Reg. *ıyūi* 'cow', cf. § 92. Before *i* ancient *g-* has become *y-* in *yrr*, *γər* 'stone'; *yıw-* 'to spin' (Y *γī(w)*); *yırdōk* 'thread'. *yōz* 'firewood' is probably borrowed from Wkh. *žūz*, with substitution of *y-* for the foreign sound *ž*.
28. Also Ir. *b-* results in a voiced fricative. Thus, e.g.: *ıwəð* 'was'; *b- vānd-* 'to bind'; *vūr* 'burden'; *ıwəš* 'rope'; *ıwəz* 'goat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parachi *-č*, IIFL, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> But Sk. *čpāst* 'behind'.

Most words beginning with *b-* are borrowed, from Prs. or from IA., but some are of unknown origin.

29. Sgl.—Ishk. has no initial *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this sound has *d*- never existed in the language, but it seems more probable that Sgl.—Ishk. at one time had *ḍ*- in accordance with other E.Ir. languages, and that the voiced stop has been substituted for the fricative through Prs. influence. Cf. Voc. s.v. *ṣōḍx* 'goat's hair' < \**ḍōṣx* (?).

Examples of *d-* are e.g.: *dōu* 'two'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *dir* 'far'; *dūr* 'sickle', etc., etc. Sgl. *wudayd* 'daughter' either goes back to \**hudyā*, or to a form with early prothetic vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*lēu* Sk. 'idiot', Gr. 'night-mare'; *leu*, *lēv* Gr. 'stupid' are of Mj. origin. Reg. *tēu* 'brother-in-law' v. Voc. s.v.

30. Ancient *j-* results in *ž-*, *j-*. Thus: *žan-*, *jan-* 'to kill'; *žōn*, *jōn* *j-* 'woman';<sup>3</sup> *žəšt* 'big' (if = Skr. *jyēṣṭha*). *jih-* 'to flee' is probably a Prs. lw.—*ža* 'before'; *žūōk* 'male markhor' (*ž-* ?); *žānžək* 'entrails'; *žwondok* 'hungry' are of unknown or uncertain origin.

The variant *j* for *ž* is probably due to Prs. influence. Ancient *j* became *ž* too early to be dentalized into *j̄*.<sup>4</sup> Gr. gives *j* in a few words, chiefly lw.s, corresponding to Zeb., Sgl. *j*. Thus, e.g. *jā* 'place', *jubār* 'canal'.

#### Intervocalic Voiced Stops and Affricates.

31. Ancient *-γ-* (*-g-*) is retained. Thus *oyod* 'came';<sup>5</sup> *yəy*, *fəryay* 'yoke'; *-g-əūy* 'raven', and, possibly, *Pōroy* 'n. of a village'; *Parōy* 'Kafir'.

Palatalization takes place after \**ai* in *mōi* 'cloud' and after *r* (in secondary contact) in *fəryom* 'kid'. In *fəryort-* 'to wander about' the association with *γort-* has apparently prevented this development.

<sup>1</sup> Zar.'s *ḍec* = *dēc(āk)* 'goatskin' is scarcely correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *wužinjak* 'woman' with \**hu-*, or prothetic vowel.

<sup>4</sup> But Psht. *j* > *j̄*, *j̄* > *-ž-* (*-č* > *-j̄*).

<sup>5</sup> But Sgl. *čyžd*, Ishk. *dgad* 'brought' (*Hīm*).



*arək* 'eructation' is borrowed from Prs. *ārōg* = *ārōy*.

32. We find Sgl. *-d-* in *mēd* 'waist'; *mōd* 'here'; *wōd* 'there'; *nīd-* 'to sit down'; *pūd* 'foot'; *kādi* 'when'; *kōdos* (*kolos*) 'eleven'; *wūdīd* 'span'; *zīd-* 'to flow'; *pādīn-* 'to kindle'; *iđ-* 'to arrive' (Orosh. *yad-*); *par-dē-* 'to sell'.

Ishk. has *-d-* in *mēd*, etc. Note *pīl*, but Zeb., Zar. *pūd*. As to *ma* 'in', see § 107 a. *xair* 'perspiration', given by Gr., is not supported by other sources.

*uštīn* 'hay-stack' is derived from *\*wūš-dān* < *\*wāstra-dāna-*, and *wotuk* 'feast' possibly < *\*waduka-*.

As to the special treatment of *-d-* in *pərnič* 'threshold'; *prēšt* 'wrist', cf. § 22.

33. Ancient *-b-* occurs as *-v-* in *pōv-* 'to drink'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *xav-* *-b-* 'to descend'; possibly also in *rūv* 'rhubarb'; *γōv* 'cornbin'. Reg. *āwīr-*, *awīr-* 'to find', v. Voc. s.v.

The obl. pl. in *-əf* is derived through *\*əv* from *\*abiš*.

We find *ž* < *ǰ* in *žwondok* 'hungry', if < *\*aǰwantaka-*.

34. The derivation of *ižim-* 'to bring (a thing)' is not certain, *-j-* but it is probable that the word contains ancient *j-*.—*γēž-* 'to say'; *pīžīn* 'clay-pot for milk'; *rižuk* 'male kid', *wūžī(r)īr* 'partridge' are of more or less uncertain origin.—*b'rež* 'birch' is borr. from IA.

### Cerebrals.

35. In words of Ir. origin we find, at any rate with some speakers of Sgl.—Ishk., cerebrals developed from *-š-*, *-št-*, *-rt/d* and *-rn.*<sup>1</sup> As to *rd* for *rd* v. § 13.

Sgl. *čəf* 'small'; *kuʃ* 'short'; *māṇḍ-* 'to rub'; *bakəṇḍī* 'calf'; *naʃ* 'play'; *kuṇḍār* 'destroyed' are probably IA lw.s. In *həf* 'open' (cf. *hafe* 'loosened'); *bēfāk* 'sheep-skin coat'; *šōf-i-pədf* 'calf of the leg'; *xaməṇḍək* 'tick'; *paʃək* (Sk. *pātūk*) 'lentils' the origin of the cerebrals is unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 41, 64, 70 and 73.

## Surd Fricatives.

36. Ancient *x* occurs in: *xānd* 'to laugh'; *xōr* 'ass'; *xās* 'to rise'; *xav* 'to descend'; *xūr* 'to scratch'. *xōf* 'scum, foam', and *xāš* 'to pull' have *x* instead of *k* also in other Pamir dialects.

Intervocalic *-x* remains. Thus: *amax* 'we'; *təmux* 'you'; *pēx* 'span'; *wēx* 'root'; with an ancient suffix *-xā* also: *alax* 'hill'; *icōlox* 'rib'; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōd̥x* 'goat's hair'. Other words with *-x* are: *box*, *bok* 'vomiting'; *mēx* 'table' (?); *šōx* 'hard, locked'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings', and the lw. *malax* 'locust'.

37. It seems probable that the fricative *ð* existed in common Sgl.—*ð* Ishk., and resulted in Sgl. *t*, Ishk. *s*. Thus: Sgl. *təv*, Ishk. *sav* 'to burn' (Wkh., Shgh. *ðāw*); Sgl. *wuter*, Ishk. *wusir* 'ashes' (Orosh. *aðir*, etc.); Sgl. *zōt*, Ishk. *zus* 'son' (NW Turf. *zhg* 'child').

In *yēča* 'nest' (Wkh. *yoð*, etc.); *pəčün* 'bullet' (Shgh. *pāð*) *ð* has been elided before a suffix.—*mēi* 'day' may be derived from *\*māðya*,<sup>1</sup> and the exact form from which *nəmēyð*, *nəmedk* 'salt' is derived, remains uncertain (*\*namadka*?). The relation between *yudārya* Gr. 'dung' and Av. *gūða* is doubtful.

38. Ancient *f* before a vowel occurs only in *fī* 'shovel' and *fīuk* *f* 'shoulder-blade'. The derivation of *fōc* 'mouth'; *fusek* 'nose', etc. is uncertain.

In intervocalic position we find *īf* 'to weave'; *kīf* 'hump'; *rēf* 'broom';<sup>2</sup> *xof* 'to cough'; *xōf* 'foam'; *t̥rūf* 'to steal'; *puf* (and *pəb*, v. § 130 g) 'to blow'.—*kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain' is borrowed from Prs.

## Sibilants.

39. Ir. *s* remains unchanged in initial position before a vowel, and *s* between vowels. Thus, e.g.: *sūi* 'hare'; *sōr* 'head'; *səvd* 'shoulder', etc.; *apanis* 'to lose'; *is* 'to come'; *dos* 'ten'; *fərnis* 'to forget'; *f̥ras* 'to ask'; *kas* 'to see'; *nas* 'to take'; *rus* '30'; *wərvēs* 'fox';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 59, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. *rūfo*.



*weres* 'barley'; *wesin* 'whetstone'; *wesōk* 'calf', etc.—*ēos* 'to break wind'; *dasin* 'oats'; *wusūk* 'elbow'; *wasē* 'wide'; *wūs* 'to take away'; *wōsi* 'cotton thread' are of uncertain derivation.

Note the early syncope in *wīšt* '20', cf. § 24.

40. Examples of ancient (Av.) *š*- are *š*-: *šid*- 'to go', and *šurm* 'horse-dung'. *š*- also appears in a number of words—apart from Prs. lw.s—most of which are of unknown origin. Cf. Voc. s.vv., and v. also s.v. *xom*.
41. Intervocalic *-š*-, whether derived from IE *\*s* or *\*ks*, results in *l/l*, *-š*- the intermediate stage no doubt having been *ṣ*. Cf. the parallel development in Sar.

I always heard *l* (< *-š*) in Ishk. and Zeb., and the same sound is given by Grierson and Sk.<sup>1</sup> The rules determining the distribution of *l* and *l* < *-š* in Sgl. and in the 'Ishk.' dialect recorded by Zar. are far from being clear. But at any rate the treatment of ancient *\*š*- differs from that of ancient *\*rt/d*-<sup>2</sup> in two respects:

1) In words with ancient *rt/d* Sk. in several cases gives *l*. 2) In such words Zar. and Sgl. always have *l*.<sup>3</sup> In Stein's and my own Ishk. and Zeb. records *rt/d* and *š* have coalesced into *l*.

It is at present impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in Sgl. (including Zar.'s Ishk.) *l* < *\*š* is liable to change into *l*, while *l* < *\*rt/d* usually remains. Possibly the stage *\*r* was long retained in the case of ancient *\*rt/d*.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to the above-mentioned vacillation *l* has also penetrated into some Prs. lw.s in Sgl. Thus, e.g.: *kalī* 'key'; *šoyol* 'jackal'; *gol* 'dumb'; *čang-ī-l/ring* 'hamstring'. It is also heard as a variant of final *r* in *čoful* 'four', *angul* 'grape', etc.

<sup>1</sup> But note Sk. *yoł* 'ear' besides *yoł*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 70.

<sup>3</sup> Written *r(h)* by Mulla Faiz Bakhsh in *ghār* 'throat'; *kīrk* 'knife'; *var* 'trousers'. But also *ghovar* 'ear'; *khoār* 'six' (*dulmik* 'moon'; *valvāsh* 'trouser-band').

<sup>4</sup> I once noted *mər* 'died'.

The presence of *l* in some of Sk.'s words with ancient *rt/d* is curious. Either Sk. has happened to get hold of a speaker of Ishk., whose pronunciation was more archaic than that of other informants; or his informant came from a village between Ishkashim and Sanglech.

Examples of *l/l* < *-š-* are: Sgl. *γōl* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l/l*, Ishk. *l*) 'ear'; *xuāl* (Zar., Sk., Ishk. *l*) 'six'; *vrēl* (Zar., Ishk. *l*) 'to break'; *γōlāk* 'plough-handle'; *āluzd* (Sk., Gr. *l*) 'to-morrow'; *kōl* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l*) 'to kill'; *nīlōst* (Zar. *l*, Gr. *l*) 'sat down'. With *l* in all dialects: *mēl* 'sheep';<sup>1</sup> *°spōl* 'louse'; *tāl* 'to shave'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; *wulmēk* 'moon'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Zar. *ēōl* 'multicoloured';<sup>3</sup> *numul* 'to shut the eyes'; Gr. *ambol* 'moraine' (Mj. *ābūya*); *zōl* 'sleeve' (Shgh. *zuž*). If *šlōk* 'wet' is derived from *\*ašušaka*, the sonorization of *-š-* is later than the loss of initial *a*.

Words of unknown origin containing *-l-* are, e.g.: *wulo* 'before'; *wulāki* 'first'; *wulyēka* 'alone'; *flāvuk* 'breakfast'.

Internal *š* occurs in lws (*kašviš* 'armpit';<sup>4</sup> *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *nīšorm* 'shady side of a valley'), onomatopoeics (*°priš* 'to sneeze'), and in words with original *\*(x)šy* (*dōš* 'to milk').<sup>5</sup>

42. Ir. *z* remains unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *zōmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zāl* *z* 'yellow'; *zūng* 'knee', etc.; and *az* 'I'; *araz* 'to fly'; *pəzin* 'to understand'; *vəzōk* 'fat'; *vəraz* 'above'; *vəz* 'goat'; *wəz* 'to fall'; *xūz* 'to rise'; *yōz* 'firewood'.

Reg. *zōl* Zar. 'sleeve' (< *\*zuša* < *\*duša*?), and *zenz* 'to seize, lift', v. Voc. s.vv.

The etymologies of *joz* 'mosquito', *vəzōk* 'branch' are unknown.

Reg. Sgl. s, p *wəniž*, Sgl. is *wəniž* 'to walk about', v. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> *mai* Zb., given as a side-form of *mēl*, is prob. a Wkh. word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

<sup>3</sup> Lw. from Shgh., with *l* < *ž*?

<sup>4</sup> But Wkh. *kalbun* from Ishk.?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 55.



## Nasals.

43. Ir. antevocalic *m*-, *n*-, and intervocalic *-m*-, *-n*- remain unchanged. *m*, *n*

Examples of *m*-, *n*- are: *mōi* 'cloud'; *mēd* 'waist'; *māl* 'husband'; *mət* 'fist'; *nou* 'nine'; *nāc* 'nose'; *nīd*- 'to sit down', etc.

Examples of *-m*-, *-n*- are: *nīm* 'name'; *mōd* 'here' (\**imadā*); *fəryəm* 'kid'; *nān* 'mother'; *vīn* 'beard'; *ken*- 'to do'; *pōdīn*- 'to light a fire'; *potūn* 'thigh'; *pōzīn*- 'to understand'; *-en* suffix of the obl. sg. In Sgl. *pānec*- 'to dress' (Ishk. *pumec*-) *n* is probably due to dissimilation, cf. Shgh., etc. *penij*-. Final *-n* is occasionally dropped in *xā(n)* 'house'.—Note *n* in Sgl. *ʔspōn/n* 'iron'; *əskonok* 'puppy'.

As for the verbal suffixes 1 sg. *-em*, *-en*, 1 pl. *-un*, *-um*, cf. § 132.

## Liquids.

44. Examples of initial *r*- are: *rēf* 'broom'; *rēp<sup>n</sup>* 'ghee'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *r* *rūv* 'rhubarb'; *rīv(-lav)* 'lip'.

Intervocalic *-r*- occurs in: *mur*- 'to die'; *mūr* 'centipede'; *vūr* 'rain'; *par-dē*- 'to sell'; *sōr* 'head'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *tar* 'into'; *worok* 'male lamb'; *xōr* 'ass'.

*ʃ<sup>2</sup>nāi* 'fire' is derived through \**r<sup>2</sup>šnāi* from *rəšnāi* (v. Voc.), with a metathesis of *ru*- similar to that found in *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *v/wərvēs* 'fox'.

Apart from the cases mentioned §§ 41 and 70, *l* occurs only in *l* lw.s, or in words of uncertain origin. *v<sup>2</sup>lēl*- is dissimilated from *v<sup>2</sup>rel*- 'to break'. As for *avzāl* 'headstall of a horse', v. Voc. s.v.

## Glottal.

45. Initial *h*- is lost as in most other E.Ir. dialects. Thus, e.g.: *ōvδ* *h*- 'seven'; *andərv*- 'to sew'; *ambol* 'moraine' (\**ham*-), and, possibly, *uyūi* 'cow'; *wudəpδ* 'daughter' (\**hu*-?).<sup>1</sup> In Prs. lw.s *h* is usually retained, but a glance at the Voc. will show that it is a very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.

unstable sound. Cf., e.g.: *ammām* 'bath'; *aiwēdn* 'animal'; *amīn* 'this'. Evidently *h-* in Sgl.—Ishk. is not a real phoneme, but a more or less foreign ornament devoid of any phonological significance.<sup>1</sup> In (*h*)ot 'eight' *h-* has been introduced from Prs.

No trace of intervocalic *-h-* remains. Cf., e.g.: *ormōzd*, *rēmuz* *-h-* (anc. lw.?) 'sun'; *nīc* 'nose' (\**nāhačī-*); *nīδ-* 'to sit down'; *sūi* 'hare'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upāhana-*, or \**upāna-*?); *wul-mēk* 'moon'; *wēn* 'blood'; *xūy-* 'to thresh'; *yəxōui* 'sister'; *ken-i* 'thou dost', etc. Cf. also *kō* 'whom' < *kahya*.

*jīh-* 'to flee'; *kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain', *rā<sup>h</sup>* 'road' are Prs. lw.s. *kū*, *rā*, *mā* 'month'; *pādšā* 'king', etc. may have lost their *h* already in the Prs. dialect from which Sgl. has borrowed these words.

### Semivowels.

46. Initial *w-* is preserved as a sound closely resembling Engl. *w* in *w-* a great number of words, e.g.: *wēd* 'willow'; *wīn-* 'to see'; *work*, *wurk* 'wolf', etc., v. Voc.—*īf-* 'to weave' is derived through \*(*w*)ūf- from \**wāf-*; cf. Sk., Gr. *urk* 'wolf'.

Ancient intervocalic *-w-* occurs in: *wa* (*ō*, *āu*) 'that'; *wōd* 'there'; *-w-* *wok* 'one';<sup>2</sup> *nou*, *naw* 'nine'; *nouwōdos* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk*, *nōu* 'mill-race'; *nūwōk* 'new'; *you* 'grain'; *tēu* 'husband's brother'; *tēw-* 'to stir'. In unstressed position we find *tō* 'thy', etc.

Reg. *awir-*, *avir-* 'to bring', v. Voc.—The derivation of *sāw-Zar* 'to chew' is unknown, and *ākik* 'egg' contains ancient \**āwya-*.

47. Ancient *y-* is retained in: *you* 'grain'; *yəy* 'yoke'; *yūd* 'husband's y brother's wife'. Reg. *y-* < *g-*, v. § 27.

Intervocalic *-y-* remains in present stems, such as *dāy-* 'to give'; *zenēy-* 'to wash'; *api-*, *apay-* 'to be lost'. It forms a diphthong together with the preceding vowel in *rōi* 'three'; *pōi* 'thick milk', cf. *-ou* < *-aw-*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 80.

<sup>2</sup> But *kōdos* 'eleven' with complete loss of \**aiwa-*.



*Prothetic y- and w-*

48. Prothetic *y-* is found not only in *yōtuk* 'bridge',<sup>1</sup> but also in *y-  
yūn-* 'to grind'; *yūnek* 'marten'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *yēča* 'nest', and,  
possibly, in (*y*)*ārē* 'avalanche'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings'.

Yet it is much less common than prothetic *w-*, of which numerous *w-*  
examples will be found in the Voc.

Prothetic *w-* appears chiefly before *u* (or *ə < u*), e.g. in: *wudəγδ*  
'daughter'; *wulōk* 'flour'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *wuždān*, *ūzdān* 'millet';  
(*w*)*usūk* 'elbow', etc. But note, on the one hand, Ishk. *wastuk*  
'bone' (Sgl. *ostōk*), and, on the other, *yūn-*, *yūnek* mentioned above,  
with prothesis of *y-* before the change of *\*ā*, *\*ō* to *u*.

The tendency is the same as in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., but it has  
developed in an independent manner in each dialect. In some of  
the words mentioned above the initial *\*u-* is of secondary origin  
(e.g. in *wulōk*, *wurcūn*).

There are several words of uncertain origin beginning with *wu-*.  
Here *w-* may, or may not, be prothetic. Such words are, e.g.:  
*wudrī* 'dung' (*\*wi-?*); *wulo* 'before'; *wurmēk* 'poplar', etc.

*Groups of Consonants.**First Component an Affricate.*

49. If we are to judge from *fəris-* 'to remain'  $< *fra-ričya-$  and *mus čy*  
Gr. 'clothes'  $< *mučya-(?)$ , the affricate has lost its occlusion be-  
fore *y* in *cy < čy*. In that case *mōč*, *mič* 'us'<sup>2</sup> must be derived  
from *\*ahmačiya-*.

*First Component a Voiced Stop.*

50. We are not able to decide whether *γδ*, e.g. in *wudəγδ* 'daughter', *gd*  
goes back to *gd* (*γd*), or to *xt* any more than in the case of the  
corresponding words in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 19.

<sup>2</sup> Reduced to *məš*, *miš* before a consonant.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

No example is available of ancient *gr* or initial *gn*, but we find *gn*-*gn*- in *rēp*<sup>(n)</sup> 'ghee'.

51. Ancient *dk* appears in *nāmedk* 'salt' < *nāmaḍka*, with transposition *dk* into a more usual group in *nāmēyḍ/d*, and, with dissimilation of the first of two fricatives, in Sk. *namur/lyāk*.

Ancient *dr*- occurs in *derāy*- 'to reap'; *ḍernāk* 'bow-string', *dr* 'arrow' (?), and, possibly, in *ḍeram* 'pine-tree'.

In *cām-mārdikig* 'pupil of the eye', which is probably an ancient lw., *rd* goes back to *-dr*.

52. In *vōr* 'door'; *vəzōk* 'fat, thick' we find a development of *dw*- *dw* corresponding to that of Psht, but differing from that of the surrounding dialects: Yd.—Mj. *Pv*-, Wkh. *b*-, Shgh. *d<sup>e</sup>v*-. The common starting-point, however, must have been \**ḍv*-.<sup>1</sup>

*ḍvīn*- 'to winnow' may have been borrowed from Shgh. *devīn*-. It is at any rate difficult to detect any reason for a different treatment of *dw*- in this word. *dōu* 'two' is derived from \**duwāu*, cf. Y *lo*<sup>h</sup>, etc., Or. *dau*.

The development of *-dy*- is shown by *mēḍ* 'waist' and *zīḍ*- 'to *dy* flow' < \**yzadya*-.

53. Ir. *br*- results in *v*<sup>(r)</sup>*r*- in *v*<sup>(r)</sup>*rīc* 'eyebrow', *v*<sup>(r)</sup>*rūd* 'brother';<sup>2</sup> *vrēl*- *br* (and *v<sup>l</sup>lēl*-) 'to break', *v<sup>r</sup>rāz* 'above' < \**barz*-.—Sgl. *arvēšum* 'silk' is a lw., cf. Ishk. (*a*)*brēšum*.

#### First Component a Surd Fricative.

54. In Sgl. *xt* and *ft* develop into *γḍ*, *vḍ*,<sup>3</sup> and do not remain, through preventive differentiation, at the stage *-γḍ*, (*-id*) and *-vd* found in Yd.—Mj., Wkh. and Shgh.<sup>4</sup> Ishk. *γḍ*, *vḍ* are not more archaic forms, but are due to the general change of *ḍ* into *d* in this dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding *woos*, *vurs* 'snake' v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. and Gr. Zeb. give the scarcely correct form *v<sup>l</sup>(a)rūd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj., § 90 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I heard, however, *vēḍ* 'seven', etc., from one Shgh. informant.



Examples of ancient *xt* are: *tōyd* Gr. 'he went'; *atōyd* (Sgl., with *xt* metathesis *axtōd*) 'he entered'; *dəyd* 'milked'; *pənayd* 'dressed'; *vāyd* Gr. 'nightmare'; *zuyd* 'took' (*zənz*); probably also *wudəyd* 'daughter'.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient *ft* > *vō/d* occurs in: *ōvd* 'seven'; *səvd* 'shoulder'; *okovd* *ft* 'boot'; *yevd* 'spun'; *andərvd* 'sewed'; *nīvd* 'brought'; *xavd* 'descended'; *belavəvd*, *belavd* 'said'; *pōvd* 'drank'. This last form is of secondary origin, and the same may be the case with some of the other preterites of verbs in *-v*.

Reg. *ift* 'wove'; *tōd* 'burnt', etc., v. § 138, IV.

55. Ancient *xs* is retained in *apaxs* 'to hear' (\**apa-uxs*), with the *xs* secondary forms *apaxš* and *apux*. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *šəxs* 'to cross' and *wəxs* 'snake'.

*šīd*-, *šin* 'to weep' (: Yd. *xšī*-) is a fairly certain example of the *xš* transition of Ir. *xš* > *š*. Cf. also *šucīn* Gr. 'cradle', if connected with Av. *xšaob*-. In internal position we find *fēršōu* 'night' < \**fra-xšapā*-, and *dēš* 'to milk' < \**dauxšya*-(?).

*xuāl*, etc. 'six' goes back to \**xwaša* < \**xšwaša*. Possibly also *xum* 'milk' < \**x(š)waudman* < *xšaodman* + *xšvīpta*.

The group *xšm* was reduced to *šm* at an early date, \**u(x)š-mahya-ka-xšm*, *xšn* resulting in *wulmāk* 'moon'. *šənāi*, *rəšnāi* 'fire' is an early lw.

56. The only possible, but very doubtful example of Ir. *-fs* is *mis-fs* 'to sleep', if < \**ham-(h)ufsa*.

In the group *fš* followed by another consonant *f* is lost: \**škōd fš* 'cattle-shed' < \**fšu-kata*; *št'nōk* 'new-born kid' < \**fštanya-ka*-(?), and in *pēštən* 'udder' < \**paya-fštana*. But it remains, or is transposed, in Sgl. *āffšūn*, Ishk. *šfūn*, etc. 'comb': Yd. *šfīn*.

57. Initial *xr* occurs, with svarabhakti vowel, in *xərīd* 'bought' *xr* (pres. *xərn*-, with metathesis),<sup>2</sup> cf. also *xrēseg* n. of a mammal. Intervocalic *xr* is subject to metathesis. Thus: *carx* 'spinning wheel'; *sərx* 'red'; *narxōk* 'nail'.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *apaxt* 'learned'; Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed'; Zar. *dēst* 'milked', etc., cf. § 138, V, b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Saka *ggāndā* < \**xṛnati*, Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71. (Corr. note).

Similarly *fr* in: *fri* 'good'; *fəryərt* 'to wander about'; *fʳōs* 'to ask'; *fərnīs* 'to forget' etc. (v. Voc.); but *warf* 'snow'.

In *fai* 'much, very' *r* appears to have been lost in unstressed position.

Ancient *θr*, however, has been reduced to *\*hr* and further to *r* *θr* in all positions. Thus: *rōi* 'three'<sup>1</sup> *rus* 'thirty'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *turki* 'darkness'; *wə-cərin/m* 'three days ago'.

In *təraf*, *Prūf* 'to steal' *tr* is due to a secondary development (v. Voc. s.v.); *Prīš* 'to sneeze' is an onomatopoeitic; and *trās* 'to fear' is either transposed from *tars*-, or of IA origin.

58. Ir. *x* is sonorized before *m* in *\*ēym* 'seed', just as is the case in *xm*, *xn* the neighbouring dialects. But *xn* apparently resulted in *n* in *fʳīn-d* 'remained' < *\*fra-rizna*.

The only certain example of Ir. *fn* is *xōdm* 'dream', regarding *fn* which cf. Benveniste, BSL, 30, 75 sq.—*mīn(d)* 'slept' (< *\*ham(h)ufn*?) Ir. may have been influenced by *fʳīnd* 'tired'.

59. Ir. *xw* (< *hw* and Indo-Ir. *\*kw*) is retained in *xwār* 'to eat'; cf. *yəxōai* *xw* 'sister'; *xuāl* 'six'<sup>2</sup>. But *w* is lost before a rounded vowel: *xudāri* 'mill'; *xōdm* 'dream'; *x(ə)ōl* 'ate'; Ishk. *xōl* 'six'; *xūy* 'to thresh'; cf. also *pux* 'cooked'. It is not clear why *w* should have been dropped in *xē* 'own' (unstressed?), and *xīr* Zar. 'sister's son'.

Ir. *θw* probably became *θf*, cf. the development of *dw* > *\*dv*. *θw* *θf* is retained in Sgl. is. *pəθf*, but Sgl. p. *pədf*, Ishk. *putf*, *pudf* 'meat' < *\*piθw*. *\*cəfōr* 'four' was simplified into *c(ə)fūr*, and *\*θfak* 'thee' was differentiated into *θfak* in Sgl., but resulted in Ishk. *fak*. It is, however, also possible to assume that *θw* regularly became *f* (as in *cəfūr*, *fak*), that *θfak* has got its *t*-secondarily from *tu*, and that *pəθf*, etc. goes back to *\*piθf* < *\*pituθwa*.

The only possible example of *θy* is *mēi* 'day' < *\*māhy* *θy* < *\*māθya*.

<sup>1</sup> Mulla Faiz Bakhsh's *trāi* can scarcely be correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.



## First Component a Sibilant.

60. Initial *sk-* occurs only in *skoṇok*, *skoṇūk* 'puppy', and in the *sk* place-name (*I*)*skitūl*. The tendency towards the development of a short vowel is shared also by the groups *st* and *sp*.

In *pāsk* 'cow-hide' and *rōsk* 'truth' *sk* goes back to *\*st(a)k*.

We find Sgl. *\*stin*, Sk. *stin*, Ishk. *ustun* (lw.?) 'post', but, with a *st* full vowel, Sgl. *ustruk*, *ast*-, *ist*-, Sk., Gr. *struk* 'star'; Sgl. *astar*-, Ishk. *sitar*-, *s'tar*- 'to sweep'.

Internal *st* is retained. Thus, e.g.: *ast* 'is'; *ast*-, *ust*- 'to stand up'; *ostök* 'bone'; *āstay*- 'to send'; *dōst* 'hand'; *korost* 'skin'; *nilōst* 'sat down'; *pōstāk* 'bark'; *vōst* 'bound'; *ēst* 'flowed, ran'; *xēste* 'bread', etc. In the lw. *bilis* 'span' the loss of the *t* may belong to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

*wēst* 'twenty' is derived from *\*wis't(i)* < *\*wisati*,<sup>1</sup> and *prēst* Gr. 'wrist' possibly from *\*pr(ḍ)as't(i)* < *\*pari-dastya*. It seems doubtful whether *pēstōn* 'udder' is derived, with palatalization, from *\*payah-stanya*- (cf. Yd. *pistān*), or from *\*fētanya*-<sup>2</sup>—*š'tur* Gr. 'calf', which Gr. derives from *staora*-, must be a sandhi form.

61. Initial *sp-* appears with or without a vowel in Sgl. *\*spəd* 'white'; *sp* Sgl. (*ʔ*)*spəl*, Ishk. *s(ʔ)pul* 'louse'; Sgl. *spər*, Ishk. (*w*)*uspīr* 'plough'; Sgl. *spār*- 'to entrust'. In the lw. *sipərz* 'spleen' Sgl., too, has the vowel inserted between *s* and *p* in the Modern Prs. manner.

Sgl. *\*špōn*, Ishk. *špən*, etc. 'iron' goes back to *\*ispōn*, with palatalization of *s* after the unexplained *i*.

The fate of Ir *sč* is uncertain. *pasī*, *pəsā(d)* 'after(wards)' is probably borrowed from, or influenced by, Prs. But cf. *čə-pōšt* Sk 'backwards, behind' (< *\*pōčt*?), Sgl. *pōčwaxšt* 'last', and *wuč* Zar. 'high', which seem to indicate that in *sč* the palatal character of the *č* was retained through preventive differentiation, with subsequent loss of the *s*.<sup>3</sup> Just as in Yd.—Mj. and in Shgh. *sn* is sonorized

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Par. *γušt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 56.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *č* > *c*, § 19.

into *zn*: *zenē* 'to wash'; *wuznēl* 'daughter-in-law'; possibly also *wūznuk* Zar. 'inflated goat-skin'.

62. Ir. *sr* and *str* are assimilated into *š*, just as in the neighbouring *sr, str* languages. Thus, with *\*sr*: *āšik* 'tear'; *šōu* 'horn'; *šēn* 'podex'; *xaš* 'mother-in-law'; *šud* Gr. 'heard'. With *\*str*: *šec* 'female' *əšcāk* 'girl' (*\*stri-či + ākā*); *voš* 'rope'; *wūš* 'straw'; *uštīn* 'hay-stack'.

Palatalization of *sy* appears to have taken place in *təš* Sk (= Wkh.) *sy* 'empty'. But note *apanis-* 'to lose'; *sūyūk* 'spleen' (*\*syāwaka-? ?*). *šūi* 'black' presents the same difficulties as Wkh. *šīu*, Khow. lw. *šā*.

63. *moyz* 'marrow' and *asta-mayzək* 'upper arm' are probably lw's, or *zg* influenced by Prs. *mayz*. *zīd* 'to flow' is derived through *\*zyīd* < *\*zyīd* < *\*zyādyā* with palatalization of *γ* before *i*.<sup>1</sup> The preterite *zūst* has been influenced by the present. The derivation of *zγōlog* 'humble bee' is unknown (*\*uz-gartaka-?*).

Ir. *zd* remains in Sgl. *ōrmōzd*, Ishk. *rēmuz(d)* 'sun'. But note the *zd* desonorization in *wōst* 'fat', cf. also Wkh. *wāst*. — The preterites *γuzd* and *kōzd* (*γuz-* 'to run', *koc-* 'to copulate') are secondary formations. — Sk. gives *zdār-* 'to sweep' apparently with *st* > *zd* in unknown conditions, just as in Sar.

*āluzd* 'the day before yesterday' and *pāruzd* 'yesterday' contain *zn* a base *\*azna-*, cf. Av. *azan-*, *asn-* 'day'. And *vōzd* Zar. 'pillow' must be derived from *\*vōzn* < *\*vōrzn* < *\*barzn-*. But *zn* < *sn* did not share this development, and *rz + n* in secondary contact is subject to segmentation in *wuždān*, etc. 'millet' < *\*u(r)ždn* < *\*hārzana-*.

The derivation of *rēž* Gr. 'platform for sleeping', and *rižuk* 'male *zy* kid, one year old' (cf. *rizyāk* 'small') from forms in *zy* is uncertain.

64. A characteristic feature of Sgl.—Ishk. is the change of *št* into *t*, *t*. *št* This development separates Sgl.—Ishk. both from Yd.—Mj. and from the Shgh. group.<sup>2</sup> Both Sgl.—Ishk. *t* and Yd.—Mj. *šč*, *šky* presuppose an earlier stage *\*št*, with 'cerebral' *t*.

<sup>1</sup> See § 27.

<sup>2</sup> Shgh. *mut* 'fist' is a lw. from Ishk.



On the other hand Sgl.—Ishk. *t*, *t* < *št* reminds us of Psht. *t* (< \**t* ?), e.g. in *atə* 'eight'. But it is improbable that there is any direct connection between the developments in Sgl.—Ishk. and in Psht. It might be natural to think of IA influence being responsible for the change of *št* into a cerebral in an Ir. border dialect, but the neighbouring IA language, Khovar, retains *št* unchanged. An early adoption of lw's containing cerebrals may, however, have facilitated the development in Sgl.—Ishk., as well as in Psht.

It is a curious fact that Ishk., which is in most respect less archaic and more influenced by Prs. than Sgl., has retained the *t* in some words in which Sgl. has changed it further into *t*. Thus, Ishk. *ingit* 'finger'; *at* 'eight'; *mut* 'fist' *šet* 'dust'; *wat* 'fell', and Gr. Zeb. *ket* 'killed', but Sgl. *ingit*; (*h*)ot; *mət*; *wat*, *kut*.<sup>1</sup>

Other examples of *t*, *t* < *št* are: *put* 'parched grain'; *potūn* 'thigh', and the preterites *arūt* 'ran', etc., cf. § 138, III.

Some verbs have secondary preterites in *št* (cf. l.c.), and *št* appears also in lw's, e.g. in *nəvišt* 'wrote'; *angišt* 'coal'; *rašt* 'dawn'; *\*štər* 'camel', and through secondary development of other groups, cf. *št'nōk* 'new-born kid' (*\*štanyaka*-); *\*štən* 'needle' (*\*sučani*-); *uštīn* 'hay-stack' (*\*vastra-dāna*), etc. The origin of *pušt* 'fur-coat' and *uəšt* 'juniper' is unknown.

It is possible that *fəryəšt* 'walked about' is developed regularly *ršt* from *\*frayəršt* < *\*fra-grsta*, but more probably *fəryərt* is an early lw.

65. The only example of *šp* (< *pš* < *fš* ?) is *trišp* Sk. 'sour milk', cf. *šp* *terəš* 'sour', *awišp* 'ploughpole' (Wkh. *wəšp*, Y *āwusp*) is of unknown origin.

Ir. *šm* is assimilated into *m* as in Shgh., Yd.—Mj., etc. Thus: *šm* *cām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *təmuz* 'you'.

No genuine word with ancient *šn* occurs. *pāšne* 'heel' and *šənāi*, *šn* etc. 'fire'<sup>2</sup> are borrowed from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> In lws we find, however, cerebrals also in Sgl.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. under *xšn*.

*Ed* occurs only in *dužd* Gr. 'thief' (Sgl. *dəzd* from Prs.), and in *šd* the secondary preterites *yēžd* 'said' and *pēžd* 'wrapped up'; cf. *wēnižd* 'went round'.

*First Component a Nasal.*

66. Surd stops preceded by a nasal are sonorized, just as in intervocalic position.

We might expect *ŋk* to remain,<sup>1</sup> but there is no instance of ancient *ŋk* in a genuine Sgl.—Ishk. word. *Soŋg* 'stone' and *aŋgur* 'grape' are Prs. lw.s, and in *zūŋg* 'knee' the contact is secondary.

Examples of ancient *nt* are: *dānd* (*-nt*, *-n<sup>d</sup>*, *-n*) 'tooth'; *γōndəm* *nt* 'wheat'; *dunda* 'so much'; *šwondok* 'hungry' (an ancient pres. ptc. ?); *awand*, etc. 'they'<sup>2</sup>. *kandāk* 'thorn' may be an IA lw., and *vōnd* 'stick', *wōnt* 'calf of the leg' are of unknown origin.

We find *nd* also in secondary past stems of the type *wind/t* 'saw'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *f<sup>2</sup>rind* 'left behind'. Possibly *punuk* 'pass' < \**pun(t)k* < \**pantaka*.

In the unstressed ending 3 pl. *-ūn* final *-d* has been dropped.

Ishk. *ambol* 'moraine' probably contains ancient *mp*, v. Voc. s.v. *mp*

67. Ir. *ŋg* is preserved in *inŋit* 'finger'; *inŋitok* 'finger-ring'. With *rəg* reduction in final position we find *boŋ(g)* 'crowing'. The origin of *inŋē* 'now, then' is unknown.

Ir. *nd* remains. Thus: *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *andərv-* *nd* 'to sew'. Reg. *čuvēn(d)* 'apricot' and *mēnd* (*mēl*) 'apple' cf. § 73. Also *soyond* 'hair, curl' may have secondary *d*.

Reg. *ŋd* v. § 35.

Ir. *mb* remains. Thus: *dəmb-* 'to card'; *dəmb* 'tail'; *sumb* 'hoof' *bm* (lw. ?); *sumbók* 'hole'; *namb* 'wet'. *gāzdəmb*, *goždum* 'scorpion' is a lw. (borrowed twice). Ishk. *ambi* 'cave' is of unknown origin, and *sāmb-* 'to smear' has no exact parallel in other dialects. — The lw. *sambaka* 'tortoise' (< *saŋghaqa*) has *mb* also in Tajiki.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 116.



68. The only certain example of Ir. *nē* is *pōnz*, *pōnj*, *pon's.*, etc. 'five'; *nē/j* *pōnzados* 'fifteen'. The etymology of *zenz*- 'seize' is uncertain. — In *jōnj*, etc. 'woman' there is secondary contact.

In lw.s we find *nj*. Thus: *borenj* 'rice', *Injigān* 'Lutkuh'. Reg. *Mandezān* 'Munjan' cf. BSOS, VI 439.

A possible example of Ir. *nm* is *šūrm* 'dung' < \**šānm* < *šām(a)n*.

### First Component a Liquid.

69. We might expect *k* to remain after *r*, just as it does after a vowel. *rk* And in fact we find this to be the case in *wark* 'wolf', and, with secondary contact, in *durk* 'stick'; *nārk* 'male'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *park* 'ashes'; *turki* 'darkness'. The etymology of *karksang* 'handmill' is unknown.

On the other hand *k* has become voiced and palatalized in *ari* 'work' < \**ary* < \**arg*' < \**ark*; *koryos* 'vulture'; *xudāri* 'water-mill'; cf. *kurcūn* 'fowl' < \**kury* or \**kurk* + \**cūn*.

*wark* can scarcely be a lw.<sup>1</sup> But it is possible that *k* remained after vocalic *r*, but not after *ar*. This would presuppose a very early date for the change of *ark* > *arg*'. On the other hand *-rak*, *-ruk* would regularly result in *-rk*, and *xudāri* might be borrowed from an early Shgh. \**x<sup>w</sup>adārg*' (from which Shgh. *xedār*). It is very improbable that also *koryos* and *ari* are early lw.s from Shgh.

A similar difficulty arises with regard to the development of *rg*. *rg* *məryōk* 'sparrow' goes back to a form in *r*, cf. *wark*, but *mēry* 'meadow' appears to be derived from \**margyā*. There is no example of ancient *rg* resulting in *ry/i*, but note *fəryom* 'female kid' < \**faryim* (?) < \**frayamī*.

*čiryazek* 'spark' is not a genuine Sgl. word (v. Voc. s.v.), and *dargāv* 'valley' is also probably a lw.

70. In contradistinction to all other Pamir dialects, but in accordance *rt* with Psht., Par., etc., Sgl.—Ishk. has obliterated the difference between

<sup>1</sup> Wkh. has *šapt*. But Burushaski *urk* may have been borrowed from early Wkh. \*(*w*)*urk*, and not from the more remote Ishk.

ancient *rt* and *rd*, both groups resulting in *l/l*.<sup>1</sup> There is evidently some connection between this development and the fact that both *-t-* and *-d-* result in Sgl.—Ishk. *d/d*. Ir. *rt* and *rd* coalesced in *\*rd/d*, which changed further into *\*r*, from which ultimately *l/l*. Regarding the distinction between *l* and *l* see above § 41.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of Ir. *rt* are: Sgl., Sk. *γāl*, etc., MFB *γār*, Ishk., Zeb. Gr. *γōl*, etc. 'throat'; Sgl. *kīl*, MFB *kīrh*, Ishk., Sk. Gr. *kīl*, etc. 'knife'; Sgl. *kul*,<sup>3</sup> Ishk., Sk. Gr. *kul*, etc. 'did'; Sgl., Sk. *māl(ōk)*, Ishk., Gr. *mōluk* 'husband'; Sgl., Zar. *māl*, Sk. *māld*, Gr. (Zb.) *mul* 'died'; Sgl., Zar. *wūdīl*, etc. 'dung' (< *\*drti-*?); Sgl. Zar. *wāl*<sup>4</sup> 'trousers'; Sgl. *wāl* 'roof-beam';<sup>5</sup> Sgl. *wōlk*, Zeb. *wolk* 'kidney';<sup>6</sup> Sgl., Zar. *wūlōk*, etc., Sk., Gr. *wūlāk*, etc. 'flour'; Sgl. *wōl*, Gr. *avul*, etc., Ishk., Sk. *āwūld*, etc. 'found' (*āwir-*); Sgl., Zar. *x(w)ōl*, etc. Ishk., Sk. *xūl* 'ate'; Sgl. *zāl* (Wkh. lw. *zōl*) 'yellow', with secondary *rt*.

The etymology of Sgl. *čumōl* 'basket' is unknown, but it corresponds to Shgh.—Orosh. forms with ancient *rt*. Sgl. *gōl*, Gr. *gūl* 'collected', etc., is an ancient lw. from Prs., while Sk. *dar(d)* 'pain' and *jucān-maydī* 'courage' are recent borrowings.

In *wōre* (Wkh. *wōle*) 'quail' < *\*wartiçī* there was an early elision of *i*, and *\*wartē* resulted in *wōre*. Reg. *spārd* 'entrusted' (*spār-*), *kurt* 'ploughed' (*kir-*), etc. cf. § 138, I, II a. *γort-*, and *foryort-* 'to walk about' appear to be very early lws. from Middle Prs. *gart-*.

Examples of *rd* are: Sgl. *asāl* 'this year'; *pōrsāl*, Sk. *pōrsōl* 'last' *rd*

<sup>1</sup> Prs. *rd*: *l*; Shgh. group *d/g*: *rō*; Wkh. *rt*: *rō*; Yd.—Mj. *r/r*: *l*; but Paht., Par. *r*: *r*.

<sup>2</sup> As *-s-* and *-rt/d-* have not yet coalesced completely in Sgl.—Ishk., we are not entitled to assume that *rt/d* ever passed through the stage *\*r*. Wkh. *kōl* 'knife' may have been borrowed from early Ishk. with substitution of *ç* for *r*.

<sup>3</sup> Sgl. p. also *kul*, *kod*, pf. *kuō*, probably because this word was frequently unstressed. Cf. Yghn. *ikla*, Chr. Sogd. *qt*.

<sup>4</sup> Sgl. p. 1,2 *wāl*, probably in order to distinguish this word from *wāl* 'roof-beam'. Cf. also *wōlwōs*, etc. 'trouser-string'.

<sup>5</sup> But diminutive *wālč* 'rafter', with *lč* > *lč*?

<sup>6</sup> Wkh. *wōlk* from an early Ishk. form?



year';<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *wofox* 'rib', Sk. *ātax*, Gr. *alax* 'hill' (< 'side, flank?'). A derivation of *al-* 'to stand', Sk. *āl-* 'to wait'<sup>2</sup> from *arōdica-* is improbable. — *gōla* 'bread' may be an ancient lw., cf. Shgh. *garḍa*.

71. Ir. *rp* occurs perhaps in Sgl. *vorvəs*, Sk. *urvəs*, etc. 'barley', and *rp* in *kərvišik* 'lizard', if this is not an early lw.

The only example of *rb* is *ware-* 'to boil' < *\*warb-* (Par. *yarw-*, *rb* etc.), with early metathesis from *\*barw-*.

72. There is no certain example of the development of Ir. *rs*, but *rs* there is a possibility of *šōḍx* 'goat's hair' being derived through *\*ḍōḥx* < *\*dorsx*, cf. Sar. *dors*, etc.

Nor do we find ancient *rš* in any Sgl.—Ishk. word, except perhaps in *xāš-* 'to pul'.

*andərz-* 'to sew' (v. s.v. *andərv-*) is a doubtful form, and in *vorāz rz* 'above', etc. (< *\*βarz-*) an early metathesis has taken place. Regarding Zar. *vōd* 'pillow' < *\*βarzn-* cf. § 63. The regular outcome of intervocalic *rz* appears to have been *ž*. Thus, Sgl. *wəžduk* (Sgl. is. *wəyduk*) 'long' < *\*brzataka-*; *wuždān* (Sgl. is. *woydān*) 'millet' < *\*ōžn* < *\*h(ā)rzana-*; Gr. *xažok* 'sweet' < *\*xwaržaka-*; *pēž-* 'to wrap up' < *\*pati-džz-* (?). The etymology of *wəniž-* 'to wander about' is unknown.

Ir. *rm* remains in *yōrm* 'hot'. The etymology of *wurmēk* 'poplar' *rm* is unknown, and *wur-* may go back to *rū-*.<sup>3</sup>

73. Ir. *rn* developed into *\*n*, from which Slg. *~l*, Ishk. *n*, *nd*. *rn*. Thus: Sgl. *mēl*, etc., Zeb. *mēn*, Ishk. *mēnd* 'apple' < *\*marnyā-*, cf. *čucēl*, *čucēn(d)* 'apricot', of uncertain origin, but probably influenced by *mēl*; Ishk. *wanji* 'coat' < *varənā-*. In Sgl. *yūn-*, *yūn-*, *yūl-*, Ishk. *yūln-*, Zar. *yurn-* 'to grind' the development has been troubled through the influence of the preterite.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Sgl. *yūnək* 'pine-marten': Y. *wān*, etc.—*ken-* 'to do' had lost its *r* at a very early date, cf. Anc. Pers. *kun-*, etc. It is possible that

<sup>1</sup> But *sāl* 'year' probably from Prs.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Wkh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 130 g.

*žānžək*<sup>1</sup> 'entrails' contains the same word \**žarna-* which survives in Psht. *žāna-* 'catgut'.

In *xarn* 'raven' and *xərn-* 'to buy' *rn* is of secondary origin, v. s.vv.

Grierson (§ 30) considers *r* to be the regular outcome of *rn*. But, of the two examples given, *waruk* 'lamb' shows no trace of *n* in most Ir. dialects, and *dir* 'ravine' can not with any certainty be derived from \**darna-*.

Reg. *hy* (in *xē* 'own' < \**huahya*) cf. § 89.

*hy*

### Assimilation.

74. A very great number of the sound-changes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are due to assimilation of some kind. Only a short recapitulation of the more important ones will be given here.

The surd stops *t* and *p* have been sonorized after a vowel, nasal, or *r*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly intervocalic *-š-* has passed through the stage \**-ṣ-*.<sup>3</sup> Also implosive, postvocalic *x* and *f* have been sonorized in the groups *xt*, *ft*.<sup>4</sup>

Intervocalic \**-b-*, *-d-*, resulting from *-p-*, *-t-*, have been opened into *-v-*, *-ḍ-*, thus coalescing with ancient *-b-*, *-d-*, which had probably been opened at a very early date.<sup>5</sup>

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into *sn* while \**ṣm* (< *sm*) was reduced to simple *m* owing to the articulatory weakness of *ṣ*. Also \**rd/ḍ* (< *rt*) was assimilated further into *l*, *l*.

Complete assimilation of groups of consonants has also taken place in the case of *xš*, *rs*, *rz*, *sr*, *str* and *θr*.<sup>6</sup> Cf. also s.vv. *nāmēk*, *pčuk*, *pāšk*, *pēž*, *rēčik*, *žonāi*, *wōrc*. An assimilatory loss of nasality is entailed in the change of *zn* > *zd*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From *žān* + *žək* < *žarnač* + *kā*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 21, 25, 66, 69 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 32 sq. Note the regression from *ḍ* > *d* in *lshk*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. §§ 55, 62, 72, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 63.



Palatalization of consonants is comparatively rare, but occurs in  $yi > yī$  and  $rk/g > *ry$ ,<sup>1</sup> as well as in  $sy > š$ , cf. also  $wīšt < wisati$  '20'.<sup>2</sup>

Assimilation at a distance occurs sporadically. Thus, e.g.:  $vīel- < v̄rēl-$  'to break';  $jān$  'woman'  $< žān$ ;  $nasm$  'half'  $< *nəsf$ ;  $wəwēs, wəwēs$  'fox'  $< *wəwēs$ ;  $šəuži$ : Shgh.  $sēvje$ , etc.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

75. Examples of differentiation are: Ishk.  $štok < oʃcūk$  'girl';  $*šton$  'needle'  $< *sčm$ ;  $šūrm$  'dung' (also Wkh.)  $< *šūnm$ ;  $šagnam$  'dew' has probably been borrowed in this form, cf. Mj.  $šaklam$ .

Dissimilation at a distance occurs in  $pānec- < pumec-$  'to dress';  $riḡlav < rīrlav$  'lip';  $wuzinjak < wužinjak$  (with assimilation  $wuḡinjak$ ) 'woman';  $čakmax < čaxmax(?)$  'fire-stone';  $doldorok$  'thunder'  $< *dor-dorok(?)$ ;  $Fəlazmarig < Frazmarig$ . Cf. also  $pədit, wudit$  for  $*pə-dīd$ , etc.<sup>3</sup>

### Metathesis.

76. The usual Ir. metathesis has taken place in the groups  $-fr-$ ,  $-xr-$ ,  $-br-$ ,  $-gr-$ .<sup>4</sup> Of a similar nature is the recent change of the lw.  $tīf$  'child'  $> telf$ . The development of  $fra- > fər-$  may have passed through a stage  $*fəra-$ , with subsequent loss of  $a$ . Cf. also  $dərnūk$  'bow' and  $wərn-$  'to buy'.

Peculiar to Sgl.—Ishk is the metathesis of initial  $rā-$  ( $< *raw-$ ) to  $(w)ur-$ ,  $wər-$ . Cf. § 88.

In  $nəməyē$  'salt'  $< nəmedk$  and  $bālyē$  'beans'  $< *bāylē$  easier sequences of consonants have been substituted for heavier ones.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 27, 69.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 62, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 51 sqq., 57. But note lw. Ishk.  $čabrū$  'fat'.

The remaining cases of metathesis can hardly be classified or arranged according to general principles. The following ones have been noted, sometimes only in one dialect:

*axteð* < *atayd* 'entered'.

*kiskūd* 'roof' < \**ask-kuð*.

*v̥rūz* 'hill', 'tall' < \**varz-* (?).

*amāsyē* 'neighbour' < \*(h)*amsāye*.

*šōðx* 'goat's hair' < \**dōšx* (?).

*zič* < *žic* 'coal'.

### Vowels.

#### Ir. *a*.

77. When we try to trace the development of Ir. '*a*' in Sgl.—Ishk. we are faced with the same difficulties that we encounter in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., viz. our ignorance of the phonetic value of the original Ir. sound, the extreme variability and complexity of the changes of '*a*', and the impossibility of deciding in all cases which words have been borrowed, and at what date.
78. The different developments of '*a*' may be arranged in the following groups:

a) In a great number of words Ir. '*a*' is represented by Sgl. *ō*, Ishk. usually *u*.

Thus, before a group of consonants, modern or ancient, we find *o/u* in: Sgl. *ōvð*: Gr., Sk., Zar. *ūvd* (but my Ishk., Zb. *ōvd*) 'seven'; Sgl. *okōvð*: Sk. *kūvd* (but Gr., Zar. *kōvd*) 'boot'; Sgl. *dōst*: Ishk., Zb. *dūst* 'hand'; Sgl. *korost*: Ishk. *kurust* 'skin'; Sgl. *γōndəm*: Sk., Gr. Zar. *γundum* (but my Ishk., Zb. *yondum*) 'wheat'; Sgl. *ōrmōzd*: Ishk. *rēmuz* 'sun'; Sgl. *moydōk*: Ishk. *mūkdūk*, etc. 'frog'; Sgl. *song*: Ishk. *sung* 'stone'; Sgl. *pōnz*: Ishk. *pūnz* 'five'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *pōrk* 'rat'; *vōš* 'rope'; *xoš* 'mother-in-law', and the preterites *f'rōt* 'asked' (*f'rūs-*); *kōnd* 'dug' (*kan-*); *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *nīlōst* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*).



The same narrowing of the vowel has apparently also taken place in unstressed syllables (e.g. in Sgl. *kōviḍ*: Sk., Gr. *kū/ucīd*, but Zar. *kōviḍ* 'pigeon'; Sgl. *toṽōr*: Ishk. *tu'wūr* 'axe'), and in the ancient masculine suffix *\*-akāh* (e.g. in Sgl.) *v'rōk*: Ishk. Sk. *wruk* 'horse'; Sgl. *worok*: Ishk. *waruk*, Sk. *wruk* 'lamb'.

But also Sgl. *špōn* 'iron'; *fōe* 'mouth'; *sōx* 'hard'; *xōr* 'donkey'; *zōt* 'son', and the preterite *noḍ* 'took' (*nas-*) have forms in *u* in Ishk.

Sgl. *γorōk* 'neck'; *γōrm* 'hot'; *kōdos* 'eleven'; *koryos* 'vulture'; *škōḍ* 'cattle-shed'; *wōst* 'fat', and *xōdm* 'dream' have no known equivalents in Ishk.

In several words Gr. (Zb.) has *ā*, corresponding to Sgl. *ō*. Thus, e.g., *dāst*, *fērāt*, *tewār*, *wāš*, but *xūr*. I heard *o/u* in Zb. *pōnz*, *pōrk*, *sūng*, *sur*, *toṽor*, *worok*, *xār*, etc., and it seems doubtful whether Gr. (Zb.) *ā* represents the correct Zb. sound.

b) Before a single consonant we find Sgl. *o*, Ishk. *a*, in Sgl. *oγōḍ* 'came'; *dos* 'ten'; *mōḍ(ak)* 'here'; *numōḍ* 'felt'; *vōr* 'door'; *xōf* 'foam'; *wōtuk* 'feast'; *wo/asōk* 'calf'; *zōḍ* 'killed': Ishk. *ōyad*; *das*; *madak*; *namad* (lw. ?); *var*; *xaf(uk)*; *watik*; *wasuk*; *žad*. Besides Sgl. is. *f'rōs-* 'to ask' we find *ō* not only in Ishk., but also in Sgl. s. p.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. *mayz* 'marrow' (Sgl. *moyz*) may easily be a lw. from Prs., and in Ishk. *wastuk* 'rib' (Sk. *wāstuk*, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone') the initial *w-* may have had a differentiating effect.

c) A number of present stems have *ā* in all dialects before a single consonant. Thus, e.g. *araz-* 'to jump'; *astar-* 'to sweep'; *kan-* 'to dig'; *kas-* 'to see'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *waz-* 'too fall'; *xas-* 'to pull'; *xaz-* 'to rise'; *žan-* 'to kill'. Known only from Sgl. are: *nas-* 'to take'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *xav-* 'to descend'.

I suspect this development to have been caused by the influence of the following *a* in *-āmi*, *\*kanāmi* resulting in *kanən*, cf. Shgh. *xārum* 'I eat', but 3 sg. *xīrd*, etc.<sup>2</sup> and the *-a-* (not *-ō-*) of Parachi present stems, e.g. *astar-* 'to rub'; *bar-* 'to carry'; *xar-* 'to eat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below sub c.

<sup>2</sup> See NTS, I, p. 84.

Cf. also *warf* 'snow' = Par. *γarp* < \**wafrā(h)*.<sup>1</sup> *tar* 'into' might be derived from \**tarā*,<sup>2</sup> and *mak* 'me' has original long *ā*, while Zar. *park* 'ashes' might go back to a form in *-ā*; but I am unable to explain the *a* in *nārk* 'male' (infl. by Prs. ?) and *narxōk* 'nail'.

d) In initial position we find *a-* in *ari* 'work'; *apanis-* 'to lose'; *az* 'I', etc.<sup>3</sup> Note, however, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone', etc., and, with vowel harmony, *inglt* 'finger'.

e) Before certain original groups of consonants, some of which have been simplified, the vowel has been lengthened into Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ā*, *ō*.

This development is, I believe, regular before a group of consonants originally followed by *ā*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we find the verbal stems Sgl. *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *wārv-* 'to boil': Ishk. *vōnd-*, *xōnd-*, *wōrv-*.<sup>5</sup> Ancient stems in *-an*, with nominatives in *-ā*,<sup>6</sup> are: Sgl. *cām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *dānd* 'tooth' and *māl* 'husband' (Av. *marətan-*): Ishk. *cām*, *pām*, *dōnd*, *mōl*, etc. Sgl. *wāl*: Ishk. *wōl* 'trousers' goes back to \**wartā* (Y *woṛo*) and also Sgl. *γāl* 'throat'; *pāsk* 'hide', and Ishk. *vōzd* 'pillow' may be derived from forms in *-ā*.<sup>7</sup>

Cf. also Sgl. *asāl* 'this year', *parsāl* 'last year' < \**sardā* (cf. Par. *sār* 'year') and Sgl. *jān* (but also *jōn*): Ishk. *žōn* 'woman' < \**janā* + *či*, or influenced by *māl*. The vocalism of Sgl. *zāl*: Ishk. *zōl* 'yellow', of Sgl. *xuāl*: Ishk. *xōl* 'six', and of Sgl., Sk., Gr. *āšik* etc.: Zar. *ošik* 'tear' must be due to special conditions which I am not able to detect.

It is not probable that *āš(ik)* goes back to a n. pl. \**asrwā*, nor that *xuāl* represents an Ir. form \**xšwaššā*, with *-ā* in contradistinction to *ovō* < *haftā* and Psht. *špaž* < \**xšwaša*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 178, and see IIFL, I, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *tar* 'before' < \**tarā*.

<sup>3</sup> See Voc. s. vv. Cf. Y *zo* 'I' < \**azā* ?.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above sub. c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Par. *khan-*, *γario-*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. nom. in *-ā* from neutral stems in *-an* cf. Psht. *lūma* 'snare'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Par. *bān(apaī)* < \**barzā*.



A few lws with *ā* have been included in this series. Thus, e.g. Sgl. *xān* 'house'; *tāt* 'father'; *xudāri* (lw. ?) 'water-mill': Ishk. *xōn*, *tōt*, *xudōri*.

The same development is found also in the fem. suffix *\*-akā*, and in Sgl. pl. *\*-akāh*, e.g., in Sgl. *āścāk*: Ishk. *štok*, etc. 'girl'; *wērāk* 'female lamb' (m. *worok*), etc.;<sup>1</sup> and *oyodā* 'they have come'; *nūlostag* 'they have sat down'; *zēmōnak* 'boys'; *worūdār* 'brothers'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. sub c). Cf. also Parachi *nērōk* 'male'; *šičāk* 'female'; *phōr* 'grain': pl. *phar*.<sup>3</sup>

f) Quite irregular developments of 'a' occur in Sgl. (h)ot: Ishk. *ōt*, *ūt*, *at*, *dt* 'eight', and in Sgl. *wok*: Ishk. *wōk*, *wūk*, *wak* 'one'.

g) In unstressed syllables *a* is reduced to *ə* in Sgl. *cə* 'from'; *cəfūr* 'four'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *worōk* 'horse'; *pəzin-* 'to know'; *nəwōk* 'mill-race' etc. Cf. also *pa*, *pə* 'on'.

h) In Sgl. *kudum*, Ishk. *kudum* 'which' < *\*kədūm* the *u* is due to vowel harmony. Cf. *ingīt* 'finger' sub d). In am unable to explain the *u* in *zust* 'flowed' (*zīd*), and in *γuz-* 'to run'. Cf. also *-uk* for *ōk* and *-ū(i)* for *-ō(i)* after narrow vowels.<sup>4</sup>

i) An early contraction has taken place in *sūi* 'hare' < *\*sa(h)a-*.

#### Ir. *ā*.

79. Ir. long *ā* was a less labile sound than short *a*, and its development has been more regular and untroubled.

It regularly results in Sgl.—Ishk. *ū*.<sup>5</sup> The examples are numerous. Thus, e.g.: *āstūd* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *ust<sup>h</sup>rūk* 'star' (< *\*starāka* < *\*stā-raka* ?); *cəfūr* 'four'; *dūd* 'gave'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *fərmūd* 'ordered'; *mūr* 'centipede'; *pūd* 'foot'; *rūv* 'rhubarb' (Yd. *rīv*); *sūi* 'hare';<sup>6</sup> *šūž* 'eagle' (Y *šīž*); *šūi* 'black' (?); *tūl-* 'to shave'; *vūr* 'burden'; *v<sup>h</sup>rūd*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 94, 99. — Cf. Shgh. *sad* m. and f. 'they went' < *\*c(y)utāh*.

<sup>3</sup> See IIFL, I, p. 23 sq., and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 96, 5; 132.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel developments in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> With secondary *ā*, cf. § 78? Cf. e.g. Psht. *sōc*.

'brother'; *wəšš* 'straw'; *xūr* 'to scratch'; *xūy* 'to thresh' (v. Voc. s.v.); *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *zūy* 'raven'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zənūd* 'washed'; *zevūk* 'tongue'; *Izivūk* 'Zēbāk'.

Other possible examples are *šurm* 'dung' (cf. Av. *šāman*-?); *kiskūd* 'roof' (\**uska-kātā*-?); *ālūd* 'day before yesterday'; *pārūd* 'yesterday' (\**-āzēna*-?); *wəždān*, *ūždān*, etc. 'millet' (\**hārzana*-?); *wūs*, *uss* 'to take'; *wəlōk* 'flour' (\**ārtaka*-); *yūz* 'fire-wood'.

A secondary shortening has taken place in some of the words mentioned above, and also in *durk* 'stick'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *kudum* 'which'.

80. Before a nasal we find *ū* in *afšūn* 'comb'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *frūn* 'plank' (\**frāna*-?); Sgl. *potūn* (but Wkh. *patin* from Ishk.?) 'thigh'; *wourcūn* 'smoke-hole' (\**raučāna*-?); *yūn* 'to grind'; *zūng* (Sk. *zṅg*, etc.) 'knee'; possibly also in *kurcūn* (Ishk. *kərčīn*) 'fowl', etc.; *pəcūn* 'bullet'.

But in several cases we find *in*, *im*. Thus: *uštīn* 'haystack' (\**wāstradāna*-); *nīm* 'name'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upān(y)a*-?); *wəsin* 'whetstone'; *dəvin* 'to winnow'; *pəzīn* 'to know'. It is scarcely possible to attribute the *i* in all these words to the influence of a following *y*.

The prefix *ā*- has been shortened and appears, probably with vowel harmony, as *ā*-, *o*- in *araz* 'to jump'; *āstay* 'to send'; *oyod* 'came'. Also in the pronouns *mak* 'me'; *təfak* 'thee', Sgl. *amax*, *aməx*, Ishk. *mux* 'we' ancient *ā* has been shortened.

Initial *ā*- (or *a*-?) has been lost in *vək* 'water'. I am unable to explain the vocalism of Ishk. (*w*)*uspīr* 'plough-share' (Sgl. *spər*), and of Gr. *usid* 'baking pan'.

81. Sgl. *nāf*, Ishk. *nāf* 'navel'; *rōšk* 'truth'; *xudāri*, *xudōri* 'water-mill' are probably lw.s. Cf. the more recent lw.s from Prs., such as Sgl. *čəpān* 'shepherd'; *čārda* '14'; *čirāy* 'lamp'; *čārvā* 'horned cattle'; *dīgdān* 'fireplace'; *šaftōlū* (NB *ō* /) 'peach': Ishk. *čūpōn*; *čārda*; *čirōy*; *čōrvō*; *dīgdōn*; *šaftōlū*. Sgl. *xušdāuman* 'wife's brother's wife' is irregular.

#### Ir. *i*.

82. As in other Pamir languages, *i* is unstable, and is only retained in favourable circumstances, cf. e.g. *fəris* 'to be left behind'; Sgl. *nīlōst*, but Ishk. *nulust* 'sat down' (*nīd*-).



In most cases Ir. *i* has been relaxed, and moved towards a lower and more central articulation. Thus: *yir*, *gīr*, *yər* 'stone'; *lēt* 'licked' (*lēs*); *ce* 'what'; *čen* 'to pick' (lw. ?); *šec*, etc. 'female'; *xərn* 'to buy' (\**xrin*).

After a labial we find *a*, *u*, etc. in: *pədf*, *puḍf* 'meat'; *put* Gr. 'parched grain' < \**pišta*; *pōv*, *pəv*, *pav* 'to drink'; *numuḷ* Zar. 'to shut the eye'; \**spəl*, *spul*, etc. 'louse'; *ambol* Gr. 'moraine' (\**ham-piša* ?); *wuḍl* 'dung'; *wuḍit* 'span'. But why *rus*, *rəs* 'thirty' (\**θrisas*)?

A lengthening has taken place in *fri* 'good' (< \**friya*), and, before an ancient group of consonants, in *ferin-d* 'left behind, tired', if < \**fra-rinxna*. In *žwondok* 'hungry' (< \**a-j(i)wantaka*), the loss of *i* may be very early, cf. Av. *jvant*.

#### Ir. *i*.

83. Ancient *i* remains in *piḍ* 'drank' (*pəv*); *xəriḍ* 'bought' (*xərn*); *wišt* 'twenty'; *nīd* 'to sit down' (< \**ni(h)iḍ*); with shortening in *čid* 'picked'.

*šin* 'to weep'; *niv* 'to bring'; *nīḍuk*, *nuduk* (< \**nitaka* ?) are of uncertain derivation.

#### Ir. *u*.

84. Short *u* shows the same tendency as short *i* to move towards a more central articulation, and it frequently results in *a*.

Thus, e.g.: *dəmb*, *dumb*, *dəmb*, etc. 'tail' (lw. ?); *dəmb* 'to card wool'; *dəyd* 'milked' (*dēš*); *dəzd* 'thief' (lw. ?); *dərəšt* 'rough' (prob. lw.); *yōndəm*, *yondum* 'wheat'; *kuḍ*, *kəd* 'dog'; *kul*, *kəl*, etc. 'to kill'; *mət*, *mut*, *mət*, etc. 'fist'; *pəf*, *puḥ* 'to blow'; *pənayḍ*, *puməxt* 'dressed'; *pu/a/ššk* 'dung'; *su/əmb* 'hoof'; *sə/ərb* 'lead' (lw.); *sərx*, etc. 'red'; *səvḍ*, etc. 'shoulder'; *tu/a* 'thou'; *və/uz*, *vz* 'goat'; *wuḍə/uyḍ*, etc. 'daughter'; *wuznə/ε/ul* 'daughter-in-law', etc.

Initial *u*- has been delabialized and lowered in Sgl. *ast*- (but Ishk. *ust*-) 'to stand up', and in the lw. *amēḍ* 'hope'. But cf. also *rašt* 'morning' (lw. ?).

*ingūt* 'finger' is derived through *\*əngūt* (cf. Wkh. lw. *ingūt*) < *angušta-*. Sgl. *šid* (but Ishk. *šud*, *šəd*) 'went, became' must also be derived from a form with lengthened vowel (*\*šūt* < *\*šiyuta-?*); cf. Par. *čhi*.

Ir. *u* has been elided in *\*šten*, etc. 'needle' < *\*sučani-* and in the suffix *-uka-*, cf. *zūng* 'knee'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *durk* 'stick'; *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge' (< *\*ētk* < *\*haituka-*).<sup>1</sup>

#### Ir. *ū*.

85. Ir. *ū* results in *i* as in Wkh. Thus: *dið* 'smoke'; *dir* 'distant'; *vric* 'eyebrow'; *\*stin* 'pillow'. Possibly also from secondary *ū* in *diðus* 'twelve' < *\*dunc(a)dasa*, and in *ingūt*, *šid* (v. above § 84).

*angūr* 'grape' and other words with *ū* are evidently lw.s, and also *pū-* Zar. 'to be rotten', *pūdūk* 'rotten' may have been influenced by Prs. It is, however, possible that *ū* was retained after a labial, cf. *wəd*, *wud* 'was' < *būta-*, with shortening, as in Psht. *wə* and elsewhere.

Sgl. *nēr* 'to-day' cannot be derived direct from *nūrām*.

#### Ir. *ɾ*.

86. Ir. *ɾ* results in *ur*, *ər*, etc. in *wərək*, *wurk*, *urk* 'wolf'; *məryōk*, *muryūk* 'sparrow'; *andərv-* 'to sew'; *məɭ*, *mul* 'died'; *kuɭ*, *kuɭ*, *kəd* 'did'; *kurčūn*, etc. 'fowl'; *wəždūk*, etc. 'long'; *wōlk*, *wuɭk*, *wəɭk* 'kidney', and possibly in *wūlok* 'flour', if from *\*ɾtaka-* and not, as seems more probable, from *\*ūlok* < *\*ārtaka-*; *al-* 'standing' is scarcely derived from *əradica-*, with *u* > *a*, cf. above § 78, d.

In some preterites the vowel has been lengthened. Thus: *xōɭ*, *x(w)ol*, *xūɭ* 'ate'; Sgl. *\*stōɭ* (Ishk. *sʔtuɭ*, etc.) 'swept'; Sgl. *wōɭ* (Ishk. *āvuld*, etc.) 'found' (*āwēr*).

*kīɭ* 'knife' is a mutated form (< *\*kertyä-*), and so is possibly *wudɭɪ* 'dung' (< *\*wi-drti-?*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 1.



*Ir. ai.*

87. *Ir. ai* regularly results in *ē*. Thus: \**spēd* 'white'; *mēl* 'sheep'; *wēd* 'willow'; *wēd*. Sk. 'to put'; *wēx* 'root'; *tēu* 'husband's brother'; *lēš* 'to lick' (lw. ?); *wīn*, *wēn* 'to see'; *yēv*, *yiv* 'to spin'; *apēd* 'was lost' (\**apa-ita*). In *mōi* 'cloud' < \**mēi*(?) < *mēy* the *ō* is strange, but may, perhaps, be due to differentiation.

Initially the development is troubled. Besides complete loss of *ai* in special conditions (*wōk* 'one'), we find *īd* 'iste' (< \**aita*-),<sup>1</sup> and *īs* 'to come' (< \**ā-isa*-?), but Sgl. *yōtuk*, Ishk. *yetik*, Zar. *yatik* 'bridge'.

*Ir. au.*

88. *Ir. au* generally results in *ē*, probably through an intermediate stage \**ō*. Thus: *rēyn* 'clarified butter'; *tēym*, *t'ēy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain'; *yēnok*, *yēnōk* 'hair'; *dēš* 'to milk'; *rēf* 'broom'; *rēčik* 'entrails'; *xrēseg* 'n. of an animal' (M *xurūso*); *šēn* 'podex'; *pānec*, *pumec*, *pomuc* 'to dress' (< *paiti-maoč*); *wēn* 'blood' < \**wa(h)uni*. We find, however, *ī* in *kōvid* 'pigeon'; *kīf* (and *k'ēf*) 'hump', cf. the ancient lw. *Kīwī* (Chinese *K'o-wei*) 'Chitrali'.

This development can scarcely be due to the neighbouring *v* and *f*, cf. *rēf* above.

A special development of initial \**rau* appears in *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole' and *wārvēs*, *wārwēs* 'fox'. In these words *rau* has apparently become \**rā*-, from which \**ur*-, before *au* > *ē*.

Also *γōl* 'ear' is irregular, and is possibly a lw. (from Shgh.?). *dōu* 'two' may go back to \**dwāu* and Ishk. *yōu* to \**gāuš*.

*Ir. aya.*

89. Examples of *Ir. final -aya(h)* are *rōi*, etc. 'three' and *pōi* 'sour milk'. Internal *aya* results in *ē* in *pē-štān* 'udder'. Ancient present stems in *-āya* have generally Sgl. *ē(y)*, but Ishk. *ay*. Cf., e.g. Sgl.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Wkh. *yet*, *yēt* < \**ita*.

*deräy*, *derē*: Ishk. *deray* 'to reap'; Sgl. *däy*: Ishk. *day*, *dey* 'to give'; Sgl. *astē*: Ishk. *astay*, etc. 'to send'; Sgl. *zənē(y)*: Ishk. *zeney*, *zenay* 'to wash', etc., cf. § 130.

#### *Ir. awa.*

90. Ir. final *-awa* occurs in *nou*, etc. 'nine'; *you* 'grain'; *šou* 'horn'; *ō*, *aū*, pl. *awand* 'that'; Sgl. *lō* 'thine'. Internal *-awa* occurs in *nouwōdōs* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk* 'millrace'; *nūwōk* 'new'. Sgl. *uyūi* 'cow' may perhaps be derived from *\*(hu)-gāwyā*.

#### *Umlaut.*

91. *I*- and *y*-mutation appears in *mēd* 'waist' < *maidya*; *mēry* 'meadow' < *\*margyā*; *nəmēdy* 'salt' < *\*namadkī* (?); *mēl* 'apple' < *\*marnyā* (?); *wulmēk* 'moon' < *\*uxš-māhyaka*; *mei* 'day' < *\*mādyā*; *pēšten* 'udder' < *\*payah-fštanya*; *dēr* 'to hold' < *\*dāraya*; *wērak* 'she-lamb' < *\*warī + -akā* (?); *vēk* 'water' < *āpākiya*; *vərvēs* 'fox' < *\*raupāsī*.

Without any apparent cause we find, however, *i* in *wuđit* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti*; *xīr* 'sister's son' < *\*hwahrya*; *zīd* 'to flow' < *\*zyadya*; *čīs* 'urine' < *\*čāšya* (?); *nīc* 'nose' < *\*nāh-ēi*, or *\*nahya-ēi*. Cf. also *i* < *i'* in *kīl* 'knife', if < *\*krtyā*, and *wuđīl* 'dung' < *\*wi-dyti*.

The only certain example of *u*-mutation is *pux*, *pəx* 'boiled' < *\*paxwa*.

Regarding vowel harmony cf. §§ 78, c, h, 96, 5, 132.

#### *Prothetic Vowels.*

92. A prothetic vowel is developed before an ancient or secondary initial group of consonants, e.g. in *ust'rūk* 'star'; *astar* 'to sweep'; *afšūn* 'comb'; *ašcāk* 'girl'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.



Characteristic of Sgl.—Ishk. is the prothetic (*w*)*u*- which appears before an initial voiced consonant followed by *ä*.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *wudəγd* 'daughter'; *wuznəl* 'daughter-in-law'; *uyūi* 'cow'; *wüznuḱ* 'inflated goat skin'.

In spite of the difficulty of explaining *wuzinjak* 'woman' and *usīd* Gr. 'baking pan' (cf. Wkh. *sdt*) I am inclined to believe that this prothesis is of a phonetic nature, and that *w(u)*- does not go back to a prefix *hu*-.

Regarding the word for 'sister' (*yəxōai*, *ixō*, etc. < *\*(h)ahwā* < *\*hwah(w)ā*), cf. Voc. s.v.

Note also the *o*- in *okovō* 'boot': Pra. *kafš*.<sup>2</sup>

### Loss of Initial and Final Vowels.

93. There is possibly some connection between the Sgl.—Ishk. tendency to develop prothetic vowels and the comparative rarity of elision of initial vowels.

Cf. e.g. *am(a)* 'this': Yd. *mo*; *aḏa* 'that': Yd. *yō*; *az* 'I': Yd. *zo*; *amax* 'we': Yd. *maz*; *andərv-* (Sk. *d'rav-*) 'to sew': Yd. *diz-* 'to bury', etc.; *āstay-* 'to send': Wkh. *s'tiy-*; *ōzvui* 'heart': Wkh. *p'zöv*; *apanis-* 'to lose': Shgh. *benes-*.

We find, however, loss of initial *u*- in *vin* 'beard' < *\*upāna*; *va* < *upa*, and possibly in *šlōk* 'wet' < *\*a-šušaka*; *šwondok* 'hungry' < *\*a-jiwantaka*; of *ä*- in *vēk* 'water'; *wa* 'him'; Sgl. *špōn*, Ishk. *špən* 'iron'; and of *ai*-, or even of *aica*-, in the unstressed numerals *wok* 'one'; *kodos* 'eleven'. Cf. also *wöl* 'found' from *āwir*.

Regarding the doubtful derivation of *mis-* 'to sleep', v. Voc. s.v.

Except in monosyllables, final vowels are elided.<sup>3</sup> Regarding *am(a)* 'this', *aḏ(a)* 'that', cf. Grammar, § 116. Regarding possible traces of the obl. ending *-ahya*, v. §§ 96, 2 a, 5; 94.

<sup>1</sup> From which in some cases modern *ə*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sogd. c. *'krty* < *krty* 'deed', etc.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. traces of final *-ā(h)*, cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3, 101.

## Accent.

94. The accent which lies at the base of the development in Sgl.—Ishk., appears to have been of the ordinary, late Old Ir. type.

Thus:  $\acute{\text{e}} \approx \text{e}$ , e.g. in *dos* 'ten'; *az* 'I';  $\acute{\text{a}} \approx \text{a}$  in *cəfūr* 'four'; *po'tūn* 'thigh'; *kō'vīd* 'pigeon', etc.;  $\acute{\text{u}} \approx \text{u}$  in *zāl* 'yellow'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *nārk* 'male'; *jōn* 'woman', etc.;  $\acute{\text{a}} \approx \text{a}$  in *wīšt* 'twenty'; *zūng* 'knee'; *yōndum* 'wheat'; possibly  $\acute{\text{e}} \approx \text{e}$  in *dīdus* 'twelve' (< \**duwadasa*?).<sup>1</sup>

Words in *-ōk* are probably derived from the oblique form, thus *yē'nōk* 'hair' < \**gau'nakahya*.<sup>2</sup>

Elision of a short vowel before the accent has taken place in *krīč* 'hut' (< \**katīči*?), possibly in *cəfūr* 'four',<sup>3</sup> and before a secondary suffix in *əščāk* 'girl' < *šac* + *āk*. I am unable to explain the loss of *u* in *ʔštən*, etc. 'needle' < *sučani*.

The loss of the vowel in an unstressed first syllable occurs also in lw.s (e.g. Sk. *bēdk* 'he-goat'; *bland* = *bīland* 'high'; *brūt* = *bṛūt* 'moustache', etc.), and may be of recent date.

<sup>1</sup> But note *ko'dos* 'eleven' < \**aiwaka'dasa*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 96, 2 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 59.



## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### *Primary Stems.*

95. No distinction is made in Sgl.—Ishk. between words belonging to the various ancient Ir. groups of nominal stems.<sup>1</sup>

Only on etymological grounds, or in some cases from a comparison with Yd.—Mj., are we able to distinguish between ancient stems in *-a-* (e.g. *ingit* 'finger'; *dið* 'smoke'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *yōl* 'ear'; *potūn* 'leg'; *wāl* 'roof-beam', etc.); stems in *-ā-* (e.g. *uštīn* 'hay-stack'; *γāl* 'neck'; *kīl* 'knife'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; *wāl* 'trousers'); stems in *-ī-* (e.g. *foryəm* 'female kid'; *met* 'fist'; *səvd* 'shoulder'; *wēd* 'willow'; *yer* 'stone'; *šəe* 'female'; *žān* 'woman'<sup>2</sup>); stems in *-ū-* (*xoš* 'mother-in-law'); stems in *-au-* (*uyūi*, *yōu* 'cow'; *šōu* 'horn'(?)); stems in *-r-* (*vərūd* 'brother'; *wuðəyð* 'daughter'; *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *xəmūd* 'son-in-law'); stems in *-n-* (*cām* 'eye'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *māl* 'husband'; *nīm* 'name'; *pām* 'wool'; *šūrm* 'dung'(?); cf. also *pār-uzd* 'yesterday'); stems in *-s-* (*sōr* 'head', and, ultimately, *ormōzd* 'sun'), and nouns which may go back to ancient plurals (e.g. *pōi* 'milk'; *you* 'corn'; *warf* 'snow'; *wolk* 'kidney', etc.).<sup>3</sup>

#### *Suffixes in k.*

96. Various types of suffixes containing a *k* are found in Sgl.—Ishk., and some of them are still productive. The forms in *g* are mere variants, due to sandhi, or to the influence of a preceding nasal.

<sup>1</sup> The only exception known being the 'irregular' pl. of *vərūd* 'brother', see § 102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 26.

<sup>3</sup> As for traces of ancient *-ā(h)*, cf. § 78, c, e.

1. A simple *-k*, derived from *\*ka-*, appears in *wolk* 'kidney', cf. *nəmēdɣ/k*, etc. 'salt'. Also nom. msc. *\*akah*, *-ukah* probably result in *-k*, cf. *nārk* 'male'; *park* 'ashes'; *pāsk* 'hide'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *dwrk* 'stick'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *zūng* 'knee'.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *yōtuk*, etc. 'bridge' and *wotuk* 'feast' cf. § 24.—*ginjišk* 'sparrow'; *pušk* 'dung' etc. are lw.s.

2. A suffix Sgl. *-ōk* (Ishk. regularly *-uk*, cf. § 78 a) appears in several categories of nouns.

a. In names of animals. Thus: *moy'dōk*, etc. 'frog'; *mər'yōk* 'sparrow'; *jila'yōk* 'spider'; *\*skonōk* 'puppy'; *šp'nōk* 'kid'; *v'rōk* 'horse'; *wo'rok* 'male lamb' (Mj. *worəy*); *wo'sōk* 'calf' (Par. *ya'sō*); *šwōk* 'male markhor'; *zə'yōlog* 'bumble bee', etc. It will be noted that this suffix is used by preference about male animals, and it goes back to *\*akah*, or, perhaps, *\*akahya*.<sup>2</sup>

b. In names of parts of the body and other nouns: *ostōk* 'bone' (Y *yastē*); *jē'nōk* 'hair' (M *yūnəy*); *γō'rōk* 'neck' (Psht. *γaraī*); *narzōk* 'nail'; *mālōk* 'husband' (Y *maɾa*); *wulōk* 'flour' (Y *yārē*, etc.); *yivdōk* 'thread' (pf. ptc.), etc.

c. In many cases *-ōk* is evidently a secondary suffix. Thus, e.g., in: *parwinekog* 'moth' (*parwinek* 'butterfly'); *worokok* 'small lamb'; *ingitōk* 'finger-ring' (*ingit*); *māl(ōk)* 'husband'; *vōrok* 'window' (*vōr*); *nə'wōk* 'mill-race' (*nōu*); *zəma'nōk* 'boy' (*zōman*); *nī'yōk* 'reed' (< Prs. *nai*).

d. In adjectives: *nu'wōk* 'new'; *š'wōk* 'wet'; *v'zōk* 'fat';<sup>3</sup> *šwondok* 'hungry'; *xažok* Gr. 'sweet'.

e. In the Perfect. Thus, e.g.: *nilōstog* 'having sat down'; *no'dōk* (*nas-*) 'has been seized'; Sgl. *ku'ōk*, Ishk. *ku'uk* 'has done' (Par. *ku'rō*); *dūduk* Sk. 'has given', etc. Cf. *p(ə)xōk* 'cooked', and also the verbal nouns of the type *dəryōk* 'reaping'; *vī-diōk* 'watering'; *deyuk* Sk. 'to give'; *no'rōk* 'rain', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 84.

<sup>2</sup> See § 94.

<sup>3</sup> And also *w'zōk* 'branch'; but not *\*w'zōk* 'male goat'.



3. Sgl. *-āk* occurs in words denoting female beings in *əʃcāk* (Ishk. *ʃtok*) 'girl'; *wērāk*, etc. 'she-lamb'. Other examples are: Sgl. *kyēvāk*, etc.: Gr. *kēvāk*, Zar. *kevōq* 'magpie'; *dər'nāk* 'bow-string'; *γōlāk* 'plough-handle'; *pōstāk* 'bark'.<sup>1</sup> Besides, as a secondary suffix, in *rēf(āk)* 'broom'; *dēc(āk)* 'goat-skin'; *čōv(āk)* 'little'; *xušk(āk)* 'dry'; *kōlāk* 'knife' (*kil*); *ta'yāk* (*tāy*) 'colt'. *-āk* probably goes back to *-akā*, cf. § 78 e.

4. In some cases *-ak* appears to be an unstressed variant of *-āk*, cf. Sgl. p. 2 *wērak*: p. 3 *wērāk*; Gr. *kāndak*: Sgl. is. p. 1, 2 *kan'dāk*, Zb. *kondok* 'thorn'; Sgl. p. 2 *γulak*: is. *γōlāk* (but Sk. *γūlak* 'pellet-bow').

In other words *-ak* has been borrowed from Prs., cf., e.g. *das'tak* 'rafter'; *gilimbōfak* 'spider' (*gilambōf*). In *gur'dak* 'neck'; *kamak* 'spine'; *parak*, *parik* 'rib'; *dānd(ak)* 'tooth'; *γur'ak* 'violin'; *tiyaxarak* 'donkey's foal'; *wužinjak* 'woman' the suffix may be genuine < \**akā*. Cf. also *mak* 'me'; (*tə*)*fak* 'thee', and *mōd(ak)* 'here', *wōd(ak)*, etc. 'there'.

5. The suffix *-āk* goes back to *-akā* in *əvāk* 'tongue'; *Iz'vuk* 'Zebak'. With *-āk* < *-akā* after a narrow vowel (cf. § 78 h): *ʃvāk* 'shoulder-blade'; *ust'rūk* 'star' (< \**stūrūk* < \**stāraka* ?); *vəždūk* 'long'. Cf. also Ishk. *avzūk* (Sgl. *ōvzu*) 'heart'; *γu'rūk* 'lucerne'; *kužūk* 'bull'; *nīdūk* 'buttermilk'; *sū'yūk* 'spleen'; *wu'sūk* 'elbow'.

Verbal nouns in *-āk* are: *kīrūg* 'plough'; *minduk* 'asleep'; *yūpūk* 'grinding'; *xōfuk* 'coughing'. From the past base are formed *misūk* 'sleep'; *jistuk* Gr. 'swift', and *žāduk* Sk. 'murderer'. The same may be the case with *batuk* Gr. 'beetle'. Cf. also *ʃdvuk* Gr. 'breakfast'; Sgl. *p'čuk* 'worm'; *rīžūk* 'male kid', etc.

*tanuk* Gr., *tan'k* Sk. 'thin' may possibly go back to \**tanukahya*. From \**tanukah* we should expect \**tuŋk*.

6. The suffix *-ik* appears in a number of words, most of which are lw.s. Thus, e.g. *būr'k* Sk. 'thin'; *čūčik* Sk. 'chicken'; *tōrik*

<sup>1</sup> All of which have shortened stem-vowel before *-āk*.

'darkness'; *kauležik* 'tadpole'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'. I have noted both *ākik* and *ākik* 'egg'; *āšik* and *āšik* 'tear'.

Other examples are: *bāndik* 'elbow, joint'; *cām-mārdikig* 'pupil of the eye'; *curik* Gr. 'a shed'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *māčik* 'she-dog'; *mārcik* 'ant'; *mužik* 'pea' (Bad. Prs. *mužuk*); *rēčik* 'entrails'; *sodik* Sk. 'porridge'.

Several ancient suffixes appear to have been merged in Sgl.—Ishk. *-ik*.

7. The suffixes *-ek* and *-ək* appear mainly in lws from Prs. with original *-ak*. Examples are: *ainek* 'mirror'; *ātašek* 'lightning'; *šauparek* 'bat'; *parvīnek* 'butterfly'; *damfāžek* 'yawn'; *gazək* 'tamarisk'; *xənək* 'cold'; *guldād(ək)* Sk. 'whirlwind'; *xōlək* 'maternal uncle'; *zardək* 'carrot'. Also some words of probably non-Prs. origin have got these suffixes added. Thus, e.g. *astamāyzek* 'upper arm'; *sārek* 'cream'; *xrēseg* 'n. of an animal'; *fušek*, *fəšēk* 'nose'; *žānžək* 'entrails', etc.

8. A few words end in *-ək*. Thus: *wulmēk* 'moon'; *vək* 'water'; *wurmēk* 'poplar', cf. *wulyēka* 'alone'.

9. In *ari* 'work' and *xodāri* 'water-mill' *r + k* has developed in a special way. Cf. § 69.

### Other Suffixes.

97. Prs. *-ī* and *-iš* have been borrowed and occur, e.g., in *žondokī* 'hunger'; *kiriš* 'ploughing'; *yūniš* 'grinding'.

The ancient suffix *-xa-* occurs in *wolox* 'rib', etc.; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōdx* 'goat's hair' (< \**dōšx*?).

Regarding the ancient fem. suffix *-či* cf. s.vv. *šac* 'female'; *jōn* 'woman'; *wānič* 'female calf', and possibly *krič* 'hut'; *pərnič* 'threshold'. Cf. also *wužinjak* 'woman'; *əščāk* 'girl', and, possibly, *žānžək* 'entrails' (< \**žān-jak*?), and see § 26.



## Gender.

98. As far as my material goes, there is no trace of any distinction of gender in Sgl.—Ishk.<sup>1</sup> Names of males and females of the same species of animals are often expressed by different words. Thus *ku'zūk* 'bull': *ō'yūi* 'cow'; *ta'ke* 'male kid': *fər'yəm* 'female kid'; *jūwānē* 'male calf': *bakēṇḍī*, *waṇic* 'female calf', etc. Note, however, *wo'rōk* 'male lamb': *wē'rāk* 'female lamb', and cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3 about the suffixes *-ōk* and *-āk*.

## Number.

99. Traces of ancient plural forms are preserved in Sgl. *vrūdār* 'brothers' = Shgh. *virōdār* < \**brātarā(h)*,<sup>2</sup> and *zəma'nāk* 'boys', from *zəma'nōk*, etc.; cf. the Pf. and Plupf. pl. forms, §§ 144, 147. Examples are: *m-amīč tāt xān hōvḍ vrūdār-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'there are seven brothers in my father's house'; *am xān mōš v'rūdār-en* Sgl. is. 'these houses belong to my brothers'; *mən xān hōvḍ zəma'nāk-ō* Sgl. p. 1 'there are seven boys in my house'.
100. A more recent formation is the pl. in *-ən*, *-ān*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g.: *amānd ādamən rōsk yēžān* Sgl. p. 1, 2 'these men speak the truth'; *amand ādamān* p. 1; *ādamān xwōṛan* p. 2 'the men ate'; *ada āda'mā* (= *-ān*?) 'arī *kenan* p. 1 'those men are working'; *wa'ziren yēždan* p. 3 'the ministers said'; *gōl ken xē wa'ziren* 'assemble your ministers'; *xarēgiren nəs la-kuān* p. 2 'the custom-officials did not let me go'; *mō Kāfīren i'tin* p. 2 'they arrived among the Kafirs'; *maxlu'kān guḍōm xaštān* p. 2 'the people(?) plundered the storehouses'. In *bō'tā f'rēd* p. 3 'he broke the idols', and in *vəza xa'sān* p. 2 'they drag the goats', *-ā* may have been borrowed from Prs. *-(h)ā*. Also Sk. observes that Ishk. *āla'xō* 'hills', *rēmuz'dā* 'suns' are recent forms,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Gr. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a parallel pl. \**wuḍuydār* was denied.—Cf. "Wkh." *v'rūdār-kuc* = Sgl. *vrūdākuč* 'brother's wife'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr. § 43.

corresponding to more archaic *rēmuz'dən* 'suns'; *tātən* 'fathers'; *nā'nən* 'mothers'; *tātā'kən* 'ancestors'.

It is even possible that also *-ān*, Gr. *-an* may be of Prs. origin, while *-ən*, *-en* is genuine and corresponds to Shgh. *-ēn*, *-īn*.<sup>1</sup>

101. I never heard the Zb. pl. forms in *-e*, *-ai*, which appear to be used in the LSI about inanimate things, animals, and collectives (*naukar*, *muzdur*, *kančani*), while *-an*, *-en* is reserved for human beings considered as individuals. The difference of use prevents us from identifying this ending with *-en*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to derive *-e*, *-ai* from *-āh*, as proposed by Tedesco, i.e. All final syllables are lost in Sgl.—Ishk., and a development *-āh* > *-ai* is in any case most unlikely. Reg. traces of *-ā(h)* cf. above.

102. After numerals, *fai* 'many', *cəmənd* 'how many', *kull* 'all', etc., the sg. is regularly used. Thus, e.g., *fai muluk ari k'enū* Ishk. 'many men are working'; *fai wuđuyđ-ō* Sgl. p. 2 'there are many daughters'; *azəm fai (wok) wəz wəndo wəd* p. 2 'I had seen many goats (one goat)'; *cəmənd ādam ōsto?* p. 2 'how many men are there?' *də zōt* 'two sons'; *ə'fūr za'min-ō*, *ə'fūr zōt-ō mənēn*, *va ə'fūr baxš kenen* p. 2 'I have four fields and four sons, and I divide the four (fields among them)'; *rōi xwāi mənən-ē* p. 2 'I have three sisters'; *ma mič xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in my house'; *wog, dō, rōi mēi* p. 2 'one, two, three days'; *čel dar'wāza wəd* p. 3 'there were 40 gates'; *čel haf'sar . . . nīdəf* p. 3 'you forty officers shall sit down'. Sometimes we also find the substantive put in the sg. after a pl. demonstrative: *a'wand ādam žwondok-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'those men are hungry', and even—if correct—*ō* (sg.!) *ādam xēsta xwāran* p. 2 'those men eat bread'.

The examples given above show that the verb is frequently in the sg. even with an animate pl. subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Tedesco, ZII, IV, 166.

<sup>2</sup> With loss of *n*, cf. Grierson l.c.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. Grierson l.c.



## Case.

103. Regarding traces of ancient, oblique cases in *-ahya* and *-yāh*, cf. §§ 96, 2 and 26.

## Agent Case.

103. In *čuṭ zōli xē tā-rē yēṭōd* Sgl. p. 2 'the younger son said to his father', and *tāte xē māl taxsīm kuḍ* p. 2 'the father divided his property' we apparently find an agent case in *-ī*, *-e*. But it is possible that *-ī*, *-e* is the possessive enclitic suffix 3 sg.

In other cases the nominative is used as an agent, thus, e.g., *pādšā formūd* 'the king commanded', etc. Note also that *tə* is used as an agent.<sup>1</sup> I have noted no instance of obl. pl. in *-əf* of nouns. Nor are such forms found in Sk.'s material. But Gr. gives *ca wazīrdw* 'from the ministers', etc.

## Accusative.

104. The indefinite object does not differ in form from the subject, and I never came across the form in *-i* mentioned by Gr.<sup>2</sup> from Ishk.—Zeb.

Thus, e.g.: Ishk., Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ari kenum, kenen* 'I work'; Ishk. *vēk pəvum* 'I drink water'; Sgl. p. 1 *puḍf-um pu'xəm*; Ishk. *puṭf-um puzt* 'I cooked meat', etc.

With determinative pronoun: Sgl. p. 1 *xē dōst zenēyen* 'I wash my hand(s)'; *tāte xē māl taxsīm kuḍ* 'the father divided his property'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; p. 2 *ma kilāv kō-re dē* 'give this book to somebody'.

In Sgl. a definite object not preceded by a pronoun is indicated by the prefix *va*.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *va šenāi lan* 'extinguish the fire' (but also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112, and see Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 64.

<sup>2</sup> § 44.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the derivation of *va* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 220.

*šonāy-əm žōd*); *va uyū dēšəm, va uyū-m dəyðəm* 'I milk(ed) the cow'; *va kitāb dūdin mum bē* 'they gave me the book'; *va cafūr baxš kenen* 'I divide the four (fields)'; *nēr-əm kuð v-āri ðak* 'imrūz hamū kār kardam'; p. 1 *va māl tazsīm ke* 'divide the property'; p. 3 *va koryos vōst* 'he bound the eagle' (but *əfūr koryos nas* 'catch four eagles', etc.).

With a pronominal object: Sgl. p. 1 *a'max va 'tfak wēndan* 'we saw thee'; p. 2 *wēndəm va 'tfak; az-əm va 'tfak wēndo vōð*; *az va 'tfak yēžen* 'I tell thee' (but also *təfak bəšānəm* 'I make thee sit down'; *az 'tfak kasen-i* 'do I see thee?'); is. *va tō gap-am apəxt* 'I heard thy word'.

In Ishk. I never heard *va* used. Thus, e.g.: *yundum derāyen* 'I cut the wheat' (cf. Sgl. p. 2 *va yōndum yalbēl kenen*); *azi fak wēnduk* 'I saw thee'; *mak dēd* 'he beat me'.

### Genitive.

105. The attributive genitive is expressed, just as in Ishk.,<sup>1</sup> by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *ma mič tāt xān* 'in our father's house'; *ma 'xān mi'yāne-mō* 'I am in the middle of the house'; *vərō yāl* 'the horse's mane'; p. 3 *Ōzar zōt* 'Azar's son'.

In some fixed formulas of Prs. origin the izafat is used, but it is impossible to tell whether such constructions really belong to everyday speech. Examples are, e.g.: Sgl. p. 3 *mə rām-i mādār* 'in his mother's womb'; *beyār-i mak* 'except me'; Sgl. is. *har qism-i ciziā-i xūb* 'every kind of good things'.

The predicative genitive is formed with the suffix *-en* (< \**-aina-?*). Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *am xān (vərō) məm v'rūden-ē* 'this house (horse) is my brother's'; *am xān am ādamen-ē*; p. 3 *āhūin wok sāx dā vōð* 'the stag had one horn'; is. *am xān məš v'rūdaren-ē* 'this house belongs to my brothers'. But note: Sgl. p. 2 *wok ādam dā zōt vōð* 'a man had two sons'.

<sup>1</sup> Grierson § 44.



In Ishk. we find a possessive suffix *-nd*, *-na*, cf. Sk. *remuzd-na-i nūr* 'the light of the sun'; *dīax-na-i warf* 'the snow of the mountain'; *tāt-na-i kitāb* 'father's book'; Gr. *pādsā-na wak udōyd* 'a daughter of the king'. The derivation proposed by Gr. § 44 from *-āna* is phonetically uncertain.

Note also the use of the oblique pl. in Gr. *xē wazirdur dur* 'the house of his viziers'.

### Dative.

106. The dative is expressed by means of the postposition *-bē* 'to'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *rōi rōpē ākum-be dūdin* 'they gave the governor three rupees'; *xē tā-vē* (= *tāt bē*) *γēžed* 'he said to his father'. But the original local sense of *-bē* is evident in Sgl. p. 2 *cā wōd šid Mandežān-be* 'from there it went to M.'; *ōyod Gazkestān-bē* 'it arrived at G.'.

The Ishk. form is *bō*, *bā*. Thus: I *mum bō* 'to me'; Sk. *remuzd-bā* 'to the sun'; *ndn-bā*, *tā(?)bā* 'to the mother, father'; pl. *nd'nēm-bā*, *tātēm-bā* (with *ən* < *\*anām*?).

*bē*, *bā* is probably derived from *\*upai*.

### Other Local 'Cases'.

107. Local relations are sometimes expressed without the aid of any preposition or postposition. Thus: Sgl. *mən xān hōvd zəmanāk-ō* 'there are seven boys in my house'; p. 3 *ōyodam pe'nuk* 'we arrived at the pass'; *ōyodan Kōe'slān* 'they arrived in Chitral'.

In other cases prepositions are used:

a) *ma*, *mə* 'in': Sgl. p. 2 *cəmēnd tanān ma toməx xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?'; *psūt mə Skitāl fāuē* 'now the army is in S.'; p. 3 *mə šār čel darwāza wəd* 'there were forty gates in the town'; is. *mə waxt-i qadīm* 'in olden times'; *mo xōdm wēnd* 'he saw in a dream'; *a'rāz mə vyek* 'jump into the water'; p. 2 *mə Kāfirēn itin* 'they arrived among the Kafirs'.

*ma* is probably a shortened, unstressed form of \**mað* < *maidyoī*, *maidim*. Cf. also Parachi *ma yus* 'in the house', etc., but the origin of the Par. particle is at least partly of different origin.<sup>1</sup>

b) *cə* 'from' < *hačā*. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *cə kū yuz<sup>2</sup> xašəm* 'we fetch fire-wood from the hills'; *cə har xōri-dak də rōpē nōð* 'he took two rupees from each donkey'; p. 3 *cə ās'mān paše xavd* 'mosquitoes came down from the sky'; *cə pəšt-i pədar* 'from his father's loins'.

c) *pə* 'to, into' < *paiti*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *šid pa (nəsm-i) asmān kafas* 'the cage rose into (the middle of) the sky'; *pə wāda hit* 'he arrived at the time of marriage'; *rō p-xē xədā kəð* 'he turned towards his God, *rū ba xudā kat*'.

d) *tar* 'through, between, to, in', < *tarō*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *tar asmān šəxt* 'he passed through the sky'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

Regarding *sōr* (*mə sōr*) 'on'; *viš* (*cə . . . viš, mə . . . viš*) 'under, below'; *gəl* 'together with'; *ša* 'before'; *pəš-i*, v. Voc. s.vv.

### Adjectives.

108. No distinction of gender or of number has been noted in the adjectives of Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: *az šwondok-mō, aməx š.ān, amənd ādam š.ān, təməx š.ān-i?* 'I am, we are, these men are, are you hungry'; *janj amēdvār-ō* 'the woman is pregnant'; *am xān šəšt, həð xān riziāk* 'this house is big, that house is small'.

The *izāfat* is occasionally used in idioms of Prs. origin.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms. Cf. the sentence quoted just above, and also Sgl. p. 2 *čārvā cə vəz šəšt-ō* 'cattle is bigger than goats'; *mič tāt xān wokiak kalān-ū* 'our father's house is a little larger (*yak-taš kalāntar a*)'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə mak (tšak, məčəf) šəšt* 'this man is bigger than I (thou, we)'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HFI. I, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> But note the ptc. *nilostog*, pl. *nilostag*, etc. § 146.



## Numerals.

109. The main forms of the numerals<sup>1</sup> are:

1. Sgl., Ishk., Zeb. *wok*, Sk. *wōk* < \**aiwakah*, cf. § 87.
2. » *dōu*, *dāu*, Ishk. *dōʷ*, Zeb. *dū*, Sk. *dau* < \**duwā(u)*.
3. » *rōi*, Ishk. *rōi*, Zeb. *rū*, Sk. *rūi* < *ōrāyō*.
4. » Zeb., Sk. *cʷfūr*, Ishk. (lw.) *čōr*.
5. » *pʷōnz*, -s, Zeb. *pʷōnš*, Ishk. *ponj*, Sk. *pūnz*.
6. » *zuāf*, etc., Ishk. *xol*, Zeb., Sk. *xōl*.
7. » (h)*ōvd*, Ishk., Zeb. *ōvd*, Sk. *uvd*.
8. » (h)*ōt*, Ishk. *aʷt*, Zeb., Sk. *ōt*.
9. » Sk. *nōu*, Ishk. *nao*, Zeb. *nāu*.
10. » *dōs*, Ishk. *das*, Zeb. (lw.) *dāu*, Sk. *dah*.
11. » *koʷdōs*, etc. < \**aiwakadasa*; Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *yōzda*, Zeb. *yōzdāu*.
12. » *ʷdīdus* < \**duwadasa*; Ishk. (lw.) *dwāzda*, Zeb. *dwōzdāu*.
13. » Ishk. (lw.) *ʷsēzda*, Zeb. *sīzdāu*.
14. » (lw.) *čārda*, Zeb. *čōrdāu*.
15. » *pōnzēdōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *pōnzdāu*.
16. » *xuāf(ə)dōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *šōnzdāu*.
17. » *ōvdēdōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *habdāu*.
18. » *hōtēdōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *haždāu*.
19. » *noiwēdōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *nuzdāu*.
20. » *wīšt*; Zeb., Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *bīst*.
30. » *rus*, *rəs* < \**ōrisat*.
40. » (lw.) *črl*, *čel*.
50. » » *panʷjā*.
60. » » *šāš/st*.
70. » » (h)*afʷtāš*.
80. » » *ašʷtāš*.
90. » » *naʷwāš*. (NB *āʷ*).
100. » » *sāš*.
1000. » » *haʷzār*.
- <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. » » *nīm*.

<sup>1</sup> For phonetic details v. Voc. s.vv.

	1st Pers. Sg.			2nd Pers. Sg.		
	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld
Nom.	az(ə)	azi	a'zi	tə'u	tə	tə
Ag.	az-əm	azi	a'zim, azm	tə-d/və	tə	tə-d
Acc.	(va)-mak	mak	mak	(va)-t'fak	fak	fak
Abl.	cə-mak			cə-t'fak		
Loc.	pə-mak			pə-t'fak		
Gen.	mən	mon	pə-mak mən	tō	tī	pə-fak 'tind
Pred. Gen.	mə-nən	mon		tōnən	tinō	'tind
'Iness.'	ma-mən					
Dat.	'mə/ün-bē			tō-b/vē	tū-bo	tə-bē
Comit.	'mən-göl			tō yöl		
'Anteess.'	'mən-jē			tū-ä/i		

	1st Prs. Pl.			2nd Prs. Pl.		
	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld
Nom.	<i>ama/ax</i>	<i>mux</i>	<i>mæx</i>	<i>te mu/ax</i>	<i>tomux</i>	<i>temæx</i>
Ag.	—		<i>mæxæn</i>	—		<i>temæxæn</i>
Acc.	<i>(va-)mišef</i>	<i>mux</i>	<i>mæx, mæxæn</i>	<i>(va)temæx(ef)</i>	—	<i>temæx(æv)</i>
Abl.	<i>cə-mæšef</i>			<i>cə-temæx(ef)</i>		
Loc.	<i>pə-mæšef</i>		<i>pə-mæxæn</i>	<i>pə-temæx(ef)</i>		<i>pə-temæx</i>
Gen.	<i>(a)mič</i>	<i>miš</i>	<i>mæšænd</i>	<i>temæx</i>		<i>temæxænd</i>
Pred.Gen.	<i>mæšæn</i>			<i>temæxæn</i>		
'Iness.'						
Dat.	<i>miš-bé</i>		<i>mæš-bd</i>			<i>temæx-bd</i>
Comit.	<i>miš gól</i>		<i>mæš-gul</i>			



111. The various forms which, for the sake of convenience, have been included in the preceding paradigm, are of diverse nature, and it is doubtful whether all of them ought really to be called "cases". They are all derived from a limited number of bases, viz. in Sgl.:

	1st Sg.	2nd Sg.	1st Pl.	2nd Pl.
Nom.	<i>azə</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>amax</i>	<i>təməx</i>
Obl.	<i>mak</i>	<i>tʃak</i>	<i>mičəf</i>	<i>təməx(əf)</i>
Gen.	<i>mən</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>mič</i>	<i>təməx.</i>

It will be observed that the differentiation is less marked in the Pl.—especially in the 2nd prs.—than in the Sg.

*azə* and *tə* go back to ancient nominatives, *azə* perhaps to a form \**azām*, cf. Sogd. b. *ʾzic* and Yd. *zo*, etc.

*mak* and *tʃak*, *fak* represent ancient accusatives and ablatives, and *mən* and *tō* ancient genitives. Ishk. (and Zeb. Gr.) *tī* corresponds to Wkh. *tī*, and may go back to \**tai*. Regarding this system of cases cf. Gauthiot MSL, 20, p. 69.

In the pl. the nominatives have been lost, as elsewhere in Ir. —*amax* goes back to \**amāzam* as proposed by Gauthiot l.c.; *mič*, however, must be derived from \**ahmāčiya*- (cf. Shgh. *māš* and possibly Psht. *mūnā*), not from \**mak'ēš* (Gauthiot, l.c.). The oblique base has been differentiated from the genitive by the addition of the oblique case suffix *-əf* < \**-aiβiš* (Gauthiot, l.c.).

The 2nd pl. has been differentiated from the 1st pl. by the addition of *t-* from the sg., just as is the case in Sar. and Yazgh.

Regarding the use of the Agent case, cf. § 103.

112. The oblique base is used:

a) Without any addition as an accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *tu mak kasī* 'thou seest me'; *tʃak dehēm* 'we beat thee'; *azə tumuxəv kasen* 'I see you'; p. 2 *təfak wëndəm* 'I saw thee'; Ishk. *azi tumux yēžum* 'I say to you'; *azi fak wënduk* 'I have seen thee'.

b) With *va* as a definite or emphatic accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *az tʃak kasen*, *kull va tʃak kasem* 'I see thee, we all see thee'; *tə va mičəf kasī*; *azə va tumuxəv kasen*; *azəm va tumux wënt* (*va tumuxəfəm*

wēnt); *az-əm va tfag wēnt* 'I saw thee'; *tō-u va mak wēnt*, p. 2 *az-əm va tfak wēnd*; *tā-vō va-mak wēnd*.

c) With the izafat: Sgl. p. 3 *bēyār-i mak* 'except me'.

d) With *cə* as an ablative: Sgl. p. 2 *tə cə-mak* 'piān-dō' 'thou art below me'; *cə tfak vērāz-mō* 'I am above thee'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə-mak* (*cə-tfak*, *cə-mācəf*, *cə-təmāxəf*) *jəšt* 'this man is bigger than I' (etc.).

e) With *pə* as a locative.

The genitive base is used:

113. a) As an attributive genitive: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān, ō tō xān* 'this is my house, that one is thy house'; p. 2 *am xān məm vērūden-ē* 'this house is my brother's'; *ma mič (təmāx) xān* 'in our (your) house'; p. 3 *ma mən xōdm* 'in my sleep'; *tō larz* 'thy word'; Ishk. *tī zəvūk* 'thy tongue'; *wadak tī (mīš) xān* 'there is thy (our) house'.

b) With the suffix *-(n)ēn*, Ishk. *-nō* as a Predicative Gen.<sup>2</sup>: Sgl. p. 1 *am xān kull mənēn-ē* 'all these houses are mine'; *cəfūr zōt-ō mənēn* 'I have four sons'; p. 2 *mənēn wok kitāv-ō* 'I have a book'; *ō xān-da tōnen-ē* 'this house is thine'; Sgl. is. *am xān mənēn- (mācēn-, tēmāxēn-) ē* 'this house is mine (ours, yours)'; Ishk. *amīn xān munō, wadak xān tinō* 'this house is mine, that house there is thine'; *mənō wok kitōb vəd* 'I had a book'. Note Sgl. p. 3 *mānī zi Xudāi nēst* 'az mā itarī Xudd nēst'.—Cf. § 105.

c) With the preposition *ma* as a locative.

d) With the postpositions Sgl. *bē*, Ishk. *bo* 'to' as a dative, and with *jē* 'in front of', *gōl*, *gul* 'with'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *mum-bē tu wok ropēē dē* 'give me one rupee'; *az tō-bē wok ropēē dāyēn*; p. 2 *miž-be pūl dē* 'give us money'; *va kitāb dūdīn mum-bē* 'they gave me the book'; Ishk. *azi tu-bo dēyum* 'I give thee'; *tə mum-bo čiz yāzi?* 'what dost thou say to me?'—Sgl. p. 2 *az tū-žā-mō, tō mən-žā-dō* 'I am before thee, and thou art before me'; p. 3 *mən-jē*; p. 2 *tō-yōl* 'hamrā-i-tu'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *aze-i tfak(?) xēsta xwārem* 'I and thou(?) eat bread'; but Ishk. *azi tə maduk arī kenon* 'I and thou are working here'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. *č'm'k*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grierson § 52.



## Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

114. I have come across no genuine Sgl. enclitic pronouns, and I have heard no sentence corresponding in its construction to Ishk. *dédāk-am-a* 'I have beaten him'.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, however, the Prs. pronominal suffixes are being used. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *mə šēn kenen-et* 'mā tura mēgāyam-et'; p. 1 *nivō-et* 'he brought it to thee'.—Sgl. p. 2 *belarzānu-š* 'he makes him tremble'; *belišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'; *čukō-š* 'he beats him'; *dā-š ambār* 'they put it into the granary'; *nə wīnō-š* 'he doesn't see him'.<sup>2</sup>—Sgl. p. 1 *kull-mōn-dag nilōstag-an* 'we are all sitting'; *kull-mōn dag va tʃak kasem* 'we are all of us looking at thee'; *am xān-dag kull-mōnin-dag-ē* 'this very house belongs to all of us';<sup>3</sup> Sgl. is. *wīndō-mōn* 'he has seen us'.—*kull-šōn-dak sār xwārān* 'all of them will eat to-morrow'; *kull-šōm-bē taxsīm kenen* 'I shall distribute it to all of them'; *zamīn kull-šōm baxš kenen* 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; *hōr kull-šōm<sup>4</sup> de šuān xē xān* 'they shall all go to their homes (*hama-išān buran xōna-i xud*)'.—The enclitic pronoun 1st sg. is possibly contained in Sgl. p. 2 *šanāy-am mārōk* 'the fire has died for me(?)'.

## Demonstrative Pronouns.

115. Sgl.—Ishk. possesses three demonstrative pronouns corresponding etymologically and functionally to those of Yd.—Mj.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Grierson, § 62. But cf. Sgl. is. *wīndom-ōn* 'I saw them (?)'. Cf. also Voc. s.v. -i.

<sup>2</sup> But why Sgl. p. 2 *trāsen be apid(š)* 'I fear that he will become lost'?

<sup>3</sup> Note the addition of the Sgl. suffix of the predic. gen. to the Prs. enclitic pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> Read *šōn*?

"HIC"			"ISTE"			"ILLE, IS"		
	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Sköld	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld	Ishk.(Gr.) Zeb.(Gr.)
Nom.	<i>am(a)</i>	<i>ma-dak</i>	<i>ad(a)</i>		<i>ō (au)</i>	<i>wa-dak</i>	<i>a'wi, au</i>	<i>wa</i>
Acc.	<i>ma</i>	<i>man(Gr.)</i>	<i>adē</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wa'o</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>ao, wō</i>
Ag.	<i>amē</i>		<i>id</i>		<i>awō, ō</i>			
Gen.	<i>im</i>		<i>iden</i>		<i>yō</i>	<i>(w)i</i>	<i>(w)i</i>	<i>yū</i>
Pred. Gen.	<i>imen</i>		<i>id-bē</i>		<i>yōnen</i>	<i>ind</i>		<i>yūnen</i>
Dat.					<i>yō-vē</i>	<i>im-bd (?)</i>		<i>yū-bā</i>
					<i>(awai bē)</i>			
Loc.		<i>Zeb.(Gr.)</i>				<i>pə-wan</i>		<i>c-ū</i>
Abl.		<i>c-i(en)</i>			<i>cə-wo</i>			
Pl.								
Nom. Ag.	<i>amānd(e)</i>		<i>adānd(e)</i>		<i>awānd</i>		<i>a'w(āndān)¹</i>	<i>āwend</i>
		<i>miv (Gr.)</i>					<i>a'wāndān</i>	
Pred. Gen.	<i>amānden</i>		<i>adānden</i>				<i>iwānd</i>	
Dat.	<i>amām-bē</i>		<i>adām-bē</i>		<i>awām-bē</i>		<i>iw-bē</i>	<i>wēv</i>
Loc.							<i>pə-a'wāndān</i>	

¹ This is said to be the correct form, but also *aw* is used.



116. The Sgl. bases are:

<i>am</i>	<i>ađ</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>ō</i>
<i>īm</i>	<i>iđ</i>	<i>yō</i> (< * <i>iō</i> ).

Cf. also Ishk.:

<i>man</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wan</i> (< * <i>ōan</i> )
<i>miv</i>		<i>wēv</i> .

In the modern Sgl. system the nom. sg. is formed by prefixing *a* to *m*, *đ*, *u/o*; gen. by prefixing *ī* to the same consonants; acc. by adding *-a* to them, etc.

The connection with the Av. pronominal stems *ima-*, *aēta-* and *ava-* is obvious, but the origin of the differentiation between the nom. *am* and the gen. *īm*, etc. cannot be traced with certainty. *iđ* can scarcely be derived from the acc. *aētəm* (from which we should expect \**ēđ*). It is possible that *am(a)* goes back to *imā-* and *īm* to *ima-*, but the reason for this distribution of the forms is unknown. *iv* might perhaps be derived from *aēibyō*, *aēibiš*, cf. *wēv*. *yōnen* is formed on the same principle as *tōnen*, which in its turn has got its *-n* from *mən-en*. With *amē*, *awē* cf. Sogd. 'wy, 'my.<sup>1</sup> As for the pl. forms cf. Yd.—Mj. § 206. In Sköld's paradigm two different stems appear to have been mixed up.

*Examples of the use of the demonstratives.*

117. 1. *ama*: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān*, *ō tō xān* 'this house is mine, that house is thine'; *am xān žōšt*, *hađ xān riziāk* 'this house is big, (but) that house is small'; *ama ādam karīb-ū*, *ađa ādam dīr-ūi* 'this man is near, (but) that man is far off'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; *hama ādam (amand ādamen) minduk-ū* 'these men are asleep'. p 2 *am xān am ādamen-ē* 'this house belongs to this man'; *am(a) xān imen-ē*, *am xān yōnen-ē*; *amē hēbi nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *im-be-dak wok miļ-əm dūdū vəd* 'I had given this man

<sup>1</sup> Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 124 sq.

an apple'; *amānd ādamən rōšk yēžan* 'these men speak the truth'; *am xān-da amānden-ē* 'this house belongs to these people'; is. *am xān mēnen-ē*; p. 3 *wa-yim* (= \**va im*) *Xudā žanen* 'I shall kill his god'.

2. *ada*: Sgl. p. 1 *ada ādam arī kenō* 'that man is working'; *ada āda'mā arī kenan*; *adand ādamen* 'those men'; *ada yēžō*; *adānda yēžān* 'they say'; *az-əm iđ-bē wok rōpēē dūd* 'I gave him one rupee'. p. 2 *ada xān-da iđen-ē* 'that house is his'; *iđ-be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I give him one rupee'; *ada yēžōđ* 'he said'; *adē-o hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; is. *ađ xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'; *Sköld dan vrūk vünd* 'bind that horse'.

3. *ō*, *āu*: Sgl. p. 1 *āu arī kenō* 'he is working'; *ō tō xān* 'that is thy house'; *awand ādamen (a'wande) kenan* 'they are working'; *az-əm yō-be wok rōpēē dūd*. p. 2 *ō ādam xiwārōi (xiwāran)* 'that man eats (those men eat)'; *ō yēžōđ*; *ō xān-da yōnen(-dak)*; *am xān yōnen-ē* 'that (this) house is his'; *awand ādam žiwondok-ān* 'those men are hungry'; *yo (gen.) žondokī šīđ* 'he became hungry'; *yō-vē wok mīlē dāyem be, wok mīl-əm yō-vē dūdū vōđ* 'I shall give (I have given) him an apple'; *awē hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *cə wo čuť-ān* 'they are smaller than he'. Note *awai be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I shall give him one rupee'. Sgl. p. 2 *az-əm wa žōđ* 'I killed him'; p. 3 *wo žanen* 'ura bukušan'; *to-đo wa gaztog* 'thou hast done it'; *yō-va dāya šīđ* 'she became his nurse'. Sgl. is. *ō xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'. Ishk. *azi wan dēdum* 'I beat him'. *Sköld in nīm čiz, čiz nīm ind?* 'what is his (corr. 'this person's'?) name?'. *ō*, etc. is also used as a personal pronoun 3 sg.

An emphatic particle *-dak* is frequently added to demonstrative pronouns. Thus, e.g.: *am-dak* 'hamīn'; *ađak* (< \**ađ-đak*) 'hamū'; *im-be-dak*, *imen-dak*, etc. Cf. also the use of *-dak* after enclitic pronouns (§ 114) and in *am xān-dag* 'this very house'. Cf. Wkh. *ham-dak* 'hamī'.

In Ishk. I once heard a Prs. demonstrative in *amīn xōn munō* 'this house is mine'. Sgl. p. 2 *i ādam mər* 'this man died' was



probably a slip of the tongue on the part of my informant. Also Sk. has *in*.

Reg. *dunda* 'so much, thus', v. Voc. s.v. I am unable to analyze Sgl. s. *pasi wənəf*, *pasi wədānəf* 'after those things(?) (*bāqi bi ū*)'.

### Reflexive Pronoun.

118. The reflexive pronoun is *xē* 'own' < \**xwəhya*. V. Voc. s.v. Note: Sgl. *gōl ken xē wazirən* 'assemble my ministers'; *wa xē kūc* 'O, my wife'.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

119. *kō(i)?* 'who?' < *kahyā*.—Sgl. p. 2, *is. am xān kōinen-ē?* 'whose is this house?' *ma kitāv kō-ve dē?* 'to whom wilt thou give this book'; Sgl. p. 3 *kōi gaxtog?* 'who has done it?'. *kudum?* 'which?'.—Sgl. p. 2 *kudum ādam-ē?* 'which man is it?'. Sgl. p. 3 *ma kudəm mah-ō?* 'in which month is it?' < *katāma*.

*cē?* (adj.), *ceci?* (subst.) 'what?'.—Sgl. p. 1 *tu ce arī keni*, p. 2 *ce/i (h)arī kē* 'what art thou doing (*ēi mēkuni*)?'; p. 2 *tə cə nim do* 'what is thy name? (litt. thou what name art?)'; *təməx cie yēžəf?* 'what do you say?'; *ceci (cicə) yēž?* 'what dost thou say?'; *ēiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. 'what?'.—Ishk. *tə mum bo ēiz yēž?* 'what dost thou say to me?'.—Cf. Voc. s.v.

*cəmənd?* 'how many?'—Sgl. p. 2 *cəmənd ādam ōstō?* *cəmənd tan-ān?* 'how many men (persons) are there?'.—From \**čumanta* < *č(u)want*? *kōci* 'any(body)'.—Sgl. p. 3 *kōci digar Xudā* 'any other God'.—Cf. Av. *kas-ēt*.

*iško* 'anybody' (< \**hič kō*).—Sgl. p. 3 *iško nes ferind* 'nobody remained (*hēckas na mānd*)'.

*hēti* 'anything' (< \**hēc-ci*).—Sgl. p. 2 *nēr-mō hēti nes xorōk* 'to-day I have not eaten anything'.

*čand* 'some' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čand rōz pasi* 'some days afterwards'.

*čizi* 'something' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čizi-m nūšod* 'I drank something'.—V. Voc. s.v.

*har* 'every' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *ce har xōri-dak* 'from every ass'; Sgl. is. *har qism* 'every kind'. Cf. Sgl. p. 2 *hōr kull-šōn* 'all of them'.

*kull* 'all' (< Ar. Prs.).—Cf. § 114, and v. Voc. s.v.

Cf. also the interrogative adverbs *cē-ba* 'why?', *cō-nā* 'how?', *kādi* 'when?', *kunjā* 'where?', and *kirā* 'why?' (adapted from Prs.).

I have come across no relative pronoun in Sgl.

## Verbs.

### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

#### "To Be".

#### Present.

120.	Sg. 1 Prs. -mō, Ishk. -m	Pl. 1 -ān
	» 2 » -dō	» 2 -ān
	» 3 » -ō(i), -ū(i), -ē, Ishk. -ō	» 3 -ān.

#### 121. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō nilōstog* 'I am sitting'; *az mā xān darūn-mō* 'I am in the house'; *az zinda (wulyēka)-mō* 'I am alive (alone)'; Ishk. *azi-m bēdōr (ferīnd)* 'I am awake (tired)'; Sk. *az-im ōst* 'I am'. Cf. LSI, X, p. 491 -ma.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *tu mā xān darūn-dō* 'thou art in the house'; *tō sust (šilax, durōygū)-dō* 'thou art lazy (naked, a liar)'; *tō žvondok-dō-i?* 'art thou hungry?'; *tō ce nīm-dō?* 'what is thy name?'. With *-vō* < *-dō*<sup>1</sup>: *tō-vō va mak vēndo vōd* 'thou hadst seen me'; p. 1 *tō-vō nilōsto-do* (= p. 2 *tō-dō nilōstog*) 'thou didst sit down'.

A doubtful case, probably a mere Persianism, is Sgl. p. 2 *cōnā-i oγod* 'čitūr āmadī'. Cf. Gr., Zeb. -ai.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 23.



Sg. 3: The final *-i* of *-ō/ūi* (LSI *-ai*) is probably originally a slightly emphatic particle. Examples are: Sgl. p. 1 *ada ādam dir-ūi* 'this man is far off'; p. 2 *vōr šōx-ōi* 'the door is closed'; Sgl. is. *am xān qarib-ūi* 'this house is near'.

The distinction between *-ō* and *-ū* (LSI *-a*) seems to be due to vowel harmony, *-ū* being used after a preceding narrow vowel. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *xūb rōst dār-k-ū* 'it is a quite straight stick'; *kitāv e-pšūr-ū* 'the book is above'; but *mēx sōr-ō* 'it is on the table'. There are, however, several cases of *-ō* being used also after *i* and *u* (e.g. *vēk xēmuk-ō* 'the water is cold'), and in one case I heard *kalān-ū* 'it is big'.

The sg. *-ō/ū* is used after numerals and adjectives denoting quantity, e.g. *hōvd xōmanāk-ō* 'there are seven sons'; *fai wudnyd-ō* 'there are many daughters', etc.

In Ishk. I never heard any other form than *-ō* (e.g. *wadak xōn tīn-ō* 'that house is thine'). But in Sgl. a special form *-ē* is employed after an abs. gen. Thus, Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ama (ada) xān īmen (īden)-ē* 'this (that) house belongs to this (that) person'; *rōi xwāi mōnen-ē* 'I have three sisters'; *kōinen-ē?* 'whose is it?' *mōnen nest-ē* 'it is not mine'. Note *kudum ādam-ē?* 'which man is it?' (?), which may, however, have been misheard.

The nominal construction, without any auxiliary, is frequent in the 3rd sg. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *am mōn xān* 'this is my house'; *am xān šōst* 'this house is big'.

122. Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn dag nīlōstāg-ān* 'we are all of us sitting'; *amēx šwondok-ān* 'we are hungry'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *tōmux fay-ān* 'you are many'; *tōmēx sust-ān* 'you are lazy'; *tōmēx šwondok-ān-i?* 'are you hungry?'.

Pl. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *hōvd vrūdār-ān* 'there are seven brothers'; *cōmōnd tan-ān ma tōmēx xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?'.

Sgl. *ōsto*, Ishk. *ūst* correspond to Prs. *hast* 'exists, is'. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *mōn wo kitāv ō(sto)* 'I possess a book'; *cōmōnd ādam ōstō?* 'how many people are there?' Ishk. *mōnō wok ēzī ūst* 'I have a certain thing'. Cf. Gr. Ishk. *āst*, Zb. *ūst*, inflected Gr. Zeb. *āst-im*,

*üst-ai*, Sk. *az im öst*, *tu-t öst*, *öst* (e.g. *muna öst* 'I have'), etc. Cf. Sk. *as'tā künā gap* 'is there an ancient word?'. I never came across such forms.

The interpretation of Sgl. p. 2 *wog*, *dō*, *rōi mēi mō Mandažā-st*; *psūd wōda ast*, *wok mā wōda hast*<sup>1</sup> is not certain, but *ast* here seems to mean 'was', cf. Par. *hōst* 'was'.<sup>2</sup>

123. The negative form of the verb substantive is Sgl. 1 sg. *nesimō*, 3rd sg. *nēs(t)* 'nēst'. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 '*az pō 'tō Xu'dāi ka'būl nēsimo* 'I am not satisfied with thy god'; p. 2 *kirā nēst ōyōd?* 'why has he not come?'. But note also, e.g., *nēs kōd* 'na kard'; *iško nes ferind* 'nobody remained', where *nes* is used as a simple negation. Cf. Voc. s.v.

124. The derivation of some of the forms given above is uncertain, but Ishk. *üst*, Sgl. \**öst* probably goes back to accentuated *astī*, while *-ō/ū* represents the unstressed form, and *östō* is a cross between the two forms. But *-ō* may also go back to *-atī*.<sup>3</sup>

In Sgl. *ahmi* and the enclitic pronoun 1 sg. *-mai* would coalesce in (*ə*)*m*. Therefore the auxiliary has been reinforced by adding the verbal ending *-ō*. This has led to the employment of the ancient encl. pron. 2nd sg. Sk. *-t*, *-d*, Sgl. *-d/dō* (with secondary *ō*) both as a verb and as an encl. pronoun.

2nd sg. \**ē* < *ahi* has disappeared in Sgl., probably on account of the collision with 3 sg. *ē*. But cf. Gr., Ishk. *ai*.

While 3rd pl. *ān* may be derived from \**hanti*, and 1 pl. *ān* has been influenced by the encl. pron., the 2 pl. in *ān* is an unexpected form (< *-adana?*).<sup>4</sup>

125. The preterite is *wōdēm*, *-əm wōd*, or *az(-əm) wōd* 'I was'; *wōd* 'he was', e.g., *wok telf wōd* 'there was one child'; *adīm frī wōd* Sk. 'that would be good'. Sk. *'na-ē"duk*, transl. 'he isn't', is probably a pf. form.

<sup>1</sup> Texts, II.

<sup>2</sup> IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. §§ 175 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr., LSI.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prs. dial. *-ān*.



## "To Become".

126. The same root *š-* is used both in the meaning of 'going' and of 'becoming'.

## Present (Aorist).

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>šan</i>	<i>šām</i>	<i>š(rou)m</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šām</i>	<i>šawōn</i>
2			<i>šawī</i>	2		<i>šawōf</i>
3	<i>šawō(i)</i>		<i>šawū</i>	3	<i>šūān</i>	

Thus, *warfā vē šawōi* 'the snow melts'; *šūān xē xān* 'let them go home'; *az šān* 'I become, I go'; *šūān* 'buran'; *šām* 'let us go'.

## Imperative.

Sgl. *šā biavān* 'go into the desert'; Sk. 2nd sg. *šau*, 1 pl. *šūān*.

## Preterite.

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.
Sg. 1 Prs. ( <i>az-əm</i> )	<i>šid-əm, -əm šid</i>	<i>šudum</i>	<i>šedəm</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šūān</i>
2	<i>šio(i)</i>			2	
3	<i>šid</i>			3	<i>šūān</i>

Thus, *bēdār-em šid* 'I awoke'; *šidum biavān* 'I went into the desert'; *tə šiwondok šio-i?* 'gušna šudi?' *wok šēr paidā šid* 'a lion was born'; *šid Izivū bē* 'he went to Zebak'; *psāt šēr šūān* 'now we became satisfied'; *rərsat šūān* 'they took farewell'.—*šūān* < \**šid-ān*.

## Perfect.

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>-mō šioč</i>		
3	<i>šidōč, -o šyuk</i>	<i>šeduk</i>	<i>šedūk</i>

Thus, *az-mō zaxmī šioč*, *zax(m)-mō šioč* 'I have become wounded'; *kar-mō šyuk* 'I have become deaf'; *kōr-o šyuk* 'he has become blind'; *balawān šidōč* 'jaŋg šuda ast'. Cf. Pluperfect: *šidō vedem* 'I had become'. See §§ 144, 147.

*The Present Stem.*

129. In Sgl.—Ishk., as in other Modern Ir. languages, the verbal system is based upon two stems—the Present Stem and the Past Stem.

All Present Stems are inflected alike, the only exception being the Verb Substantive. A causative in *-ān-* has been borrowed from Prs. Thus, *be-čārānem* 'I herd cattle'; *belarzānu* 'he makes it tremble'; *be-lišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'. Reg. *pīz-*: *paz-*, *siw-*: *saw-*, v. below § 130, c.

130. From the historical point of view we can still distinguish between Present Stems in *-a-*, *-ya-*, *-āya-*, *-na-* and *-sa-*. But these distinctions have no significance whatever in the verbal system of modern Sgl.—Ishk. Examples of the various ancient stems are:

a) Stems in *-a-*: Sgl. *araz-* 'to fly'; *vānd-* 'to bind'; *pac-* 'to boil' (intr.); *xwār-* 'to eat'.

b) Stems in *-ya-*: *if-* 'to weave' (\**ufya-*); *mur-* 'to die' (\**mrya-*?); *zid-* 'to flow' (\**zgadya-*); *dēš-* 'to milk' (\**dauksya-*).

c) Stems in *-āya-*: Sgl. *api-*, Ishk. *apay-* 'to be lost' (\**apāya-*); *āstay-* 'to send'; *dāy-* 'to give'; *derāy-* 'to reap'; *fərmē-* 'to command'; *nəmay-* 'to show'; *pār-dē-* 'to sell'; *zənē-* 'to wash'.—Of roots ending in consonants: *awir-* 'to find'; *pəzin-* 'to recognize'; *kīr-* 'to plough'; *nēnd-* 'to plant'; *ižim-* 'to bring'; Sk. *pīz-* 'to cook' (intr. *paz-*); *siw-* 'to burn' (intr. *saw-*).<sup>1</sup>

d) Stems in *-sa-*: *is-* 'to come'; *fərōs-* 'to ask'; *wəwōfs-* 'to stand up'; *mis-* 'to sleep'(?); *trās-* 'to fear'.

e) Stems in *-na-*: *čen-* 'to pick'; *ken-* 'to do'; *xərn-* 'to buy'; *yān-*, etc. 'to grind'; Ishk. *šin-* 'to weep'; possibly also *peḏin-* 'to kindle'.

f) Irregular formations are *pəv-* 'to drink', from the ancient reduplicated stem \**piba-*, and *iḏ-* 'to arrive', which recalls Slav. *ido* 'I go' and the Av. presents in *-dā-*,<sup>2</sup> but has more probably been abstracted from the 3rd sg. Av. *āiti*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tedesco, ZII, II, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, § 219.



g) Some of the Ishk. present stems given by Sk. have been adapted to the past stems. Thus, *apux-* 'to hear' (pret. *apuxt*), for *apaxš-*; *jis-* 'to flee' (pret. *jist*) for *jih-*; *māl-* 'to die' for *mṛ-*; *šid-* 'to weep'; cf. Ishk. *yūln-* (pret. *yūld*) 'to grind' for *yūn-*. Also Zar. *prūf-* 'to steal' has got its *f* from the past stem, but at a very early date.

*Present.*

131. *ken-* 'to do'; *γē/až-* 'to speak'; *xwār-* 'to eat'; *pzin-* 'to know'.

		Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. is.
Sg. 1	Prs.	<i>ke'nen</i>	<i>γē'žen</i>	<i>xwārən</i>	<i>kenen</i>
» 2	»	<i>ke'nī</i>	<i>γē'žī, γēž (?)</i>	<i>xwāri</i>	<i>kenī</i>
» 3	»	<i>ke'nō<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>γē'žō<sup>(u)</sup></i>	<i>xwōrōi</i>	<i>kenō(i)</i>
Pl. 1	»	<i>ke'num</i>	<i>γē'žen</i>	<i>xwārəm</i>	<i>kenun</i>
» 2	»	<i>ke'nəf</i>	<i>γē'žəf</i>	<i>xwāruf</i>	<i>kenəf</i>
» 3	»	<i>ke'nan</i>	<i>γē'žān</i>	<i>xwārān</i>	
		Sgl. s.	Ishk.	Sk.	Gr. (Zeb.)
Sg. 1	Prs.	<i>kenem</i>	<i>kenum</i>	<i>γāžm<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-i/em</i>
» 2	»		<i>kənī</i>	<i>'γāži</i>	<i>-ē</i>
» 3	»	<i>zidū</i>	<i>kənū</i>	<i>'γāzu</i>	<i>-ī, -ai</i>
Pl. 1	»		<i>kenon</i>	<i>γāžān</i>	<i>-en</i>
» 2	»		<i>kenū (?)</i>	<i>'γāžəv</i>	<i>-ev</i>
» 3	»			<i>'γāžān</i>	<i>-en</i>

Gauthiot's Ishk. paradigm \* (*ava'rəm, a'var, a'vard, avarān, avarəv, avarān*) differs from that of other sources. But on the whole the Ishk. terminations closely resemble those of W. Wakhan (*-əm, -ī, -t, -an, -əv, -an*).

132. 1st Sg. and Pl.—It is characteristic of the extreme variability of some of the Pamir dialects spoken by the scanty population of a few scattered villages, that in the hamlet of Porogh the dis-

<sup>1</sup> And *pzinəm, pzinl*, etc.—Reg. *wānəm/əm, wānē, wānu*, etc., v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, 20, p. 14.

tribution of *-n* and *-m* in the 1st Sg. and Pl. should be the opposite of that found in the village of Zebak below, and probably also in Sanglech proper (at the head of the valley), the intervening village of Iskutul presenting *-n* in both cases.

The 1st Sg. in *-n* probably originally belongs to the subjunctive,<sup>1</sup> while the 1st Pl. has got its *-n* from the enclitic pronoun. Apparently 'Common Sgl.—Ishk.' at a not too remote period possessed both an indicative 1st Sg. in *-m* and a subjunctive in *-n*, possibly also a present 1st Pl. in *-m* and a preterite in *-n*. But now these forms have everywhere been levelled out.

Ishk. *-um* may be derived from *-ami*, while Sgl. p. *-en* (more rarely *-n*) would seem to go back to *\*-ayani*.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case we must assume that *-en* was transferred secondarily to *zenēyen* (*zenēn*) 'I wash', *dāyen* 'I give', etc.

2nd Sg.—Sgl. *-ī* (Gr. Zeb. *-ē*) < *-ahi*, or *-ayahi*. If *-ī* is derived from *-ayahi*, the irregular forms Sgl. p. 2 *kē*, *kē*, *ken* 'thou dost'; *apanis* 'thou lovest (*gum mēkinī*)'; *cico yēl?* 'what dost thou say?' are derived from *-ahi*, cf. also Gauthiot's *avar* 'thou bringest'. But I only heard such forms used in questions, and the loss of the ending is most probably a recent and local phenomenon.

3rd Sg.—Regarding the distribution of *-ū* and *-ō* and the particle *-ī*, cf. above § 121.

From *-ati* we should expect *\*-ōd*, but the final consonant has been dropped in the termination, cf. the 3rd Pl. *-ān*. It is possible that a last trace of the fricative remains in the form *-ōʷ* (< *\*-ōv* < *-ōd*?) which was heard occasionally. But *-ōʷ* may equally well be a recent diphthongization of *-ō*.

Twice I heard Sgl. p. 3 *isyūd* 'he shall, may come', which may be the older form. Gauthiot's *avard* is probably a Wkh. form, since the syncope in the 3rd Sg. appears to be foreign to Sgl.—Ishk.

Gr. (Zb.) *-ī*, *-ai* probably goes back to *-ayati*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the corresponding forms in Oss., Bal., Kashan diall., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pace Tedesco, ZII, 2, p. 284 sq.



2nd Pl.—Sgl.—Ishk. *-v*, *-v* corresponds to the forms found in Yd.—Mj. and W. Wakhi.<sup>1</sup> The derivation from the enclitic pronoun *\*wāh*<sup>2</sup> is phonetically improbable, and irreconcilable with its employment in the Pres., but not in the Preterite. I would prefer to derive these terminations in *v/f* from Av. imper. and opt. medium *-adwam*.<sup>3</sup> Phonetically such a development appears to be possible as well in Sgl. as in Wkh. and Yd.—Mj., and the need for a distinctive ending for the 2nd pl. would explain the perseverance of the middle form. *-ān* of the Pret. and Auxiliary would then have to be derived from *\*adana*, cf. the survival of *-athana* in Dardic, Kafiri, etc.

3rd Pl.—Ancient *-anti* (and *-antai*, *-anta*?) resulted in *\*ant*, from which *-ān* with the special phonetic reduction which is so frequent in grammatical terminations.

133. Grierson gives Zb. *az-im deh* as an equivalent of *az dehem* 'I beat', but I have never come across this analytical form in Sgl. It has, however, an exact parallel in Par. *ān-em dhē*.<sup>4</sup>

134. The Sgl.—Ishk. 'Present' is used both as a real present and as a prospective aorist. Acc. to Gr.<sup>5</sup> the particle *bi* is added in Zb. to emphasize the future sense, or also, in one instance, to express the definite present.

In the material at my disposal the definite present force of *be* (*bə*, *ba*) appears in several cases. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *be nasō* 'mēgīrad', *xāndem bu-š* 'mē-xāndem'; *šakem bē-š* 'mēšakam'; *wēn be zīdū* 'blood is flowing'; Sgl. p. 3 *kasf ke mōn dāšman bə kunjāy-ō* 'look where my enemy is'; Ishk. *fai bu bōru* 'bisīār mēbārad'; Sk. *īm-bd be-fāru* 'he wants'.

A future or subjunctive sense is probable in Sgl. p. 1 *trāsen ki fērnisen be* 'I fear that I may forget it'; p. 2 *trāsen be apīō(š)* 'I fear that it may be lost'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I shall go and work'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now also—according to Henning—Khwarizmian *-βi*.

<sup>2</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Par. *-ēr*, *-ōr*, cf. HFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> HFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> LSI, X, p. 494 sq.

In a number of cases I am unable to decide the exact meaning of *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *psād ba xēsta xwāri? nā xwārēm be* 'art thou eating (shalt thou eat) bread? I am not eating (shall not eat)'; *yō-vē wok miēl dāyem-be* 'I (shall) give him an apple'; *am ādam murō be*, or *be murō* 'this man is dying (going to die)'.

135. Very frequently, but not in all cases, a Prs. definite present was rendered by a form with the enclitic *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *apaxōm, dāyem, yuzēm, šixsēm be* 'mēšhawam', etc.; Sgl. p. 3 *ižimēm, vrēlom, šām, icunižēm bē*; Sgl. s. *dēēm, kulēm, šām, nā xwārēm be*, etc. Cf. also Sgl. p. 2 *boh be kenem* 'I kiss'; p. 3 *awezān be kenen* 'I hang up'; *pār be dēn* 'I sell'.

In some causatives in *-ān-, -ān-*, borrowed from Prs., *be* is regularly prefixed.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv. *bečarān-, bədwōn-, belarzān-, belišmān-*, v. above § 129.

A form *bəš, buš* is also frequently used, not only with transitive verbs, although *-š* is probably borrowed from the Prs. enclitic. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *az' ni šām bəš*, p. 2 *išān, xūrum bəš*, Sgl. is. *yarten, nasēm bəš*; *azō im bē wok rūpāyē dāyem bəš* 'I (shall?) give him a rupee'.

In a few cases I heard *be, ba* used with the preterite. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *sāar ba xō'an* 'we rose in the morning'; . . . *dō rōpē nōd, ba ər kuđ* 'he took two rupees and let them go'; *dīr watān ba šid* 'he went to a distant country'; *guzar-em be šixtēm* 'I passed over'; *pārūzd wok čizi to bē be spārdovē* 'he entrusted a thing to thee yesterday'. I am unable to determine the meaning of *be* in these sentences. At any rate it does not correspond to that of Psht. *ba*, which forms the Habitual Past.

Reg. the use of the particle *da*, v. Voc. s.v.

### Imperative.

136. Imper. 2nd Sg. is identical with the present base. Thus, Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk. *is*, Sgl. p. 1, *is*, s. *is* 'come'; Sgl. p. *dē(i)* 'give'; p. 1, 2 *dē* 'beat'; Ishk. *ižēm*, Sgl. p. *ižim* 'bring'; Ishk. *nīd* 'sit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj.



down'; Sgl. p. 2, 3 *ke(n)* 'do'; Sgl. p. 2 *zan* 'kill'; *zəne*, Ishk. *zenai* 'wash'; p. 2 *šā* (*šo*) 'go', etc.

Imper. 2nd Pl. is identical in form with Present 2nd Pl. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 *dehef* 'beat'; *nīdef* 'sit down'; *kenef* 'do'; *kasef* 'see'; *ye'ēf* 'tell'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *hōr-kull-šon de šuān xē xān* 'let all of them go home (*hama-išān buran xōna-i xud*)', where *de* is used to form an Imper. 3rd Pers., just as the corresponding Psht. enclitic *dē*, *dī*.

### The Past Stem.

137. From a historical point of view the Past Stems of Sgl.—Ishk. can be divided into the following groups.<sup>1</sup>

A. I. Ir. *\*-ata-*: *žōd* 'killed' (*zan-*); *oyōd* 'came' (*is-*); *nođ* 'took' (*nas-*). The derivation of *ōyōd* 'brought' (*ižim-*) is uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases preterites in *-a/əd* may go back to ancient Ir. forms in unstressed *-ata-*, *-ita-*,<sup>3</sup> but the majority of such preterites are no doubt recent formations. Thus, *xašəd* 'pulled'; *māḡad* 'rubbed'; Zar. *lišūd* 'licked'; *kirōd* 'ploughed', etc.

II. Ir. *\*-āta-*: *dūd* 'gave' (*dāy-*); *par-dūd* 'sold'; *āstūd* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *fermūd* 'ordered' (prob. lw.); *zənūd* 'washed' (*zə'nē-*); *wūd* 'took away' (*wus-*).

III. Ir. *\*-ūtā-*: *šīd*, *šud* 'went, became' (*š-*); *vəd* 'was'; cf. Zar. *pūduk* 'rotten'.

IV. Ir. *\*-ita-*: Sgl. s. *piđ* 'drank' (*pəv-*); *xəriđ* 'bought' (*xərn-*); *čīđ* 'picked' (*čīn-*, lw.?). *šīđ* 'wept' (*šīd-*). *pəđil* 'lighted' (*pəđin-*); *xūiđ* 'threshed' (*xūy-*), and *xəriđ* 'scratched' (*xūr-*) may be secondary formations. Cf. also *d(eh)ēđ* 'beat' (*deh-*); *dəṛāđ* 'reaped' (*derāy-*); *apēđ* 'lost' (*api-*); *nəmayd* Sk. 'showed' (*nəmay-*).

138. B I. Ir. *\*-rta-*: *\*stōl* 'swept' (*astar-*); *wōl* 'found' (*āwēr-*); *məl*

<sup>1</sup> Ishk. forms are given only when they are morphologically different from the Sgl. ones.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. has a secondary pret. *līzmd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *əlai*, etc., Yd.—Mj. lat < *\*dārta-*.

'died' (*mur-*); *škūl-* 'sought' (*škār-*); *xwəl-* 'ate' (*xwār-*); *kul, kud* 'did'<sup>1</sup> (*ken-*).

Secondary formations from the present base are: *spārδ* 'entrusted'; *torδ* 'pedicavit'; *dērd* Sk. 'had'; *yūrδ* 'ground'<sup>2</sup> (*yūn-*, etc.), and, of more recent origin, *kurt* (Zar. *kīrōd*) 'ploughed' (*kīr-*). A secondary *d* has been added to the ancient preterite in Ishk. *s<sup>u</sup>tuld* 'swept'; *awuld* (Sk. *avūld, avūd*) 'found'; *yūld* 'ground'; Sk. *məld* 'died' (from which a new pres. stem. *məl-* has been formed).

The present stems of Gr. Zb. *kel* 'consumed' and the preterite of *mucar-* 'to draw water' are unknown. Sk. *zīlūd* 'swept' (*zīdār-*) and *avūd* 'found' are suspect of Shgh. influence.

II a) Ir. *\*-asta-*: *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *nīlōst*<sup>3</sup> 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *zūst* 'ran' (*zīd-*). *īst* 'fled' is a Prs. lw.<sup>4</sup>—Also *čarāst* 'grazed' (*čārān-*), and *bəlazčāst-* 'made to slip' (*\*bə-laxčān-ʔ*) are lw.s, and the preterites may have their origin in some local Prs. dialect. Cf., however, *belišmānd*.—Acc. to Sk. the preterite of *xōnd-* 'to laugh' is *xūnd*.

b) Ir. *\*-ista-*: No example is known.

c) Ir. *\*-rsta-*: *fəryəst* 'wandered' (*fəryərt-*); *yəst* 'walked about', both of which are probably early lw.s.

Sk. gives a number of Past Stems in *tt* from roots in *-d/t*. Thus, *wōtt* 'put' (*wēd-*); *att* 'fell' (*at-*); *dett* 'entered' (*dēd-*); *nītt* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *šītt* 'wept' (*šīd-*).<sup>5</sup> Cf. the corresponding Wkh. forms.

III a) Ir. *\*-ašta-*: *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *f<sup>r</sup>rōt* 'asked' (*f<sup>r</sup>rōs-*); *arat* 'flew' (*araz-*); *wāt, waṭ* 'fell' (*waz-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*). With *i* from the Pres. Stem: *apanit* 'lost' (*apanis-*); *fərnit* 'forgot' (*fərnis-*).

b) Ir. *\*-išta-, -ušta-*: *let* 'licked' (*lēs-*); *v<sup>r</sup>rēt* 'broke' (*v<sup>r</sup>rēl-*); *kut* 'slaughtered' (*kul-*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 13, 70.

<sup>2</sup> But *wuṣōk* 'flour' from the original past stem.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. only in *rēmuz* 'nslūst', elsewhere *nītt*.

<sup>4</sup> Sk. *jās-*: *jəst*.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *šin-*: *šīd*, but Sgl., quite irregularly, *šīd*: *šīd*.



Secondary formations from the present stem are: *γuzd* 'ran'; *pēzd* 'wrapped up'; Sk. *arazd* 'flew'; *forast* 'asked'; *kəld* 'slaughtered'; Ishk. *elēld* 'broke'; Zar. *lisūd* 'licked' (Ishk. *lišt* from Prs.); *tūld* 'shaved'.

Cf. also *xašəd*, Sk. *xašt* 'pulled'; *nūšəd* (Gr. *nešt*) 'threw, put'; *nəvišt* 'wrote'; Sk. *nəšt* (Gr. *nušt*, *našet*) 'went out' (*nēz*); *wunižd*, *wəništ* 'went round' (*wəniy*); *γēzd* 'said'.

Note Gr. Zb. *γəd*, *tūd* < *γēzd*, *tūld*.

IV a) Ir. *\*afla*: *xavd* 'descended' (*xav*);<sup>1</sup> *škōvd* 'was cold', which may be a secondary formation.

b) Ir. *\*īfta*: *yēvd*, *īvd* 'span'.—*nivd* 'brought'; *pəvd* 'blew' (*pəb*); *pōvd* 'drank' (*pōv*); Gr. *qivd* 'called' are all secondary forms.

c) Ir. *\*γfta* (*-γbda*): *andərvd* 'sewed'.

Roots in *f*, *p*, *b* have secondary preterites: *īft* 'wove'; Sk. *təraft* 'stole'; Gr. *kift* 'pierced';<sup>2</sup> Sk. *talapt* 'wanted'; *ṣēbt* 'beat'.

Note Sgl. *təδ*, Ishk. *səd* 'burnt' (*təv*, *sav*) with the same irregular development (*\*θala* < *\*tafta*) as is found in Sar. *θūd*, Wkh. *θett* (*θau*).

V a) Ir. *\*axta*: Gr. *tōyd* 'walked'; *atōyd*, *axtəd* 'entered' (*atiy*).

b) Ir. *\*uxta*: *dəγδ* 'milked' (*dēš*); *pənaγδ* 'dressed' (*pənec*). The derivation of *zuyδ* 'seized' (*zenz*) is uncertain.

From verbs in *x* are formed the secondary preterites: *šəxt* 'passed' (*šəxs*); *apəxt* 'heard' (*apəxs*);<sup>3</sup> *gāxəd*, Gr. Zb. *gaxt* 'made' (*gax*). Similarly Zar. *dēšt* 'milked' (*dēš*); Sk. *čəkt* 'threshed' (*čək*); *kəzd* 'copulated' (*kəc*). Note Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed' (*pumec*).

c) Ir. *\*axwa*: *pux* 'cooked' (*pac*), Ishk. with secondary *-t*: *puxt*. Sk. distinguishes between *piz*: *puxt* 'to boil' and *paz*: *pazd* 'to cook'.

VI. Ir. *\*ixna* is possibly preserved in Gr. *frin* 'he remained' (< *\*fra-rizna*?), regularized into Sgl. and Sk. *fərin*. The old present is *fəris* (cf. Voc. s.v.), but Sk. *fərin* has been remade from

<sup>1</sup> Prob. adapted to the Past Stem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sk. *pələftuk* '(sun)rise'.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. *apux* has been adapted to the Past Stem.

the preterite. *mis-* (Sk. *mīn-*): *mīnd* 'to sleep' has been formed on the pattern of *fōris*.

VII. Roots in *-n* and *-m* usually form their Past Stems by adding *-d*. Thus, *wīnd* 'saw'; *pōzīnd* 'knew'; *vīrōnd* 'scolded'; *dōvīnd* 'winnowed'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *belīshmānd* 'made to slip'; Sk. *pōdend* 'kindled'; Zb. *kind* 'wished'; Sk. *īžōmd* 'brought'; Gr. *sāmd* 'smeared'. For exceptions v. A, I.

139. The above list will serve to establish that, although a number of ancient forms have been retained, in spite of their being irregular in the modern language, a nivellation has been carried through in all dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. (thus, *wēnd*, *yūrō*, *yuzd*, etc.), or at least in some of them. Sgl. has on the whole preserved more irregular forms than Ishk, and within this latter dialect the variety described by Sk. is especially inclined to regularize, not only the Past, but also the Present Stems. Note, e.g., the Preterites *īžōmd*, *pōdend*, *mōld*, *fōrast*, *arazd*, *kōld*, *nōst*, *pazd*, *nitt*, and the Presents *upux*, *fōrin*, *jīs*, *mōl*, *mīn*.

140. From the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. dialects the formation of the Past Stem may be briefly described in the following way.

The most common way of forming the Past Stem consists in adding *d/δ*, or, after surds and plosives, *t* to the Present Stem. These Stems in *rδ*, *vδ/d*, *īδ*, *zδ*, *žδ*, *lδ*, *nd*, *md*, *st*, *št*, *ft*, *xt*, *pt*, *kt*, *tt*, *bt*, number, however, less than half of the actually occurring forms. In some cases the addition of *δ* is accompanied by a change in the root-vowel,<sup>1</sup> in others the *δ* is preceded by a short vowel *ə/a*.<sup>2</sup>

About a fourth of the verbs available form Past Stems which are irregular from the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. phonological and morphological system, but which may nevertheless be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. II, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A, I.



arranged into groups. Thus, -*ð* (-*n*-); -*l* (-*r*-); -*st* (-*nd*-, -*ð*-, -*n*-, -*h*-); -*t* (-*z*-, -*s*-, -*ʃ*-); -*xt* (-*xš*-, -*c*-, -*z*-).

Less than a fourth of the verbs have wholly irregular or suppletive Past Stems. Thus, e.g. *yūn*-: *yūld*; *pæ*-: *pīð*; *dēš*-: *dəyd*; *zenz*-: *zuyd*; *pac*-: *pux*; *fʳis*-: *fərin(d)*; *aliy*-: *alōyd*, *axtəð*; *wus*-: *wəð*; *nēnd*-: *nēð*; *xōnd*-: *xōnd*; *təv*-: *təð*; *ižim*-: *oyod*; *zdar*-: *zduð*.

### Preterite.

141. *Oyodəm* 'I came'; *xwōrəm* 'I ate'; *frōtəm* 'I asked'; *žōð* 'killed'; *wēndəm* 'I saw'; *dūðəm* 'I gave'; *az-əm pʒind* 'I knew'.

		Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. s.
Sg. 1	Prs.	{ <i>oyod-əm</i> <i>-əm oyod</i>	<i>xwōr-əm</i> <i>az-əm xwōr</i>	<i>frōt-əm</i>
2	2	<i>-ī oyod</i>	( <i>tə-və</i> ) <i>xwōri</i>	<i>frōt-ī</i>
3	3	<i>oyod</i>	<i>xwōr</i>	<i>žōð</i>
Pl. 1	1	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
2	2	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
3	3	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	

		Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. s.	Sk.
Sg. 1	Prs.	{ <i>wēnd-əm</i> {( <i>az</i> )- <i>əm wēnd</i>	<i>dūð-əm</i> <i>az-əm dūð</i>	<i>az-um pʒind</i>
2	2	<i>tə-və wēnd</i>		<i>tə-ð</i> —
3	3		<i>dūð</i>	<i>aw</i> —
Pl. 1	1	<i>amax wēnd-an</i>	<i>dūð-in</i>	<i>məx-ān</i> —
2	2			<i>təməx-aw</i> —
3	3		<i>dūð-in</i>	<i>awānd-ān</i> —

142. In Sg. 1 -*əm*, Ishk., Zb. -*im* the transitive \*-*mai* and the intrans. \*-*ahmi* have coalesced. Sg. 2 -*ī*, which originally belongs to the intrans., is used also with trans. verbs in Sgl., alone or combined with the trans. -*ðō*.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. has the old trans. suffix -*ð*, Gr. -*at* <

<sup>1</sup> V. § 124.

\**tai*, in both groups of verbs, thus Gr. Ishk. *wudat*, but Gr. Zb. *wodī* 'thou wast'. Likewise Sgl. has 2nd Pl. *-ān*, while Ishk., and also Zb., have *-aw*, *-av*. 1st Pl. *-ān*, Zb. *-en* is based upon the enclitic, trans. form, but 3rd Pl. *-ān* is an originally intrans. form. Besides the usual form in *-ān* (*oyōdan* 'they brought'; *γēddān* 'they said'; *xāštān* 'they pulled'; *apaxtan* 'they heard'; *xoten* 'they rose'; *kuān* 'we, they did'), we find *-in* in *dūdīn* (*kitāv dūdīn mum-bē* 'dādan bā mā'; *rōpē . . . dūdīn*, *ōyōdan*) and *itīn* 'we arrived'.

It will be seen that the difference of inflexion of trans. and intrans. preterites has for the most part been obliterated.

143. There is great freedom in the use of the various possible constructions in the Preterite.

The most common ones in Sgl. are the types *-əm kuḏ* and *az-əm kuḏ*. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *va tumuxəf-əm wēnt* 'I saw you'; *bēdār-əm šīd*; *for-əm γəšt* 'I wandered about'; p. 2 *āri-əm kuḏ* 'I worked'; *Caṅlēš-əm ōyod* 'I came from Sanglech'; *cənā-i oyod* 'čitur āmadi'; Sgl. is. *va tō gap-an apoxl* 'they understood thy word'; *-əm šixt* 'I passed'; Ishk. *-um šīd* 'I wept'; *putf-um puxt* 'I boiled the meat'.

Sgl. p. 1, 3 *az-əm ari kul* 'I worked'; *az-əm wēnt* 'I saw'; *az-əm γēšod* 'I said'; p. 3 *az-əm va tō lavz pezind* 'I understood thy word'. Perhaps also Sgl. p. 1 *tō-u* (for *-vo*) *va mak wēnt* 'thou sawest me'.

Also the pleonastic types *-əm kuḏ-əm* and *az-əm kuḏ-əm* are in use, but are less frequent.

Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *guzār-əm be šixt-əm* 'I crossed the ford'; *zamin-əm kōnd-əm* 'I dug in the field'; *puḏf-um pux-əm* 'I cooked meat'. It is possible that also *aḏam-an . . . xwōr-an* 'the men ate' is of this type.<sup>2</sup>

Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm frōt-əm* 'I asked'; *az-əm vēk pōvō-əm* 'I drank water'; *az-əm šīd(əm)* 'I went'.

A type *\*az kuḏ(əm)* does not seem to exist, *az-əm* being the regular form of the pronoun as the subject of a Preterite. But note, e.g., *təməx xēsta xwōrūn-i?* 'have you eaten bread?'. In Ishk. the most frequent type is *azi wulo γəzd* 'I ran in front'; *azi xē dust zenūd* 'I washed my hand'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *šrindān*, p. 374, note 2? <sup>2</sup> But cf. § 100.



## Perfect.

144. The Perfect Stem is formed by adding Sgl. *-ōk*, *-uk*,<sup>1</sup> Zb. *-āk*, Ishk. *-uk* to the Past Stem, and thus corresponds to the Pf. of most other Ir. dialects. In the Pl. we find *-ak*.<sup>2</sup> In some cases the final *-k* (*-g*) has been dropped.<sup>3</sup> Thus, *nīlosto-mō* 'I have sat down'; *ōyodo-mō* 'I have come', etc.
145. In Ishk. the perf. is constructed in the same manner as the past tense. Thus, *azi fak wīnduk* 'I have seen thee'; *a'zī eō mīnduk xōtuk* 'I have risen from sleep'; *azi ari kuluk* 'I have worked'; *azi madak minduk-um* 'I have been asleep here'; *nīduk-um* 'I have sat down (= I am sitting)'; *madak-um ustūk* 'I have risen here (= I am standing)'; *šedūk 'šuda ast*'; *apēduk 'gum šuda ast*'; Sk. *'az-im, tō-ḍ, au, mō'x-ān, 'tōmōx-av, a'wānd-ān 'yažduk* 'I, etc., have said'; *mī'suk mag 'naduk* 'sleep has seized me (= I will sleep)'; *'šedūk* 'he has gone', etc.
146. In Sgl. the present forms of the verb substantive are used in inflecting the perfect.

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō* (*mo mōḍ*) *nīlostok*, p. 3 *nīlosto-mō* 'I am sitting (here)'; p. 3 *ōyodo-mō*, p. 2 (*hari*)-*mo* *ōyodok* 'I have come (to work)'; p. 2 *astōo-mo*, is. *psā-mō astōk* '(now) I have risen'; p. 3 *nēr-mō hēči nes xorōk* 'I haven't eaten anything to-day'; *nyēr-mō xōdm wīnduk* 'I have seen a dream to-night';<sup>4</sup> *la-ku'lo-mō-i* 'I have left behind'; *šidu-mo* 'I have wept'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 1 *tō-dō nīlostog*, *tō-vō nīlosto-do* (< \**tō-dō nīlostok-dō*); p. 2 *tō-dō xōdm wīnduk*; *tō nēr-dō hēči nes xorok*; p. 1 *tō-dō . . . gaxtoy* 'thou hast done'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *adē-o hēči nes xorok*, *nēr hēči am-ō nes xorok* 'to-day he (this man) has not eaten anything'; *xōfuk-o nodōk* 'he has

<sup>1</sup> We find *-uk* after *ʔ* and *e* in the preceding syllable. Thus, *mīnduk*, *wīnduk*, *kenuk*, but note *šōk*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 14.

<sup>4</sup> But once *xōdm-əm wīnduk*.

got a cough (*silfa giriflast*); *daryā-o yəx-o kuōk* 'the river has frozen'; *apēdōk-o* 'it has been lost'; *šak-o niłōstok* 'dew has fallen'; p. 1 *am ādam minduk-ūi* 'this man has fallen asleep'. But without the verb substantive: p. 2 *awē hēci nes xorok*; *hari kenuk oyodok* 'he has come to work'; *arazōk* 'he has flown'; p. 3 *šidōk* 'he has gone'. Note p. 2 *kirā nēst ōyōd* 'why has he not come?'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn-dag niłōstog-am* 'we have sat down all of us'.

Pl. 2: *Ishk. tomox mak wēnduk, yā ne?* 'have you seen me, or not?'.

### Pluperfect.

147. The Pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect stem, with loss of its final *-k*. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm šidō vedem* 'I had gone'; p. 2 (*az-əm*) *ari-m kuō vəd*, *parūzd ari-m kuō vəd* 'I had worked (yesterday)'; *az-əm wok vəz* (*va tfak*) *wēndo vəd* 'I had seen a goat (thee)'; *wok miēl-əm yō-vē dūdū-ved(-əm)* 'I had given him an apple'. Note *az pārūzd oyodō vəd* 'I had come yesterday'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *to-və āri kuō vəd-i?* 'hadst thou done the work?'; *tə-vo va mak wēndo vəd?* 'hadst thou seen me?'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *parūzd wok ēizi to-bē be spārdō ve* 'yesterday he had entrusted something to thee'; p. 3 *niłosto vəd* 'he had sat down (i.e. was sitting)'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *aməx (h)āri kuā vəd* 'we had done the work'; *aməx pārūzd oyodā vəd* 'we had come yesterday'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *təməx āri kuā-vəd-i?* *təməx kādī oyodā vəd?*

### Compound Verbs.

148. Like other Ir. dialects Sgl.—*Ishk.* employs a great number of compound verbs.

V. Voc. s.vv. *yalbēl ken-*, *kai ken-*, *kō ken-*, *la ken-*, *puf ken-*, *pōk*



*ken-*, *šōše ken-*, *šot kən-*, *toš kən-*, etc. Cf. also *isāb dē-* 'to calculate'; *pātik dē-* 'to wink' (and v. Voc. s.v. *deh-*), and *γalt-əm šid* 'I rolled, fell'.

#### Interrogative Particle.

149. The interrogative particle is *-ī*, which it is, of course, possible to derive from an ancient optative 3 sg. But it must be borne in mind that particles similarly employed (*-a*, *-ə*, *-e*) are found in all neighbouring Ir. and IA. languages, and besides in Burushaski.

Examples are: *to-w āri kuō vō-ī?* *təmax āri kuā vō-ī?* 'hadst thou (had you) worked?' *təmax xwōrān-ī* 'did you eat?' *tə žwondok-dō-ī?* *təmax žwondok-ān-ī?* 'art thou (are you) hungry?' 'az *tʃak kasē-ī* (*tʃak-ī kasēn*)?' 'do I see thee?'

#### Nominal Forms of the Verb.

##### Participles.

150. No present participle has been noted in Sgl., but Sk. gives *fai pʹzinuk(ō)š* 'he who knows much'. *žwondok* 'hungry' probably goes back to an ancient pres. ptc.

Regarding the perfect. ptc. cf. 145.

##### Infinitive.

151. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ōk*, *-ūk* to the present stem.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of the use of the infinitive are: Sgl. p. 2 *šā(n) naq kenuk* 'I go to play (*mērim bāzī mēkim*)'; *hari kenuk oyōdok* 'he has come to work'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I am going to work'; *pasi vənəf dəryōk isu*, *xōrmō xūyūk*, *pasi va dəvīnuk*, *xōdāri yūyūk* (= *yūniš*) 'after that comes the reaping, (and) the threshing, then the winnowing (and) the grinding in the water-mill'; *ari kenūk kō-kenen* 'I can work'; *pāruzd-īm šowāri kenūk nəst-əm kō-kuō* 'yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 82.

I could not travel'; *andarzōk-em kuō* 'I have sewn(?)'. Cf. Sk. *dēyuk* 'to beat'; *škarruk* 'to seek'; *kōnuk* 'to do'; *šōwuk* 'to become, to go'; *fōrñituk* 'to forget' (but perf. ptc. *fōrñittuk*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The Sgl.—Ishk. infinitive corresponds to that of Wkh. in *-āk*, *-g* (*vand-āk* 'to bind', *wiñ-g* 'to see'), of Bal. (*kan-ag* 'to do', *band-ag* 'to bind'), and partially to that of Yaghn. (*winak* 'to see', but *kar-ak* 'to do' from the root). In Yd.<sup>2</sup> and in most cases in Par.<sup>3</sup> the infinitive in *\*-aka-* is based on the past stem, while in Orm.,<sup>4</sup> and apparently in Talish, both the present and the past stems are used.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Benveniste (Les infinitifs avestiques, p. 111) who does not distinguish clearly between formations based upon the present stem and those based upon the preterite.—I do not believe with B. that the Shgh., etc., infinitives in *-tao* can be derived from *\*-taka-*. "*cirao*" (*cōrdaw*, etc.) 'lamp' is an ancient lw. with substitution of *w* for *γ*, and no instance of intervocalic *-k-* > *-w-* is known from the Shgh.-group. Note Shgh. *-j* < *-aka-* in past participles (e.g. *sudj* 'gone, become'). There is no reason why *-tao* should not go back to *-tawai*.



## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Sgl. p. 2.

### I.

*Wok 'adam dā zōt vōđ. Čuť zō'ti xē tū-vē*  
 One man-to two sons were. Small(er) son-by his-own father-to  
*'yēžēđ: Ō tāt, va 'māl tax'sim ke, mən a'sē mēm-bē dē.*  
 said: O father, (acc.) property divided make, my share me-to give.  
*'Tāte xē 'māl tax'sim kuđ. Čand 'rōz pa'si dīga*  
 Father-by his-own property dividing made. Some days after however  
*xē 'māl gōr kuđ (= kə), dīr wa'tan ba 'šīđ. Ma 'wōđ*  
 his-own property collected he made, far country to he-went. There  
*'šīđ, xē 'māl 'āpanīt, yo žondokī šīđ.*  
 he-went, his-own property he-lost, for-him hunger became.

### II.

1. Yak sāl 'fauž o'γōđ Gazke'stān bē. 2. Maxlu'kān gu'đōm xaštān  
 ce 'ūša, cə 'yūzə, cə 'yowə, 'rēyn°. 3. Pəs 'dēdam Gazke'stān. 4. 'Psāt

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### II.

1. One year an army<sup>1</sup> came to Gazikistan. 2. They robbed the  
 storehouse(s) of the people for grass, fire-wood, grain and ghee. 3.  
 Then we(?) enter(ed) Gazikistan. 4. Then the army (was) in Iskitul.

<sup>1</sup> A troop of Afghan soldiers.

mə Ski'tul 'fauž 5. Cə 'wōd Gazke'stān be, cə 'wōd šid Mande'žān bē. 6. 'Wog, 'dō, rōi mēi mə Manda'žā-st.<sup>1</sup> 7. Cə 'wōd wə'nīšt, o'γod Gazke'stān be. 8. 'Psād 'wōda ast, marduma xarš 'xāstan. 9. 'Wōda xwōr, 'wōdak o'γōd ast. 10. Wok 'mā 'wōda hast. 11. Bād cə wōd xōt, šid Izi'vū bē.

## III.

1. Tira'mā k-šid cə 'kū yūz' 'xašəm. 2. (Dē'de)m vənə šu'wō. 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə d'hō. 4. 'Wətukə gāxān. 5. Kə 'bārə šu'wō, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wu'dil xa'sān. 6. Pasi šə'gārə ke'nān. 7. Pasi vənəf 'kiriš ke'nān, 'təym dān, vī-di'ōk ke'nān. 8. Pasi vədānəf 'vūki di'ān, dəvə šō'vōk šu'ān. 9. Kə šō'wōk xalāšān,<sup>2</sup> vərves sōr 'xašō. 10. Pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōr'mō xū'yūk, pasiva də'vīnuk, xō'bāri 'yūnuk,<sup>3</sup> dās am'bār.

5. From there it went to G., and from there to Munjan. 6. It stayed one, two, three days in Munjan. 7. From there it returned, and came to G. 8. Then it stayed there, they took custom-duties (from) people. 9. It (the army) ate there, and came there. 10. It (remained) there for one month. 11. Afterwards it rose from there and went to Zebak.

## III.

1. When autumn came, we fetch fire-wood from the hills. 2. We enter(?), it becomes full(?). 3. After that(?) the snow falls. 4. (Then) they prepare weddings. 5. When spring comes, they celebrate the Nauroz, after the Nauroz they spread the dung. 6. Then they plaster (the walls). 7. After that they plough, sow, and make the first watering (of the fields). 8. After that they irrigate, and they weed. 9. When they have finished the weeding, the barley raises its head. 10. After that comes the reaping, the threshing (on) the threshing-ground, then the winnowing, the grinding in the watermill, (and) putting(?) (the flour) in the store-room.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 122.

<sup>2</sup> For *xalās šān*.

<sup>3</sup> Var. *yūniš*.



*Grammophone Text.*

1. . . ce 'kū yūzə 'xašān, ce xē mic<sup>1</sup> xašam. 2. Dēdam vənə kuð. və'nok ši'o(k). 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə de'hōl. 4. Wə'tukə šuwōi. 5. Bāro šu'woi, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wuðilə xašān. 6. Pasi və'nəf šə'gār ke'nān. 7. Pasə və'nəf kirin, pasi vənəf vl diān. 8. Pasə vənəf və šāxān(?), tēymə dēān.

## IV.

1. Šām Faizō'bōd, nə'mək izimum. 2. Ōyōdum mə bandar, xarəgiren nəš 'la-kuān: 3. Miž be pūl dē, bā šo! 4. Ce har xōridak də rōpē nōd, ba ər kuð. 5. 'Tulama 'Akum dəvā nes 'lā-kuð kə: "tə pūl dē, bā šā!". 6. Rō(i) rōpē ākum be dūdīn. 7. Ingē rəxsat šl'ān, Ōyōdan Kōe'stān. 8. Ōyōdam p'e'nuk, ke warf dēd, nəš kō-kwān, fə'rindi<sup>2</sup> fə'ršōn mə pə'nuk. 9. 'Sāar ba xōtan, vūr kuān. 10. Ōyōdan, mə Kāfr'en itīn. 11. Cə wōd itīn bā'zār. 12. 'Bas, xa'lās.

## IV.

1. We go to Faizabad, we bring<sup>3</sup> salt (there). 2. I brought it to the custom-house, the custom-officials did not let me through. 3. (They said:) 'Give us money, and go on.' 4. They took two rupees from (: for) each donkey, and released (us). 5. (But) Ghulam Hakim<sup>4</sup> afterwards<sup>5</sup> did not let us go, (saying): 'Give (me) money, and then go.' 6. We gave the governor three rupees. 7. Then we were permitted to leave, and we came to Chitral. 8. We came to the (Dorah) Pass while it was snowing, we could not (get on), we stayed the night on the Pass. 9. At dawn we rose, (and) loaded (our beasts). 10. We came, and arrived among the Kafirs.<sup>6</sup> 11. From there we arrived at the Bazar (of Chitral). 12. Enough, it is finished.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *mic* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> For \*f'rindin?

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *duurdum*.

<sup>4</sup> The Afghan official.

<sup>5</sup> Or. 'even then'?

<sup>6</sup> Who live just below the Dorah Pass at the top of the Lutkuh Valley.

## Sgl. p. 3.

## V.

1. 'Wok bāzārgān vəd. 2. 'Oγōd, xe baškač goł 'axted mo 'kišti, ne'lōst. 3. Na'hāng oγōd, wa 'kišti ča'pa kəd. 4. Wok 'telf vəd zema'nōk. 5. Oγōd mo taxta-pāre-rū, mo 'jangal ča'pa šid. 6. Wok šēr pai'dā šid, 'yō-ve 'dāya šid. 7. Telf po wāda hft. 8. 'Oγōd mē šār. 9. Mo šār čel dar'wāza vəd. 10. 'Oγō, mo 'wədok pādšā šid. 11. Ke pādšā šid γe'žed ke: 'Bō'γāir-i 'mak 'kōci digar xə'dā nē 'γe'žef'. 12. Rōzāni šid ke mo 'xōdm 'wənd, ke wok 'āhūl pai'dā šid. 13. 'Āhūn wok šāx da 'vəd. 14. (Pādšā ba wazīra guft:) 'Vo mak cē 'men 'taxru ča'pa kəd. 15. 'Gōł ken xē wāziren. 16. 'Ma mēn 'xōdm dak 'gab dehef. 17. 'Γēzdan ke: 'Tē bāi 'dušma" pai'dā šu'bō. 18. 'Γēzēd ke: 'Xə'dā 'az mā. 19. Ov'zū 'tākat nē kəd. 20. 'Γēzēd ke: 'Kasef ke 'mēn dāšman bē kunja'y-ō.

## V.

1. There was a shopkeeper. 2. He came, with his children he entered a boat, and sat down. 3. A sea-monster came and upset that<sup>1</sup> boat. 4. (One of the children) was a babe, a boy. 5. He came on a boat-plank, and was thrown (ashore) in the forest. 6. A lioness appeared and became his nurse. 7. The child arrived at (the time of) marriage. 8. He came to a town. 9. In the town there were forty gates. 10. He came, and became king there. 11. When he became a king, he said: 'Don't call anybody God but me.' 12. One day it happened that he saw in a dream that a stag appeared. 13. The stag had one horn. 14. The king said to his vizier:<sup>2</sup> 'It pushed me off from my throne.'<sup>3</sup> 15. Assemble my ministers. 16. You shall explain about my dream.' 17. They (came and) said: 'An enemy has been born for thee(?).' 18. He said: 'God is my (ally?).' 19. But his heart had no strength.<sup>4</sup> 20. He said: 'Look, where my enemy is.'

<sup>1</sup> Or *va kišti* 'the boat'?

<sup>2</sup> This sentence was spoken in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *māra az taxt-i mā čapa kard.*

<sup>4</sup> Prs. *dil-iš tdqat na kard.*



21. *Teiz(d)an* ke: 'Ma 'pəst-i pə'dār-o.' 22. 'Kasef ke ma 'kuðəm ma'h-ō.' 23. *Te'zdan* ke: 'dahiami mā,<sup>1</sup> cə 'pəst-i pə'dar 'dahi mā is'yūd ma 'rām i 'mādar.' 24. *Teizeð* ke: 'Kasef.' 25. 'Pādsā fərmūd ke—*čel darwāze vəd*—: 'Čel haf'sar mə dar'wāze 'nīdef.' 26. 'Farmūd 'pādsā ke: 'Jālsa kenef.' 27. 'Wok dar'wāzē 'Ōzar nīlosto vəd. 28. 'Kot ke 'kuči o'yod. 29. Pə'sā *yeizeð* ke: 'Wa 'xē 'kūč, 'is men 'jē.' 30. Pə'sā cə 'pəst-i p'dar o'yod mə 'rām-i 'mādar. 31. Pə'sād 'šīd 'rām-i 'mādar bē. 32. *Teizda* ke: 'Dar'wāze 'hej kenef.' 33. Pə'sād wu'žinjak zə'manōk o'yod me dēri. 34. Rō'zi 'šīd ke zə'manōk tawa'līd šīd. 35. 'Wok 'yār paidā šīd. M-o'yodak wok tawa'līd šīd. 36. Zə'manōk 'zəšt šīd. 37. 'Xē 'tāte 'yezeð ke: 'Xə'dā ma as'mān-o.' 38. 'Pādsā šīd na'māz bē, na'māz-i lō-i Rama'zān. 39. 'Ōzar 'zōt 'ōyod, bəd'xāna 'ōyod, šīd. 40. De'hēd, bə'tā f'rēd kuð pə 't'ovor. 41. 'Bād 'pādsā 'ōyod, 'yezeð ke: 'Mən vo 'zi kōi 'gaxtok.' 42. *Teizdan* ke: 'Ōzar zōt-ō 'gaxtōk.' 43. Va zə'manok 'oyodan. 44.

21. They said: 'He is in his father's loins.' 22. (The king said:) 'Look, in which month he is.' 23. They said: 'In the tenth month; from his father's loins in the tenth month he comes into his mother's womb(?).' 24. He said: 'Look out.' 25. The king ordered—there were forty gates—: 'Forty officers shall sit at the gates.' 26. The king ordered that they should assemble. 27. Azar was sitting at one of the gates. 28. He saw his wife come along. 29. Then he said: 'O my wife, come to me.' 30. Then (the future enemy of the king) came from his father's loins into his mother's womb. 31. Then he went into his mother's womb. 32. They (?) said: 'Open the gate.' 33. Then the boy came into the woman's belly. 34. A day came when the boy was born. 35. A cave appeared. He came(?),<sup>2</sup> one (child) was born. 36. The child grew big. 37. He said to his father: 'God is in heaven.' 38. The king went to prayer, the prayer of the Ramazan festival. 39. Azar's son came, he came to the idol-temple, and went (in). 40. He struck the idols and broke them with an axe. 41. Then the king came and said: 'Who has done thus to me?'<sup>3</sup> 42. They said: 'Azar's son has done it.' 43. They brought the boy. 44. The king said: 'O,

<sup>1</sup> First: *dahi'mā*.—The formation is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot analyse *moyodak* which was translated *amad*.—Or faulty for *mōdak* 'here'?

<sup>3</sup> *Prs. aminora* (= *hamīnhā-rā*) *kī kōri kardast*.

Pādsā 'γē'zed ke: 'Ē Ōzar zōt, tē-dō 'ma zi 'cēva 'gaxtog?'  
 45. 'Γē'zōd ke: 'Balōwān šī'dōk.<sup>1</sup> 46. 'Γē'zed ke: 'Az pē 'tō Xu'dāi  
 ka'būl 'nəsi-mō.<sup>2</sup> 47. Ibrōhim 'γē'zed ke: 'Mēn 'laškar mē 'mōd-o.<sup>3</sup>  
 48. Nam'rūd 'γē'zed ke: 'Mēn 'fauj mē 'mōd-o. 'Tō Xēdā mē  
 kun'jay-o?' 49. Ō 'γē'zed ke: 'Mēn Xēdā da as'mān-ō.<sup>4</sup> 50. Pēsād  
 'γē'zed ke: 'Cena 'gāxem? 51. Šām, 'va-yim Xu'dā 'zanem.<sup>5</sup> 52.  
 Wa'ziren 'γē'zdan ke: 'Ka'fas āha'nīn 'gax. 53. Cēfūr koryos 'nas,  
 ta'hāma 'dēi.<sup>6</sup> 54. Rō'zānī 'šīd, 'oyōd xe wa'ziren gər, 'axted mē  
 ka'fas. 55. Va 'koryos 'vōst cē ka'fas biš. 56. Va tā'hām-ē 'šōx  
 kēd mē ka'fas sōr. 57. Šīd pa as'mān ka'fas. 58. Šīd pē 'nəsm-i  
 as'mān. 59. Ša'māl pai'da šīd. 60. Ka'fas mē as'mān ka'rār 'šīd.  
 61. Wok 'fasl 'asto-ved. 62. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 63. Šīd pa as'mān.  
 64. Wok 'bādī pai'dā šīd. 65. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 66. Pa as'mān  
 ke 'šīd, ka'fas 'rauzan ya'lā kēd. 67. Fē'rašte 'oyōd, 'tar as'mān 'šext.  
 68. Pādsā 'xašōd 'xe 'tīr-i 'dast, a'wā 'dūd. 69. Fē'rašta 'tīr-i 'dast

son of Azar, why have you done thus to me?' 45. He said: 'A fight has  
 begun (between us).'<sup>2</sup> 46. (The king) said: 'I do not recognize your  
 God.'<sup>3</sup> 47. Ibrahim (the son of Azar) said: 'My troop is here.' 48.  
 Nimrod (the king) said: 'My army is here. Where is your God?'  
 49. He said: 'My God is in heaven.' 50. Then (the king) said: 'What  
 shall we do? 51. Let us go and kill the God of this (man).' 52.  
 The ministers said: 'Make an iron cage. 53. Catch four vultures,  
 and feed them.' 54. One day (the king) went, came with his ministers,  
 and entered the cage. 55. He tied the vultures under the cage. 56.  
 The food he placed at the top of the cage. 57. The cage rose towards  
 the heavens. 58. It went towards the middle of the heavens. 59.  
 A wind rose. 60. The cage stopped in the heavens. 61. It stood  
 still for a moment. 62. (Then) the cage went on. 63. It went towards  
 the heavens. 64. A wind rose. 65. But the cage went on. 66. When  
 it went into the heavens, (the king) opened the window of the cage.  
 67. An angel came, and passed through the heavens. 68. The king  
 pulled out his hand-arrow,<sup>4</sup> and threw it into the air. 69. The angel

<sup>1</sup> Repeated: *Tē-dō zi cē-ba 'gaxtog? Γē'zed ke: Balu'wā šīdōk.*

<sup>2</sup> *Prs. ēirā-mtari kardī? ēirā hamī kārī kardī-ast(!)? jang šuda ast.*

<sup>3</sup> *Prs. ba xudā-i tē kabūl na dāram.*

<sup>4</sup> Javelin?



'nōd, a'wā 'dūd.<sup>1</sup> 70. Ma 'mōi 'yār ba 'tīr-i dast de'hēd, a'wā 'dūd, de'hēd. 71. 'Tīr-i 'dast 'oyōd, mē 'pādsā 'bar de'hēd. 72. Va 'koryos 'teske 'vōst mē 'kafas 'sōr. 73. Va 'tāhame 'sōx kēd cē-'viš. 74. 'Oyōd cē 'āsmān 'xav(d) mē 'viš. 75. 'Va 'Ibrōhim 'yēzef ke isyūd.<sup>2</sup> 76. 'Ibrōhim 'oyōd, 'pādsā jē. 77. 'Pādsā 'yēzēd ke: 'Ibrō'him, va 'tō Xē'dā-im 'zōd.<sup>3</sup> 78. 'Yēzēd ke: 'Mē'nī zi Xu'dāi 'nēst, kē 'wo 'žanan.<sup>4</sup> 79. 'Ibrō'him 'ro-'p-xē Xē'dā kēd, cē 'āsmān 'pāse 'xavd. 80. Nam'rūd af-ma'hā 'fauji 'vēd. 81. 'Paša 'wok 'nesi 'la-koi. 82. 'Pādsā 'tākē fērīnd. 83. 'Isko nes fērīnd, 'tākē da fērīnd. 84. Dun'da vēd.

seized the javelin, and hurled it through the air. 70. The javelin struck the throat of a fish, he(?) hurled it through the air, it struck (the king?). 71. The javelin came towards the king, it struck his breast. 72. He tied the vultures at the top of the cage. 73. The food he fastened below. 74. He came from the heavens and descended. 75. (The king said:) 'Tell Ibrahim to come.' 76. Ibrahim came to the king. 77. The king said: 'Ibrahim, I have killed your God.' 78. He answered: 'I have no such God which they can kill.' 79. Ibrahim turned towards his God, (and) from heaven mosquitoes came down. 80. Nimrod was in the field for seven months. 81. The mosquitoes did not leave one (of his soldiers). 82. The king alone remained. 83. Nobody remained, he remained alone. 84. Thus it happened.

Sk.

VI.

(Quatrain from the village Rān.)

'Jāna, jāna, 'ēšbā 'tā mak 'na-kasī?

My soul, my soul, why thou mee not seest?

ar xē'lāi 'ēm (or t<sup>m</sup>?) -sa'ti tu-'wan xāi'ra ka'si.

In every way ? ? ? thou him well seest.

xal'qān-i-jī'hān cōmak tūbā bad-yāi'jān,

The people of the world for my sake about thee ill speak,

zin'hār bā zin'hār tu 'w'āv 'gap-na-nasī.

Beware, again beware, thou their word don't take (: hear).

<sup>1</sup> Note š in sandhi.

## VOCABULARY

### Vowels.

e Sgl. p. 3 O. — e *Ōzar zdt!* — Prs.  
Cf. *ā, wa.*

i Sgl. izafat. — Prs.

i Sgl. p. 2 this. — i *ādam mər* this man died. — V. § 117.

-ī Sgl. p. 2, 3 enclitic pron. 3 sg.?? — *wuīnjak rəmanok oγod me dēr-i* p. 3 a child entered into the woman's womb; *ovzū-i* (or *ovzū*) *tākat nes kəd* p. 3 'dīl-īš *tākat na kard'*; *wēn-i* *juwōi* p. 2 he bleeds. — V. § 114.

-i interrogative particle. — V. § 149.

o Sgl. p. 2 O. — o *tāt*.

-ō(i) he is. — Cf. § 121.

ō Sgl. p. 1, 2, aū p. 1 that (ille). — Cf. § 115, sq. (Add: Sk. gen. pl. *viduo* (Texts, VI).

ab'lā Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.

abr Zb., Sk., ābr Ishk. cloud. — Prs.

ab'rū Zb., av'rū Ishk. eyebrow. — Prs.

āb'sār Sk. waterfall. — Prs.

aḡ(a) that (iste). — Cf. § 115, sq.

īd-: (h)lt Sgl. p. 2, 3 to arrive. — *wok jā īden* 'yak jā mērasam'; *šīdēm itm* 'raftam, rasīdam'; *cə wōd i'tūn bā'zār* p. 2 from there they arrived at the bazar; *pə wāda hlt* p. 3 'ba wāda rasīd'; *īdā-wi* Gr. (Zb.) falls

(to me) = arrives. Cf. Orosh. *yad:* *yat(t)* (*indīd:* *indīd* to enter); Wkh. *ṣat* (?). — 3 sg. *īd* < Av. *āiti* generalized as a present stem? Cf. § 130, sq. V. *dēd*.

īd Sgl. p. 3 Id, festival. — *namāz-i īd-i-Ramazān*. — Ar.-Prs.

a'dab Sk. politeness. — Ar.-Prs.

aḡak Sgl. p. 1. V. *andak*.

āḡam Sgl. p. 1, 2, ē'dam Sk. man. — Ar.-Prs.

īf-: īft Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Zar. to weave. —

*īfəm bōd* Sgl. p. 2. — < \*ūf- < *ufya-* (v. AirWb., 1346), cf. Yd. *wāf*.

īfē Sgl. p. 2, is, *īfē* Gr. spindle. — Cf. *īf-afma'hā* Sgl. p. 3 a period of seven months.

— *Nam'rūd a° fauji vēd*. — Prs.

īf'a'rīn ('ō'f'a'rīn) Sk. bravo. — Prs.

āf'īūn Sgl. is, p. 3, s., *af'sun* p. 1, 2, *šo'fūn* Ishk., *s°* Sk., *s°* Gr. comb.

— *xe sōr af'sū kenēn* p. 2, 3. — Cf. Yd. *šfīn*.

af'ta Sk. week. — Prs.

āf'tāb bar'āmādan Sk. east; *d° nīstān* west. — Prs.

aftā'vē Sgl. p. 2 water-bucket. — Prs.

u'yūi Sgl. is, s., p. 1, *ē°* p. 3, *u'yū* p. 2, *you* Ishk., *yū* Sk., Gr. cow. — *va u'yū*



- dān* Sgl. p. 2 I milk the cow. — Sgl. < \**hu-gānya* (?), Ishk. < *gānš*? V. § 92.
- oyod*, v. is.
- āhūi* Sgl. p. 3 stag. — *uok* 'ā° *paidā šid* a stag appeared; *āhūi uok šāx da* vōd the stag had a horn. — Prs.
- ā'hān* Ishk. iron. — Prs.
- āha'nin* Sgl. p. 3 made of iron. — *ka'fas ā°*. — Prs.
- ijgai* Gr. cheese of sheep-milk. — The existence of this word is denied by Sk.
- a'qa/dō* Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.
- ākik* Sgl. is., s., *ā'kik* p. 1, 2, *ōkik* Sk., "Wkh.", *uok* (?) Ishk. egg. — < \**āeyakā*. Cf. Khw. lw. *āyukun*.
- ākum* Sgl. p. 2 governor. — Ar.-Prs.
- o'kōvō* Sgl. is., p. 1, *kūvd* Sk., *kōvd* Gr., Zar. boots. — \**ā-kaf-ta*-, cf. Prs. *kafš* < \**kaf-ša*-, Arm. *kapem* I bind?
- āl* Sgl. is., p. 2 to be standing; *āl*:- *ālā* Sk. to wait. — *'alem* 'istāda-em, *bestim*; *tu āl*. — Av. *ərəwā*? Cf. Wkh. *āl*, Sar. *kāl* to stay, stand.
- āl'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Prs.
- āl'kē* Sgl. p. 2 net, snare. — Ar.-Prs.
- halqa* a loop.
- 'allo nō* Sk. but.
- ala'laš kən* Sk. to mix. — Turki *aralaš*.
- 'ālam* Sk. world. — Prs.
- alma'sti* Sk. demon. — Cf. Lentz, Pamir Dial., s. 153 n.; Turki *alwašti*.
- ala'šē* Sgl. is., p. 2 *'alaše* p. 3, *a'lāša* Zb., *ō'sa* Sk., *alax'sā* Ishk., *a'lāša* Gr. jaw. — Prs. (*alamšd* Badakhshi, Sk.). Cf. Wogul lw. *ālēs* (Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p. 218).
- āl'ax, ā'ax* Sk., *alax* Gr. (Zb.) hill. — V. *wofoz*.
- āfuzd* Sgl. is. the day before yesterday (?); *āluzd* Gr., *ō'lōzd* Sk. to-morrow. — < \**ā-ula-asni*, Av. *asni*. Cf. Shgh. *afaz* day after to-morrow, Bal. *pōšl*. V. *pāruzd*.
- āfuzdēv* Sgl. is. three days ago. — Obl. of the preceding word?
- am(a)*, obl. *im* this. — V. § 115 sqq.
- a'mē* Sgl. p. 1 mother's sister. — Kab. Prs. *'ama* father's s.
- am* encl. pron. I sg. — V. § 114.
- ambol* Gr. a place covered with stones, like a moraine. — Cf. Yd. *d'būya*.
- am'bāy* Sgl. is. co-wife. — Prs.
- am'bār* Sgl. p. 1, 2 corn-bin. — *dā-s ā°* (they) put it into the corn-bin. — Prs.
- 'ambār* Sgl. p. 1, *am'bār* Sk. pincers. — Prs.
- amda* this very. — Cf. § 117.
- a'mēd* Sgl. p. 2, *u'mēd* Sk. hope. — Prs.
- amēd'vār* Sgl. p. 2 pregnant; *umēd'vār* Sk. hopeful. — *janj amēd'vār-ō*.
- 'amək* Sgl. p. 1, 2 father's brother, p. 2 also cousin. — Bad. Prs. *amuk*.
- a'min* Ishk. this. — V. § 117.
- 'ammō* Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.
- am'mdm* Sk. bath. — Ar.-Prs.
- im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.
- a'māsyē* Sgl. is., *ham'sāya* p. 1 neighbour. — Prs.
- a'max, mōx*, etc. we. V. § 110.
- ən* Sk. yes = *'balē*. — Prs. *hān*.
- in* Sk. this. V. § 117.
- an'derv*:- *an'dervō* Sgl. p. 2, *ān'derv*:- *ān'derv* (?) p. 3, *ənderv* s., *anderv* Zar., *d'rav*:- *d'ravd* Sk. to sew; *andervun* Gr. awl. — *āndervəm* *boš*; *āndervəm*; *āndervōk-em* *kuš* I have sewed. — Cf. Wkh. *d'rev*, Par. *andarf*, Orm. *undervō*.
- 'ainek* Sgl. p. 1, *'aina* Sk. looking-glass. — Prs.

*insāf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*insāfddr* Sk. just. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ingē* Sgl. p. 2 now, then (*ālī*); *inga* Gr. then. — 1° *rāxsat šīdān* then they were dismissed. — Prs. *in-gāh*.  
*an'gūr* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., °f Sgl. is. grape. — Prs.  
*an'gūst* Sk., °ist Zb. coal. — Prs.  
*anguštā'rī* Zb. finger-ring. — Prs.  
*ingūt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., °if Ishk., 'ingit Sk., Zar., 'ingūt "Wkh." finger. — Cf. Yd. *ogusēo*; Khw. (lw.) *angūd* finger hole in scissors (Lor.).  
*ingūtōk* Sgl. p. 1 finger-ring, °uk Gr. finger-nail. — Cf. *anguštā'rī*.  
*a'pī*: *a'pēd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, 'apay: *a'pēd* Ishk., 'apay Sk., 'apēd Gr. to be lost. — *trāsen be apī(ō)* I fear it will be lost; *apēdok o* p. 2 it has been lost; *māne iok ēzi apēd* p. 2, 3; 'apayu: *a'pēduk* Ishk., 'gum šuda'. — Av. *apa-i*.  
*apēm* Sgl. p. 3 winnowing fork. — = Wkh.; cf. Yd. *ēua'no*?  
*a'panis*: *a'panit* p. 2 to lose, *apnit* Gr. lost. — *az iok ēzi a'panisem* I lose a thing; *a'panis* 'gum mēkīnī'; *xē 'māl 'āpanit* he lost his own property. — Av. *apa-nasya* (intr.), Shgh. *benes*.  
*a'paxš* Sgl. is., *apaxš* p. 3, s.: *a'paxt* is., s., p. 3, *a'paxs*: *a'puxt* p. 1, 'apux: *apuxt* Sk. to hear, — *apaxsem bē* p. 3; *va tō gap-am apaxt* is. I heard thy word; *apaxsen, a'puxtem* p. 1. — < \**apa-uxš/s*, cf. Yd. *yuxš*.  
*ārī* Sgl. is., (*h*)*ārī* p. 2, s., *arī* p. 1, Ishk., Zar., *arri* Sk. work. — *arī kenem* Sgl. s., *arī tō madak arī kenon* Ishk. I and thou are working here. — Cf. Yd. *hory*.  
*arēa* Zb. juniper. — Prs.

*a'rək* Sgl. p. 3 eructation. — Cf. Yd. *ararēy*.  
*arqa* Sk. back. — Turki.  
*a'rūq* Sgl. is., °aq p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. perspiration. — Ar.-Prs.  
*or'mōzd* Sgl., *ōr*° Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh.", 'rēmuz Ishk., Gr., °oz Zb., °uzd Sk. sun. — Cf. Saka *uyrmaysdā*, Khwarizmi *rēmašd* < Anc. Prs. *Auramazdāh*. — \**ērmōzd* (v. § 88) > *rēm*°, or, with assimilation, > *ormōzd*?  
*d'rīnj* Zb., Ishk. elbow. — Prs.  
*ar'rē* Sgl. p. 1 a saw. — Prs.  
*a'rūs* Sgl. p. 2, *ē'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ar'sōl* Sk. yearly. — Prs.  
*ar'ēšum* Sgl. p. 2; *brēšum* Ishk., Sk., Gr., *abr*° Zar. silk. — Prs. (*arē*° early lw.).  
*araz*: *a'rāt* Sgl. p. 2, s. to fly, run, jump; 'araz: 'arazd Sk. to jump. — *psāt ara'zō* p. 2 it flies now; *ara'zōk* perf.; *a'rāt, šīd* p. 2 'parrīd, raft'; *arāz mō vyēk, arēāzi ken* p. 2 jump into the water and swim (*ba-parr da au*); *rēk ārazo*° p. 3 the water flows. — < \**ā-raz*, scarcely (with *a* < *ha* < *fra*) < *fra-raz* cf. Shgh. *re-wāz*, etc.  
*a'sd* Sk. staff. — Ar.-Prs.  
*a'sē* Sgl. p. 2 share. — *mōn a° mōm bē dē* give me my share. — Ar.-Prs. *hīssā*.  
*is* Sgl. p., Sk., Gr., Zar., *is* Sgl. s., Ishk.: *oyōd* Sgl. p., s., 'ēyad Ishk., Sk., Zar., *d*° Gr. to come. — Pres. 1st sg *isen* Sgl. p., *īsum* Ishk., Sk.; imper. *īs* Sgl. p.; *yēšef ke isyūd* p. 3 tell him to come (*biāyad*); *ama ādam kādī ēyōd* p. 2 when did this man come? *ēyādum* Ishk., 'ē° Sk. I came; *tēmēx kādī ēyōdān* p. 2 when did you come?



- '*ōyōdok* p. 2, '*ōyaduk* Sk. he has come; *az* (*aməx*) *pāruzd* *ōyōdō(-dā)* *veḍ* I (we) had come yesterday. — \**ā-isa-*: *ā-gata*, cf. Sogd. "*yə-*" *yt*, see Tedesco, ZII, 2, 34 sq.
- i'sāb* Sgl. p. 2 calculation. — *i°* *be kenēn*. — Ar.-Prs.
- u'sid* Gr. baking-pau. Cf. Yd. *sū'i*.
- u'suk*, v. *wu'suk*.
- askar* Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl* Sgl. is., *°al* Sk. honey. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 this year. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *asāl*.
- ās'mān* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Gr., '*ās,mān* Sk. sky, heaven. — *Xə'dā ma ās'mān-o* p. 3. — Prs.
- a'sān* Sgl. p. 2 easy. — Prs.
- 'usir*, v. *wu'ter*.
- f'srōx* Zar. hole of the ear. — < Prs. *surāx*.
- 'āstia* Sgl. p. 2, *ā(i)sta* Sk. slowly. — *ā°* *ā°* *is* p. 2 come slowly; *tə yaš āstā* Sk. speak slowly. — Prs.
- ast* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *ust* Ishk. to stand (up). — *psā-mō astōk* Sgl. is. now I have risen; *astōm* p. 2 '*bēstōm*'; *astō-mō*, *asto veḍ* p. 3; *ustum* Ishk. I rise; *madak-un ustuk* I am standing here. — Av. *us-stā*, cf. Bal. *ustat* (Zar.); but Mj. *uēnikvōi*.
- ōsto* Sgl. p. 2, *ūst* Ishk., *ōst* Sk., *āst* Gr., is., *ast* was(?). — *psād wōda ast* then he was there; *wōdāk oyoḍ ast* he had come there; *wok mā wōda hast* he was (stayed) there for one month; *mā Mandatā-st* he was in Munjan; *māne(n) wō kitāw* *ō(sto)* p. 2 I have a book; *azi/un* *ōst* I am, *tu-t* *ōst*; *wōd* was; *ōstuk* been Sk. — Cf. Shgh. *yast*, Yd. *ast-et*. See § 122.
- us'tād* Sgl. p. 2 blacksmith, *°ād* Sk. artisan. — Prs., cf. Madaglashti *ustā(d)* iron-smith.
- os'tōk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, '*eastuk* Ishk., Gr., Zar. rib, bone; *wōdstuk* Sk., *ostū* "Wkh." bone. — Cf. Yd. *yastē*.
- ista'hān* Sk. glass. — Russ.
- astamōy'zok* Sgl. p. 2, is., *°zek* p. 1 the arm above the elbow. — Cf. Wkh. *mayzī*, *°zek*.
- as'tar*: *as'tōf* Sgl. p. 1, *sī'tar*: *sūtūd* Ishk., *s'tar*: *s'tuḥ* Zar. to sweep. — *as'taren* Sgl. p. 1, *sī'taram* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *is'tor*. — < \**(ā-)star*, not \**us'tar*.
- ust'ruk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 *ost'ruk* s., '*eastuk* (?) Ishk., *struk* Sk., Gr., *stīruk* "Wkh.", *sītāra* Gr. (Zb.) (< Prs.) *star*. — Cf. Yd. *stārē*.
- āstay*: *āstuḍ* Sgl. is., *astē* p. 3, '*astay*: *'astūd* Ishk., Sk., *asti*: *astūd* Gr. (Zb.) to send (a person). — *wok tōm ba astēn* Sgl. p. 3 '*yak tāra rawān mēkenim*'. — Cf. Wkh. *s'tūy*. V. EVP. s.v. *āstawnī*, Horn s.v. *fīristādan*.
- iško* Sgl. p. 3 anyone, *hēc kas*. — *iško nes ferind* nobody was left behind. — Prs. *hēc + ko*.
- 'uskōz* Sk. key, *°uz* Gr. lock. — Cf. Sar. *ačyu*, etc. < Turki?
- ōs'pōn* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *īspōn* p. 1, *ēspōn* s., *šu'pon* Zb., *špon* Sk., *īspōn* Gr. (Zb.), *°ūn* Zar. iron. — Cf. Yd. *rīspēn*. — Reg. § v. § 61. V. *ā'hān*.
- us'tīn* Sgl. p. 2 haystack (?), *kālān* (= *kāhdān*?), '*kāh mēzana*'. — Cf. Yd. *us'čeno*, Wkh. *wōdōn*.
- (h)ōš'cāk* Sgl. is., *š'cāk* p. 2, 3, s., *šrs'cāg* p. 1, *štok* Gr., Sk., *šōcāk* "Wkh."; *štākak* Sk., Gr. girl. — Demin. of *šac*, q.v.
- ā'šik* Sgl. p. 1, *āsik* p. 3, '*āsik* Sk., *ōšik*

- Zar., 'axik "Wkh." tear (Gr. also "a spring", denied by Sk.). — Cf. Yd. *yāšk*.
- aš'tāš* Sgl. is., p. 2 -št- p. 3 eighty. — Prs.
- at-*: att- Sk. to fall. — *atum*, *at*, *attum*, 'atuk.
- et* encl. pron. 2 sg. — V. § 114.
- āta'sek* Sgl. is., *ātā'sak* Sk., *ātīšuk* Gr. lightning. — Prs.
- āv'bāš* Sgl. is., *avb°* p. 2 swimming. — *av°* *kenen* p. 2, *āv°š* *ke'nun* is. we swim. — Prs. — (Cf. s.v. *avaz*).
- āvš* Sgl. is., p. 1, (*h*)*āvš* p. 2, 3, *āvš* Grammoph., *avš* Zb., Ishk., *avš* Gr., Sk., (*u*)*āvš* Zar. seven. — Cf. Yd. *avdo*. *āvšāš* (*avš°*) Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, is., *āvšāš* p. 3, Grammoph., *hābdān* Zb. (fr. Prs.) seventeen.
- āv'zui* Sgl. is., *°zū* p. 1, 2, *°zūc* p. 3, s., *av'zūk* Ishk., (*h*)*av'zūk* Sk., Gr., *āuzak*, *āuzen* Gr. (Zb.) heart. — *av'zui tākat na kard* p. 3 'dīl-is tākat na kard'. — Cf. Wkh. *p'zōv*, *āuzen*, if correct, reminds of Sogd. *p'zn*.
- av'zāl* Sgl. p. 2 headstall, *av'zāl*. — Prs. *afšār*, cf. Abdū *ausāl*, (Zhuk.), Taj. *afzāl* (Semenov). Cf. also Prs. *afšār*.
- av'el* Sk. and; *av'el-ta* *av°* I and thou. [Does *av'el* mean 'both'?].
- av'vō* obl., *av'vōand* pl. of *v* that. See § 115.
- av'vāle* Sgl. p. 3 throwing. — *av°* *dēm* *be* I throw. — Prs. *hāvāla kardan* to transmit, brandish, strike.
- āvul*, v. *āvēr*.
- av'vān* Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.
- āvēr*: *vōš* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *vōš* p. 3, *āvul*: *āvuld* Ishk., *āvēr*: *āvūd* (*āvuld*) Sk., *avir*: *avul* Gr., *avēr*: *avāl* Gr. (Zb.) to find, obtain. — *āvērēn* Sgl. p. 1;
- āvēr-m vōš* p. 2; *vōšēn* p. 3 'yāftam'; *āvulm* Ishk. 'mēyādam', *āvuld* 'yāftam'. — Cf. Sogd. *šyr*, Sar. *varē*: *vūg*, Or. *verai*: (*avūg*), Shgh. *vūd*, Yazgh. *vīr*: *vīg*, etc. — Contaminated in Sgl. with \**ā-vir* to bring (cf. Yd.—Mj. *āvēr*, Sogd. "šyr"), cf. Skr. *bhar* to obtain. But why *vōš* *āvēšp* Sgl. is., *vōšp* "Wkh." ploughshaft. — Cf. Yd. *āvūsp*.
- avē'zān* Sgl. p. 3 hanging. — *av°* *bā* *kenen*. — Prs.
- ixō*, v. *yāxōai*.
- ax'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
- āxor* Sgl. is., *āxurē* p. 2 manger; *āxarēā* Sk. barn. — Prs.
- āxer* Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.
- axse* Sgl. p. 3, *aq/x'sa* Sk. sneezing. — *av°* *dēšm*, — Prs.
- ax'ta* Sk. bull. — Also Shgh., etc.; cf. Prs. *āxta* castrated. *axtrā'nā*.
- axtāš* Sgl. p. 3, *atōyd* Gr. he entered; *atīy*: *atūyd* Zar. to enter. — *axtāš mō ka'fas*, *mō kišti* he entered the cage, the boat. — Cf. Sogd. *tys*: *lyt*, V. Yd.—Mj. *luṭay*.
- axtrā'nā* Sk. stable. — Prs. V. Yd. *axtaxāna*.
- av'yd* Sk. shame. — Ar.-Prs.
- (*h*)*ayās* Sk. cold (noun).
- az* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *az°* Sgl. p. 2, *azi* Ishk. 'I'. — *az-i tšak xēsta xwārem* p. 2 I and thou eat bread; *azi tš madak ari kenon* Ishk. — V. Gramm. § 110.
- āzād* Sk. Ar.-Prs.
- azār* Sk., *azār* Gr. (Zeb.) 1000. — Prs.
- āzīm*: *āzōš* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *āzīm*: *āyad* Ishk., *āzīm*: *āzōmd* Sk., *āzīm* Gr. to bring (a thing). — *āzīmēn*, *āzēm* *āzōš* p. 1; *āzīm* imper. 2 sg., *āzīmum* p. 2; *āzīmum* *bē*, *āzōšō-mō*, *va zāmanok*



'oyodan p. 3 'ācurdand'; wuś iēm 'kāh biār', iēmum, wōk ēz āyadum Ishk.; 'iēmum, 'iēmum! 'iēmudum Sk. — Cf. Yazgh. *ajam-* to send (acc. to Gauthiot, JA, 1916, 255 < ā-jāmaya-), Sogd. \*yā to bring (Reichelt, Sogd. Texts II 73); cf. also Wkh. *wūzem-* to bring Mir. Manich. II, 54 *z'm-* 'schicken, führen' (but note the *z*), and possibly Sak. *ajum-* to lead, bring.

## B

*ba*, *bə*, Gr. (Zh.) *bi* a particle denoting the future, etc. — V. Gramm. § 135.  
*bā* v. *bāz*.  
*be* Sgl. s., etc., *bo* Ishk., *bā*, *bē* to, for (postpos.). — V. § 106.  
*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turki.  
*būi* Sgl. p. 2 smell, Sk. good smell. — *būi dehōi* p. 2 'būi mēzanad'; *būi kən* Sk. to smell. — Prs.  
*bi'bi* Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Gr. grandmother, father's sister. — Prs.  
*bōbō* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *bāb* Sgl. s., *bū'bū* Sk., *bāva* Sgl. (paternal grandfather.) — Afgh. Prs. *bābā*, etc.  
*babr* Sk. lion. — Prs.  
*bō'h* Sk. paternal uncle. — Cf. Wkh. *bōc*. V. *amək*, *vuc*.  
*bēak* Sk. he-goat. — Cf. Notes on Shgh. *bucāk*.  
*bēcō'ra* Sk. poor. — Prs.  
*bad* Sk. bad. — Prs.  
*bād* Sgl. p. 2, 3 Sk. after(wards). — *bād pādsā oyōd*; *bād cō wōd xōt* afterwards he rose from there. — Prs.  
*bāa'dab* Sk. polite. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēa'dab* Sk. impolite. Ar.-Prs.  
*bād(i)* Sgl. p. 3, *bād* Ishk. wind. — *wok*

*bādī paidā* *ōd* = *šamāl paidā iōd*. — Prs.  
*bu'bdōg* Sk. bachelor. — *az-um b°* I am a b°. —  
*ba'dan* Sk. body. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēdār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bē'dōr* Ishk. awake. — *b°-em iōd cē misūk* p. 2 I awoke from sleep; *bēdār šān* p. 3; *az-m bē'dōr* Ishk. — Prs.  
*bōdōwōn-*: *bōdō'wōnd-* Sk. to gallop. — Prs.  
*bōd'xāna* Sgl. p. 3 temple (in tale). — Prs.  
*bēd* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *bēd* Zar. willow. — Prs. V. *wēd*.  
*bā'dak* Sgl. p. 2 dividing, *baxš(2)*. — *wō'ki wō'ki za'mīn kull'šōn b° kēnen* they all divide the fields among themselves, one to each. — < \**bay'dak?*  
*bā'dām* Sgl. p. 2 almond. — Prs.  
*bēfār-* Sk. to please. — Impersonal construction: *'mumba na bu'fōru* I don't like it; *āmōd bēfāru az mōz yāzm* he wants me to speak. — Cf. Prs. *fāridan*.  
*bē'gu'nā* Sk. innocent. — Prs.  
*bu'gāy-um*: *bugāid-um*, *bugāyuk* Sk. to copulate. — Prs.  
*bāy* Sk. garden. — Prs.  
*bō'yē* Sk. male cousin.  
*bē'yāib* Sk. innocent. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bayal* Ishk., *bayal'vīs* Zar. armpit. — Prs. Cf. *kaš'vīs*.  
*bē'yūir* Sgl. p. 3 except (in tale). — *b° i mak kōci digar Xōdā nē yūi'ēf* don't call anybody else God except me. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bo'yas* (*ba°*) Sgl. p. 2 bellowing, bleating; *bāy* Zar. to bellow. — *čār'vā*, *wōz b° kē'nōi*. — Cf. Yd. *bayaz*, Shgh. *way-*. Reg. -*az* v. Parachi Voc. s.v. *bā'nas* bleating.

- bəz ken* Sk. to hate. Ar-Prs. *bəz*.  
*bəh* Sgl. p. 2, *bəh* Gr. (Zb.) a kiss. —  
*bəh be kenēn*. — Cf. Yd. *bəh*.  
*bə'jā* Sk. father's sister's husband. —  
 Cf. Mj. *bāja*.  
*bok* Sgl. s., *box* p. 3 vomiting. — *box-om*  
*dēd*. — Cf. Turki (Hjuler) *bok*, *box* dirt?  
*bāqī*, *bāqī* Sk. wise. — Ar-Prs.  
*bə'kāl* Zb. calf. — V. *bakrī'qī*.  
*bakrī'qī* Sgl. is. male calf, 1—2 years  
 old; p. 2, 3 female(?) calf, one year  
 old. — Yd. *bakrī'qā*.  
*bə'kər* Sk. necessary. — 'mumba b<sup>o</sup> I  
 need. — Prs.  
*bāq'w'icat* Sk. strong. — Ar-Prs.  
*bālē* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) yes. — Prs.  
*bāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, Sk. wing. — Prs.  
*bēl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. spade. — Prs.  
*bāl'yē* Sgl. p. 2, *bāq'īd* Sk. beans, *bākulā*  
 (Faba sativa, or Vicia faba, cf. Va-  
 vilov, Agric. Afgh. 334).  
*bāl'yām* Sgl. p. 3 mucus from the mouth.  
 — Ar-Prs.  
*bāl'yē* Sgl. p. 1, *bālē'qā* Sk. hammer. —  
 Prs., cf. Yd. *bāl'yē*.  
*bə'land* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bə'lan* p. 1, *bland* Sk.  
 high. — Prs.  
*bə'laur* Sgl. is. rock-crystal. — Prs. V.  
*kūti*.  
*belar'zān* Sgl. p. 2 to make tremble. —  
*mum-bē belar'zānu*; *belar'zānu-š*. —  
 Prs. Cf. § 129.  
*bə'lis* Sgl. is., *bə'lis* p. 2 span from thumb  
 to forefinger, *bə'lis* Zar. id., to little  
 finger. — Afgh. Prs. *bilist*. V. *čaraq-*  
*gašt*, *pəx*, *wu'šit*, *wə'jib*.  
*belis'mān*: *belis'mānd* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to make  
 to slip. — *belis'mānu-š 'mēlišmāna-š'*;  
*mum bē belis'mānu* it makes me slip.  
 — Prs. \**lišmāndan*, cf. *lišn*, *laš'in*  
 slippery.  
 25 — Kulturforskning.
- bə'lar*: *bə'larəð* Sgl. s., p. 2, *bə'lar*: *bə'larəð*  
 Ishk., Sk. to read, Sk. also to sing.  
 — *ki'tār bə'laven*; *ki'tār-om bə'larəð*  
 p. 2; *bə'lar* Ishk. 'buxān'. — Cf.  
 Shgh. *lūr*, etc.; Prs. *labidan* to brag.  
*bə'wē'n* p. 3 fighting. — *bə'wē'n*,  
*baluwā šidok 'jarg kuda ast'*. — Prs.  
*bə'wā* disturbance.  
*bə'wē*, v. *laxē*.  
*bə'mār* Sgl. p. 2, *bə'mār* Sk. ill, unwell.  
 — Prs.  
*bēmārī* Sk. illness.  
*bə'na* Sk. body (read *ta'na'*).  
*bānd* Sgl. p. 1 ' shoe-string; ' dyke. —  
 Prs.  
*bānd-r'ēst* Sgl. is., p. 1, Zb., *band-i-dost*  
 p. 3, 'dust Sk. wrist. — Prs. (with  
 partial adaptation to the dialect).  
*bāndik* Sgl. p. 1 elbow; *bandik* Sk.  
 finger-nail (corr.; 'joint?). — \*Prs.  
*band-r-pā* Sgl. p. 1, 3, ankle joint. — Prs.  
*bandar* Sgl. p. 2 custom-house, *paira*. —  
 Prs. harbour.  
*bo(g)* Sgl. p. 2, 3 crowing. — *xu'rūs*  
*bo(g) kənc'i* the cock crows. —  
 Prs.  
*bar* Sgl. p. 2, 3 breast; Gr. (Zb.) embrace.  
 — *mə pādā bar dehēd* (the javelin)  
 hit the king in the breast. — Prs.  
*bə'ār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *bə'ār* Zb., *bə'hār*  
 Ishk., *b(ā)ār* Sk. spring. — *kə bārə*  
*šincō* p. 2 when spring came. — Prs.  
*bōr* Sgl. p. 1 grey; *būr* Sk. greyish white.  
 — Prs. (Bal. *gōray* grey, Kurd. *gūr*  
 (Soane) brown, *geur*, etc. brown, grey  
 (J. J.) would seem to point to original  
 w-, not to \*barica- (Barthol. Miran.  
 Mund. VI, 5)).  
*bōr* Ishk. to rain. — *fai bu bōrū* it  
 rains much. — Prs. V. *nar*.  
*barf* Zb. snow. — Prs. — V. *warf*.



*bary* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Sk., Gr. a leaf.  
— *Prs.*

*barq* Sk. lightning. — *Prs.*

*bār'k* Sk. narrow, thin. — *Prs.*

*bār'ān* Sgl. s., *bār'ān* Ishk., Sk. ruin. —  
*Prs.* — *V. no'vok.*

*bār'anj* Sgl. is., *°inj* p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk.,  
*brīnš* p. 1 rice. — *bār'anjā ke'nān* p. 2  
they cook rice. — *Prs.*

*bār'inj* Sk. brass. *Prs.*

*brēšum*, v. *ar'vēšum*.

*bārūt* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *brūt* Zb., *bu'rūt* Ishk.,  
*bārūt* Sk. monstache. — *Prs.*

*bārēz* Sgl. is., *°ēz* p. 1, s., Zb., *°ēz* p. 3,  
*°ūj* Ishk., *bruž* Sk., *bārēz* "Wkh."  
birch. — *Cf. Or. bērij*, etc. from  
IA. *Cf. Yd. ze'virjo*, etc.

*bas* Sgl. p. 2 enough; *bas is-um* (*bas*  
*oyadum*) Sk. to be able. — *Prs.*

*bat*, v. *ist*.

*bata'yak* Sk. 21. — *Prs.*

*bāso* Sgl. p. 2. — *In: mit be pūt dē, bāso*  
give me money, and then go away  
(*bā bura* = *ba'd burau?*); *tō pūt*  
*dē, bāsa* (*'bād bura*). — *Prob. from*  
*ba'd + so.*

*bā'sē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bā'sa* Ishk. sparrow-  
hawk. — *Prs.*

*bāš* verbal particle. — *V. Gramm. § 135.*

*bīš* Sgl. p. 3 under. — *cā kafas bīš 'az*  
*tā i kafas*. — *Cf. s.v. yālviš.*

*baš'kač* Sgl. p. 3 children, *baš'kač* (in tale).  
— *Prs. Cf. bača-kačaho family (Zar.,*  
*Oč. razg. yaz. samarkandsk. ebreev,*  
*no. 530).*

*bā'sān-* Sgl. p. 2, *bī'sān-* Ishk. to make  
to sit down. — *az bō tfak bō'sān(n)in*  
Sgl. is.; *tfak bō'sānen* p. 2; *azi fak*  
*madak bī'sonum* Ishk. — *Prs.*

*be'ist* Sk. heaven. — *Prs.*

*bat* Sgl. p. 2 sweets given at a feast. —

*Cf. Or. bāt* a kind of porridge, ritual  
food. — *Hind. bhāt?*

*bat* Sgl. p. 3 idol. — *batā f'ed kud pō*  
*tovor* he crushed the idols with his  
axe. — *Prs.*

*bāi'tal* Sgl. is., p. 1, *°alea* p. 3 mare. —  
*Prs. V. mādiyān.*

*bē'tāk* Sgl. p. 2 sheep-skin coat, posteen.  
*bīa'vān* Sgl. p. 2 outside. — *šā b° 'berūn*  
*mēran*; *šidum b° 'raftam berūn*. —  
*Prs.*

*bēwa* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bē'wā* Sk. widow. —  
*Prs.*

*bā'war* Sk. hopeful. — *Prs.*

*ba'xīl* Sk. a miser. — *Prs.*

*baxš* Sgl. p. 2, 3 dividing, division, portion.  
— *baxš(e) kenen* I divide, distribute,  
*co'fūr za'min-ō, co'fūr zāt-ō mon-ēn,*  
*va co'fūr baxš kenen* p. 2. — *Prs.*

*bāz* Sgl. p. 1 falcon. — *Prs.*

*bāz* Sgl. p. 2 then. — *Prs.*

*bāzē* Sk. play. — *Prs.*

*bāzū* Zb. the arm above the elbow;  
*bāzū* Sk., Gr. elbow. — *Prs. V.*  
*astamāy'zēk.*

*bāz* Zb. goat. — *Prs. V. vāz.*

*bāzār* Sgl. p. 2 bazar. — *ce wōš itin*  
*bāzār* from there they arrived at  
the bazar. — *Prs.*

*bāzār'gān* Sgl. p. 3, Gr. (Zb.) merchant.  
— *Prs.*

## C

*cā* what? *Cf. § 119.*

*cā* Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, Ishk., *cā* Gr. from. —  
*ce mēz viš* p. 2 (from) under the table;  
*dārvā cā vōz: šōst-ō* a cow is bigger  
than a goat; *Cang'lēš om šyod* (= *cā*  
*S°*) p. 2 I come from Sanglech; *azī*  
*cā minduk xō'tuk* Ishk. (*cā misūk*) p. 2

- 1 rose from sleep. — < Av. *hača*,  
Cf. Yd. *že*. V. § 107.  
*cē-ba* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *tə-šə zi cē-ba*  
*gaxtog* why did you do thus? (*čirā-*  
*ntari kardī?*); *tə-šə ma zi cē-ba gaxtog*  
*'čirā hamī kārti kardī?*. — Prs. —  
Cf. *čeva* = *čba* 'why' in the dial.  
of the Samarkand Jews.  
*ceci, cie* what? — V. § 119.  
*'cācū* Sgl. is., *'cācū* p. 1, *cā'cū* s. a kind  
of hawk or falcon, *čārja*.  
*cə'fūr* Sgl. p., s., is., Zb., Sk., Zar., *cə'fūr*  
Gr. (also *čə'fūf* Sgl. is.), but *čər* Ishk.  
four. — *cə'fūr cət-šə mən-ən* I have  
four sons. — Cf. Yd. *čšr*.  
*cām* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *cām* is., *com* Zb.,  
*cōm* Ishk., Zar., *cām* Sk., Gr. eye. —  
Cf. Yd. *čam*, "Wkh." *cōm*.  
*cə'mək* Sgl. p. 3 winking. — Cf. *cām*.  
*cə'mənd* Sgl. p. 2, *cumand* Gr. how many.  
— *cə' ādam ceto? cə' tan-ān ma təməx*  
*xān* how many people are there in  
your house? — Cf. § 119.  
*cām-mərdī'kīg* Sgl. p. 1 the iris of the  
eye. — Cf. "Wkh." *mərdik* pupil of  
the eye, Gr. *murdik* a small ring, Yd.  
s.v. *mədrayē*.  
*cə'nā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 how. — *cə'nā-i oyoš*  
p. 2 *'čitur āmadi?*; *ce'nā 'ma hari ken?*  
how do you do this work? *cəna gāzen*  
p. 3 how shall we do?  
*cə-pšūr* Sgl. p. 2 above. — *kū'tāv cə-pšūr-ū*.  
— V. *cə*, *pšūr*.  
*carx*, v. *čarx*.

## Č

- čub* Ishk. wood, firewood. — Prs. V.  
*durk*.  
*čə'brū* Ishk. fat. — Prs. V. *ušt*.  
*čī'čī* Sgl. is., p., *ču'čī* Ishk., *čū'čī* Sk.,

- čī'čī* Gr. female breast; *ču'čī* "Wkh."  
udder. — Prs. *čučū*.  
*čū'čik* Sk. chicken. — Prs.  
*čū'dan* Sk., *čudan* Gr. cooking-pot. —  
Cf. Oss. *cuainag* kettle, Russ. *čugun*  
cast-iron kettle, v. BSOS, VIII, 865.  
*čay'man* Sgl. p. 1 cloak. — Turki.  
*čuk-* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. to beat; *čok-* *čokt-*  
Sk. to thresh, to knock in (a nail).  
— *čuko-š 'mēcakad-iš'* Sgl. p. 2. —  
Cf. Wkh. *čuk* to beat, pound; Yaxgh.  
*čok* to beat, Bad. Prs. *čukidan* to  
hammer.  
*ču'kār* Sgl. is. a kind of dye made from  
resin.  
*čə'qur* Sk. deep. — Turk. *čukur* (cf. Par.  
*čukuri* a well).  
*čəl* Sk. soaking wet.  
*čel*, Sgl. is., *čel* p. 2, s., *čel* p. 3 forty. —  
Prs.  
*čī'lē* Sgl. p. 1 the coldest part of winter.  
— Prs. *čila* forty days of winter  
during which the weather is most  
severe, cf. Psht. *cila*, Bal. *čilav*,  
Kurd. *čilān*, etc.  
*čul* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 penis. — Cf. Yd. *čula*.  
*čə'lik* Ishk., *čəl'lā* Sk., *čiliak* Gr. (Zb.)  
finger-ring. — Hi. *challā*, Psht. *čala*  
ear-ring?  
*čī'lim* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. water-pipe. — *'čilim*  
*'xašum* Sk. I smoke. — Prs.  
*čəf* Zar. multicoloured. — Cf. Mj. s.v. *kuš*.  
*ču'mōf* Sgl. p. 1, 3 basket for carrying  
on the back. — Cf. Shgh. *cemūd*,  
Or. *camūg*, Sar. "tsamūgh" < \**čamyta*.  
*čen-* *čid-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to pick. — *čenen*,  
*čidum*. — Prs.?  
*čənd* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. some. — *čənd rōz*  
*past*. — Prs.  
*čī'nār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čə'nār* Gr. oriental  
plane. — Prs.



*čing'gāl* Sgl. p. 2 claw. — Prs.  
*čang'giling* Sgl. is., *čang'giling* p. 1, *čangge-  
 ring* p. 3 hamstring. — Prs. \**čang-i  
 ling*.  
*čap* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. left (hand); *čab-ling*  
 Sk. the left foot. — Prs.  
*čapa* Sgl. p. 3 overturning. — *va kišt*  
*č° kōd* overturned the boat; *mo jangal*  
*č° šid* was thrown ashore in a forest.  
 — Cf. Prs. *čapidan*, Psht. *čapa kaurul*  
 to turn over.  
*čā'pān* Sk. cotton cloak. — Turk.  
*čā'pān* Sgl. p. 2, *čū°* 3, *čō°* Gr. shepherd.  
 — Prs. Cf. Mj. *čū'pān*.  
*č'pōšt* Sk. backwards, behind. — Assim.  
 from \**epōšt*? Cf. Yd. *čpāč*.  
*čā'rā ken-* Sgl. p. 3 to graze. — Prs.  
*čōr*, v. *čōfūr*.  
*čō'rō*, v. *čār'vā*.  
*čārda* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *čāda* p. 3, *čārde*  
 Gramophone, *čārdāu* Zb. fourteen.  
 — Prs.  
*čarfandē'gi* Sgl. p. 3 sprinkling. — *va  
 vēk č° kenen*. — \*Prs.?  
*čī'rāy* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *čī'rōy* Ishk., Zar.,  
*čī'rāy* Sk. candle, light. — Prs.  
*čīrāy'dān* Sk. lantern.  
*čīrya'zek* Sgl. p. 1, *čīrya'zek* p. 3 a spark.  
 — Cf. Mj., Khw. *čō'rox*, Gr. *čēra'zak*.  
 < \**čīrax-zek*, cf. Prs. demin. suff.  
 -za?  
*čār'māys* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *čār'mayz* Sk.  
 walnut(-tree). — Prs.  
*čā'rān*: *čā'rāst* p. 2, Gr. to graze, to  
 herd cattle. — Prs. *čārāndan*.  
*čārān* Sk. animal.  
*čāragešt* Sgl. p. 1, *čāran'gušt* s. span,  
 from thumb to fore-finger. — \*Prs.  
 — V. *bo'lis*, pēn.  
*čār'vā* Sgl. p. *čārā* Zb., *čō'rō* Sk., *čāra*  
 Gr., *čārpa* Gr. (Zb.) horned cattle,

flocks. — *č° čō rōz čōšt-č* p. 2. —  
 Prs. *čārcā* quadruped.  
*čārx* Sgl. is., p. 2, *čārx* p. 1, *čārx* p. 3,  
 Ishk. spinning wheel. — Genuine,  
 but with *č* from Prs.?  
*čārcaiz* Sk. galloping. — Prs. \**čāhār-  
 xēz*?  
*čos* Sgl. p. 3 a fart. — *čos de 'guzidan*.  
 — Prs. *čus*, Kāndulāt *tis*.  
*čē* bā Sk., *čiz-ba* Gr. (Zb.) why? — Cf.  
 Prs. *čiz*.  
*čīs'mē* Sgl. p. 1, *čīs'mē* p. 3, *čīs'ma* Sk.,  
*čāšma'vek* Ishk. a spring. — Prs.  
*čūšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 noon. — Prs.  
*čīš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čīs* Zar. urine. — Cf.  
 Prs. *čāš*?  
*čūt* Ishk. kid, *čūd* Zar. he-goat. — Cf.  
 Wersbikwar *čūt*?  
*čōf* Sgl. is., *čōf* p. 1, 2, *čūt* Ishk., *čōf* Gr.  
 (Zb.) small. — *diga'ri čō ico čōf-an*  
*'digar az ā maida astin'*; *čōf zot-i*  
 p. 2 thou art a small child; *čōf konum*  
 Sk. I break to pieces, I tear in two.  
 — Acc. to Gr. from 1A. Cf. Burush.  
*juč*. V. *rizyāk*.  
*čōv* Sgl. p. 2, *čōvāk* p. 3 little, small.  
*ču'wēf* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *čūwēf* p. 1, *ču'wēn*  
 Zb., *čūčēnd* Sk., *čūčēnd* Zar., *čūčēnd*  
 Gr. apricot. — Cf. Wkb. *ču'wēn*,  
*čūčēn*, Rhyming with, and prob.  
 influenced by, *mēf*, *mēnd* apple. Cf.  
 Yd. *čīrē*?  
*čax'max* Sgl. is., *čax'max* p. 2, *čaxmax-  
 sang* p. 3 flint(-lock). — Prs. — Turk.  
*čiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. what? — *to mum bo  
 čiz yēti?* Ishk. what dost thou say  
 to me? *in nīm čiz?* *čiz nīm in-d* Sk.  
 what is his name? *čiz tō-t 'nist*  
*čyad* Sk. why didst thou not come?  
*čiz-bā ke* Sk. since. — Prs.; cf. Wkb.,  
 Shgh., Gr. (Zb.) *čiz*.

ēzi Sgl. is., p. 2 a thing, something. —  
ēzi-m nūšōd I drank something;  
wok ēzi be nūšen; mōnē wok ēzi  
a'pēd p. 2 I lost a thing (yak ēzi);  
har qiam-i ēziā-i xūb all sorts of  
good things. — Prs.

## D

da, de Sgl. p. 2, 3 a particle denoting  
existence. — āhūn wok šāx da wōd  
p. 3 the stag had one horn; tāke da  
fōrūd p. 3 he remained alone. Cf.  
IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. p. 76; Ben-  
veniste Gramm. Sogd. II, §§ 82, 133,  
etc. — Cf. dak.

-dō, -dō thou art. — V. § 121.

dou Sgl. is., dōn p. 2, dōu p. 3, dāu p. 1,  
dou s., dōu Ishk., dū Zb., dōu Sk.,  
dau, dō Gr., du Zar. two. — dō zōt;  
dō rō'pē; wog dō rōi mēi some two  
or three days Sgl.; dōw-yāz Sk.  
repeat. — From \*dūcāu? Cf. Or.  
dau, etc.

dēcāk Sgl. p. 1, dec Sk., Gr., dēc Zar.  
goatskin used for swimming, sanōc.  
— Cf. Wkh. dāck, Yd. laxēto.

dēd Sk., in dēd dōwēm I box, fight. —  
Cf. Shgh. dēd war, or, more probably,  
Sgl. deh. (v. below).

dēd Sgl. p. 2, dēd: dēt Sk. to enter,  
go in. — dē(dō)m I entered. — Cf.  
Shgh. dēd, Or. indīd, Sar. diō: deid,  
Yd. tt. < \*ati-i, with -d from 3 sg.  
(v. s.v. id)? Cf. Sogd. tys (Benv.  
Gramm. Sogd. II, 61), Yaghn. ttē:  
ttst, Yazgh. dis: dayd, and Yd. tt.

dīd Sgl., Zb., dūd Ishk., dīd Sk., dīd  
Zar., dīt Gr. smoke. — Cf. Yd. tūi  
(Ishk. from Prs.).

'dīdūs Sgl. p., °us s., 'dīdus is.; 'dīdō:dāu

Zb., dūdō:da Ishk. twelve. — dī. <  
\*dā. < dūca?

dig'dān Sgl. is., p. 1, Gr., dig'dōn Ishk.,  
dikdōn Zar. fireplace, hearth; d'k'dān  
Sk. kettle(?). — Prs.

diga Sgl. p. 2 now, then. — čand rōz  
pasī diga xē māl gōf kuš. — Prs.

'digar Sgl. p. 3 other. — Prs.

diga'rī Sgl. p. 2 still, more. — d°  
cōwō čuť-ān you are still smaller  
than he.

dah, v. dow.

deh: dēd Sgl. p. (p. 3 also dehd), dē:  
dēd s., dē: dēd Ishk., Sk., deh: dēd  
Gr. (Zb.), dē: dēd Zar. to beat. —  
tfak de'hēn, tu a'mak dē; azēm a-tfak  
dēd p. 1; dehoi 'mēzanad'; warf° d'ho  
snow falls; vēki diān they irrigate;  
tēm dān they sow; dānd° de'hēn I  
bite; axše dēdēm I yawned; dehd  
'zad'; gab dehef speak (gap bezanī)  
p. 3; dēdēm Gazkōstān p. 2 we reached  
("struck"?) Gr. (zadīm); dēm; azi  
wan dēdēm; mak dēd 'mara zad'  
Ishk.; dēm, imper. dē, dēdēm, dēduk,  
dēyuk; az fak dēm I beat thee Sk.  
— Cf. Yd. dah-, Shgh. de-, etc.

dāku'sa Sk. felt-pad placed under the  
saddle. — Sk. compares Gr. 'dakōsa  
stirrup.

dak Sgl. p. 2, 3 emphatic particle. —  
xwārēn-dak I eat; xwōro-dak he eats;  
nēr-ēm kuš v-āri dak; nēr-ēm kōkō va  
hāri-dak to-day I did (have done) the  
work (imrāz hamū kāra kardam);  
ma mēm xōdēm-dak gab dehef explain  
my dream; im-bā-dak wok miš dūdū  
wōdēm I had given him an apple;  
ce har xōri-dak 'az har xar'; kull-  
šōn-dak they all; am xān-dag kull  
mōnin-dag-ē. Cf. §§ 114, 117.



- *dəq'dəq* Sk. trotting. — Cf. Shgh. *doqdoq*, and Prs. *luk luk raftan*.  
*duq'lad* Sk. gallop. — Cf. Prs. *qulād* prancing of a horse.  
*dəkd'nt* Sk. field. — Prs.  
*'dela* Sgl. is. weasel. — Prs.  
*dā'ilē* Sgl. p. 2 porridge made of barley (said to be a Farsi word). — Cf. Prs. *dila* rye? V. *pa'fār*.  
*doldo'rok* Sgl. is., *dōydo'yok* p. 1, 3, *dōydo'rok* s. thunder. — Onomatopoeic word, cf. Psh. *ḡuḡjakār*, Par. *bumbu'rū*, etc.  
*dā'ltz* Sgl. is., p. 2 veranda.  
*dam* Gr. (Zb.) back (of an animal). — Cf. Shgh. *dam* upper part of the back, Or. *dām* spine, etc., Par. *damāi* behind. Shgh. *d-* points to borrowing.  
*dāmb* Sgl. p. 1, *dāmb* p. 3, *dumb* Zb., Ishk., *dqb* Sk., *dum* Zar. tail. — Genuine, or from Prs. *dum(b)*. Cf. Yd. *lām*.  
*dāmb* Sgl. p. 3 to card wool. — *pāme dāmben*. — Cf. Yd. *lib*.  
*'dōmōd* Ishk. son-in-law, *dō'mōd* Sk. bridegroom, *dū'mōd* sister's husband, son-in-law. — Prs. V. *zō'mūd*.  
*dam'fātek* Sgl. p. 2, s., *°ažrk* p. 3 yawn. — *d° xāsem* 1 yawn. — Prs. *dam* breath + *fāz* yawning; cf. Par. *fāza*.  
*dī'māy* Zb. nostrils. — Ar.-Prs. V. *fōsk-pa'čē*.  
*'dāman* Sgl. p. 1, 2 hem of a garment. — Prs.  
*dānā* Sgl. is., *dāh'nā* Sk. a horse's bit. — Prs. V. *lažām*.  
*dā'nā* Sk. wise. — Prs.  
*dān* Ishk. day(?). — Doubtful word, unknown from other sources.  
*dān* Sk. religion. — Ar.-Prs.  
*dānā* Sgl. is., *dānā* p. 3, *dān* p. 1, *dānt* s., *don(f)* Zb., Ishk., *dānā* Sk., *dānā(ak)* Gr. tooth. — *nasēm be pā dānā* Sgl.

- p. 2 I bite it; *na'sōk pā dānā* is.; *dānā dehēn* p. 3; *dōnt kenem* Ishk. I bite. — Cf. Yd. *lad*.  
*dunda* Sgl. p. 3 so much, *amika* (= *hamān qadr*). — *dunda* *veš* thus it happened. — Cf. Gr. (Zb.) *zō-dund*, Sar. *dund* < *\*tā-vant*?  
*dūnik* Sgl. p. 2 grain. — *dūnik xoro 'dāna mēxura*. — Cf. Prs. *dāna*.  
*dē'nula* Sgl. p. 1 hoopoe, *huthut*.  
*dān-'pōf* Sgl. p. 2 gums.  
*dōn'yā* Sk. world. — Ar.-Prs.  
*dā'rē* Sgl. is., *dā'rē* p. 1, *dā'ra* Sk. valley. — Prs. But Gr. *dār* 'ravine' may be genuine.  
*dā'rū* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.  
*dēr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., Sk., Gr., *d'ēr* p. 3, 'Wkh.' *dēra* belly. — *wužinjak zomanok o'pod mē dērī* the woman became pregnant. — Prob. < *\*udarya-* (v. KZ, 61, 32), cf. Yaghn. *dara*.  
*dēr*: *dērd* Sk. to have. — *dērōm*. — Av. *dāraya*, Par. *dēr*, cf. Yd. *lār*.  
*dīr* Sgl. p. distant, far. — *dīr watan ba šīd*; *ada ādam dīr-ūi, ama ādam ka'rīb-ū* p. 1 that man is far away, this man is near. — Cf. Yd. *lūro*.  
*dūr*, *dṛ* ("with Swedish n") Sk. penis.  
*dūr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sickle. — Cf. "Wkh." *dār*, Yd. s.v. *ḡruyus*.  
*dard*, *dar(d)* Sk. pain. — *'mōnō 'dard-kunu* it hurts me. — Prs.  
*dar'gāw* Sgl. p. 1, *dar'gō* Zb. small valley; *dar'gāb* Sk. brook. — Prs.  
*dūrūy* Sk. a lie. — Prs.  
*dūrūy'gū* Sgl. p. 2, *dūrūy'gū* Sk. a liar. — *to d° dō* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.  
*durk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *dōrk* Zb., Ishk., Sk. stick, wood. — *va durk to'rōr māida kenen* p. 2 I cut the wood into pieces with an axe; *xūb rōst durk-ū* it is

a quite straight stick. — \**dāruka-*, or \**daruka-* (v. § 79), cf. Shgh. *ḍory*, Psht. *largai*.  
*dā'ram* Sgl. p. 1, Zb. pinetree.  
*dā'rūn* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. inside. — *tə ma xān d° do* thou art in the house. — Prs.  
*dā'rāk* Sgl. is. arrow(?), p. 2 bow-string. — Cf. Orm. *drūng* (v. Suppl. Notes s.v.) bow. Yd. *drūn* is borr. from Khw. — V. *zē*, *xas'trek*.  
*dā'rost* Sgl. p. 2 straight. — Prs.  
*dā'raft* Sgl. p. 2, is. rough. — Prs.  
*drāw*, v. *derāy*.  
*dā'wāza* Sgl. p. 3 door, gate. — *ḍel d° wōd*; *mā d° nidef* sit down at the gate. — Prs.  
*dā'razt* Sgl. is., *draxt* p. 1, *dā'razt* Sk. a tree. — Prs.  
*dē'rāy*, *dē'rē*: *dā'rād* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *dē'ray* Ishk., *drāw*: *drāwd* Sk. to reap. — *derāyen*, *derādēm* p. 2; *ḡundum derayem* Ishk. — Poss. from Prs. Cf. Yd. *lōrī*.  
*dā'yāi* Sgl. is., s., *dā'yā(o)* p. river, *dā'yā* Sk. Amu Darya. — *dā'yāo yax o kušk* p. 2 the river has frozen (*yax kardast*). — Prs.  
*dā'yok* Sgl. p. 2 reaping, harvest. — *d° isū*. — V. *derāy*.  
*dā'rāz* Sk. long. — Prs.  
*dos* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *dōs* p. 1, Gr. (Zb.), *dāu* Zb., *dah* Sk., Gr. ten. — Cf. Yd. *los* (*dāu*, *dah* < Prs.).  
*dōsad* Sk. 200. — Prs.  
*dō'sin* Sgl. is., p. 2 wild oats. — Sk. *ṛṣṭ-ḍov'suk*. Cf. Yd. *leso*.  
*dōst* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *dūst* Ishk., *du'ost* Sk. arm below the elbow, hand. — *xē dōst zē'nāyen* p. 1 I wash my hands. — Cf. Yd. *last*.

*dūst* Sgl. p. 2, *dust* Sk. a friend. — *dūst dērum* Sk. I love. — Prs.  
*dōs'tak* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. a rafter, ceiling-board. — Prs., Bad.; cf. Par., Orm. *dōs'tak*.  
*dēš*: *dēyōd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *dēš*: *dēšt* Zar. to milk. — *va uyū dēšom*, *va uyū-m dēyōdēm* p. 2. — \**dauršya*: \**duxta*, cf. EVP, s.v. *hoasol*. — Yd. (v. s.v. *lūt*), Wkb., Sgl., etc. go back to \**dauē*.  
*dōš* Sgl. p. 2 late. — *dōš o'yoš*. — Cf. Wkb. *dōš* (Sh.).  
*dūš'man* Sgl. p. 3, Sk. enemy. — *tə bāi d° pāilā šuō* thou hast got an enemy. — Prs.  
*dāšt* Sgl. is., p. 2 open, relatively flat ground at the foot of the hills. — Prs.  
*dōvā*, °*vō* Sgl. p. 2 after that, *pas-i amū*. — *dō'vā nes lā-kuš 'bāz ā na mānd'*; *dōvō ševok* (q.v.) *šūān*.  
*dō'vin*: *dō'vind* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *du'vin* Zar. to winnow. — *dō'vinuk* p. 2 winnowing. — Cf. Yd. *lōbān*.  
*dē'vō'nē* Sk. mad = *lēic*. — Prs.  
*dē'wāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, °*ol* Ishk., *dē'wāl* Sk. wall. — Prs.  
*dōcist* Sgl. p. 3 twenty-two.  
*dōxtan'dār* Sgl. p. 1 husband's sister(?). — Prob. a mistake, cf. Prs. *duxtarandar* step-daughter.  
*dāya* Sgl. p. 3, *dō'ya* Sk. nurse. — Prs.  
*dāy*: *dūd* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., *dāy*: *dūd* Ishk., Gr., *dēy*: *dūd* Sk. to give. — Prs. 1 sg. *dāyen*; *tu mum bē wok rūpēē dē* p. 1 give me a rupee; *dāyem be*; *im be wok rūpē dēyen* (1 pl.); *dān* (3 pl.); *dūdēm*, *azēm dūd*; *dūdīn*; *dūdū vedēm* (plup.) p. 2; *azi tu bo dayum*, *dūdum* Ishk.; *'deyum*, *dei*,



'dūdum, 'dūduk, 'deyuk Sk. — \*daya- (cf. Tedesco, MO, 1921, p. 224); but cf. Yd.—Mj. *dāl*.

*dəzd* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. thief. — Prs. — Gr. *duzd*, if correct, might be a genuine form.

*dā'zax* Sk. hell. — Prs.

## F

*fai* Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), Sk. much, many, very, still more. — *fai rəz-am* *wēnd* I saw many goats; *fai wəduyō-o* there are many daughters; *təmux fayān* p. 2; *fai muluk* many men; *fai ferind* very tired; *fai bu bərū 'bisyar mebarad'* Ishk., *fai lip* Sk. very much. — \**fra-ya-*, cf. Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 162: *fy'tr*, etc.?

*fī* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *fai* Ishk., Zar., *fei* Gr. shovel, wooden spade. — "Wkh." *fi*; cf. Yd. *fia*.

*fōc* Sgl. p., s., Gr. (Zb.), *fōc* Sgl. is., *foc* Zb., *fōc* Sk. month. — Cf. Yd. *fəsko*.

*fauji* Sgl. p. 3 soldier. — Ar.-Prs. V. *fauž*.

*fak* Ishk. thee. V. *tu*. — Gr. *fak* <sup>1)</sup> self, <sup>2)</sup> your honour is due to some misunderstanding of *fak* 'thee'. Cf. § 111.

*fī'āk* Sgl. is., p., s. shoulder-blade. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *fia*, Shgh. *fyak*, etc.

*fəkr* Sk. thought. — *fīkr kən* consider. — Ar.-Prs.

*fālād* Sgl. is., p. 2, *ād* Sk. steel. — Prs.

*filla* Gr. beestings milk, Sk. buttermilk. — Prs. *fal(l)a*.

*falaxmān* Gr. sling. — Prs. *palaxm(ān)*.

*fār*, v. *bəfāru*.

*fri* Sk., Gr., *feri* Gr. (Zb.) good, dear. Sk. bravo. — Sk. *fri dir* (*kas*) to

love; *fak fri dirəm* I like thee; *fritar* better; *a'd-im fri wəd* that would be good. — Cf. Av. *frya-*, Sak. *brria-*.

*far'be* Sk. fat (noun). — Prs.

*fō'rēd* Sgl. p. 3 broken. — *bə'tā fō kuō pə taxor* he broke the idols with an axe, *šikast*. — Cf. Wkh. *frit* to crumble? V. *erif*.

*fər'port*: *fər'yōst* Sgl. s. to wander about. — *fər'portəm 'mē-gardam'*, *fər-am yōst* I wandered about. — Adapted fr. Prs. V. *port*.

*fər'mē-*: *fər'mūd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to order, command. — *pādšā fərmūd* p. 3. — Prs.?

*fērūn* Gr. shelf, plank. — Wkh. *rūn*, Sar. *rūn* < \**frāna-*, cf. Lett. *plāns* floor, Lit. *plōnas* thin, etc.?

*fō'ris-*: *fō'rind* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *fō'rīn*: *fō'rind* Sk. to remain, be left behind; *fīn* Gr. he remained. — *fō'risəm 'mēmānam'*; *fō'rindəm 'māndam'*; *fō'rindi fər'seu mō pə'nuk* thou didst spend the night on the pass p. 2; *pādšā tāks* (q.v.) *fō'rind* p. 3. — < \**fra-ričya-*: \**fra-rična-*, cf. Wkh. *warič-*: *waregn*, Sar. *ris-*: *reid*, Or. *ras-*: *rid*.

*fō'rind* Ishk., *fīn'duk* Gr. tired, Sk. lagging behind. — From *fō'ris-*, cf., semantically, Wkh. *rərožk* tired, Prs. *mānda*, Sindhi *virto*, Yd. *wenzā*, etc.

*fō'nis-*: *fō'nit* Sgl. is., p. 2, Ishk.: *fō'nit*: *fō'nitt* Sk. to forget. — *fō'nisen*: *fō'nitəm* p. 2; *fō'nitum*, na *fō'niti* Ishk.; *az-im 'fō'nit* I forget, *az-im fō'nitt(am)* I forgot, *fō'nit*, *fō'nittuk*, *'fō'nituk* Sk. — < \**fra-nasya-*, cf. Shgh. *renēs*, Yazgh. *anis-*: *anužt* (\**ā-*, or \**fra-*?).

*fʳas*: *fʳət* Sgl. is., *fʳas*: *fʳət* p. 1, *fʳas* p. 2, 3, s., Ishk.: *fʳət* Sgl. p. 3, s., *fʳət* Ishk., *foras*: *forast* Sk., *frut* Gr., *ferāt* Gr. (Zb.) to ask. — *az* *fʳāsen*, (tu) *fʳāsi*, *fʳātəm* is.; *az* *fʳāsen*, tu *fʳāsi*, *azəm* *fʳātəm*, tu *fʳēt* p. 1; *fʳāsen* p. 2; *fʳāsm*: *fʳātəm* p. 3, s.; *fʳasum*, *fʳētum* Ishk.; *fʳasum*, *fʳas*, *forastum*, *forastuk* Sk. — A new Pres. base has been made from the Past Stem \**fʳāsta* (Sak. *brrasfa*, etc.), and from *fʳas*, in its turn, *forast* (incidentally resembling Old Pres. *fʳasta*). Most dialects have retained Pres. \**fʳsa*, but, have renewed the Past Base. Cf. Yd. *prs*.

*fʳān* Sgl. is., *fʳā* p. 2, *fʳā* p. 3, s., *fʳān* Gr. (Zb.), *fʳān* MFB, *fʳā* "Wkh." night. — < \**fʳa-xāpa*. — V. *šab*.

*fʳāste*, -*a* Sgl. p. 3 angel. — Pres.

*fʳā-i-sar* Sgl. p. 1, 2 top of the head. — Ar-Pres. (also in Par.). — V. *tā-i-sar*.

*fʳāy* Sgl. p. 1 yoke. — Cf. Yd. *fʳāi-o* yoke-rope, RgV. *prauga* yoke. V. *yāy*.

*fʳāyēm* Sgl. p. 2, *ēm* p. 3 female kid, one year old. — Cf. "Wkh." *fʳāyēmē*, Yd. *frayingo*, etc.

*fʳāik* Sgl. is., *fʳāik* p. 1, *fʳāik* p. 2, 3, *fʳāik* s., *fʳāik* "Wkh." nose. — Cf. Yd. *fʳāko*. — V. *nic*, *mīl*.

*fʳāik-pā'čē* Sgl. p. 1 nostrils. — V. *dī-māy*.

*fast* Sgl. p. 3 moment, Sk. season. — *wok fast asto vōd 'yak dam* (= *fast*) *istād*. — \*Ar-Pres.

*fāx'tē* Sgl. p. 1, 2 ringdove. — Pres.

*fāuž* Sgl. p. 2, *fāuž* p. 3 army. — Ar-Pres. — V. *fāuji*.

## G

*gī'd* Sgl. p. 1 grass. — Pres.

*gū kən* Sk. to grow (intr.). Cf. Wkh. *gē car*.

*gū'dēm* Sgl. p. 1, 2 store-house, *ambār*. — *maxlu'kān g' xāštān* p. 2. — Ind.

*gōgōrd* Sgl. is., p. 2, *ōrd* p. 3 sulphur. — Pres.

*guh* Sgl. is., p. 3, *gū* p. 1, Ishk., Zar. human excrements. — But *čārrāl gōh* Sgl. is., *gōh* p. 3, *gō* p. 1 cow-dung. — Pres. (double borrowing?).

*gel* Sgl. is., *gēl* p. 1, 2, Zb., *gul* Ishk., *gul(uk)* Sk., *gulok* Gr. flower. — *ispē gēl* p. 2. — Pres.

*gil* Sgl. p. 1, *gīl* s. clay. — Pres. — V. *lōi*.

*gōla* Ishk., *gāla* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) bread. — *a'z-im nēr gā'la 'nīst xūl* Sk. to-day I have not eaten bread. — Cf. Shgh. *garāa* wheaten bread. — V. *xīste*.

*gul* Ishk., *gōla* Sk. kidney, Gr. liver. — Pres. *gōla* a ball. — V. *wōjk*.

*gulbād(ēk)* Sk. whirlwind, *gulbāduk* Gr. cloud. — \*Pres.?

*gala'gāu* Sgl. p. 1 herd of cows. — Pres. *gī'lām* Ishk. rug (? or coat?) Pres.

*gilam'bāf* Sgl. is. weaver, *gilimbāfak* p. 1, *gilim-bāfak* Sk. spider. — Pres. Cf. Shgh. *gilimbāf*, Wkh. *gilimbāf* spider.

*gī'lās* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 cherry. — Pres.

*gul'xār* Sk. briar. — \*Pres.

*gōl* Sgl. p. 2, 3 collected, assembled, together with, *gul* Sk. with, *gul* Gr. assembled, *-gal* Gr. (Zb.) together with. — *xē māl gōl kōd* p. 2 he collected his goods; *gōl ken xē wa'ziren* assemble thy ministers; *xē baškāc gōl 'kat-i baškāc*; *xē wa'ziren gōl* p. 3 together with his ministers; *tō gōl*



- ison p. 2 'hamrā-i tā mēāyam'; mən gul Sk. with me. — Prob. anc. lw. from Prs. \*garī (but cf. Barth., Mir. Mund. VI, 60).
- goḥ Sgl. p. 1, 2, gul Ishk. dumb, gūl Sk. deaf. — goḥ mā šyuk p. 2 I have become dumb. — Prs. goḥ stupid?
- gām Sk. pace, walk. — Prs.
- gan'da Sgl. p. 2 bad. — g° ādam-ū. — Prs.
- gin'jīsk Ishk. sparrow. — Prs.
- gnik Sk. resembling, like. — urwēsak-gnik, xūg-gnik maḥūk a fox-like, pig-like man. — Cf. Prs. gūna?
- gap Sgl. is., p. 3, Sk., Gr. word, conversation. — ma mən xodm dak gab dehef p. 3 you must say a word about my dream. — Prs.
- g°vī Sgl. p. 3 knot. — Prs.
- gar'dak Zb., gurduk Ishk., gardan Sk. neck. — Borr. and adapted from Prs. gardan.
- garm Zb., Ishk., Sk. warm, hot (Sk. also 'heat'). — Prs. — V. yorm.
- guṭ Sk. meat. — Prs. V. pudf.
- gāx-: gāxōd Sgl. p. 2, 3, gāx-: gaxt Gr. (Zb.) to make, prepare. — wōk dizi gāxen; wōluko gāxān they prepare a feast p. 2; gar imper. 2 sg., cena gāxen 'ākhār mekunim?' 'Ōzar 'zōt-ō 'gaxōk 'O's son has done it' Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. gox, yāx.
- gaz Sgl. p. 2 ell. — Prs.
- gāz Zb., gazez Sgl. p. 1 tamarisk. — Prs. Cf. yōz.
- gāzdamb Sgl. is., 'gaz° p. 3, s., gāzdām p. 1, ga'z'dām Sk., goz'dum Ishk. scorpion. — Prs. gāzdum (and gazdum, Horn. Np. Et. 885?).
- gu'zār Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Gr. ford. — g°-om be šīxām I crossed the ford. — Prs.

## I'

- yāu, v. u'yūi.
- yōb-naduk Gr. green slime on standing water. — Cf. Or. yōb mud, slime, Wershikwar yōp, and naduk from nas.
- yu'bār Sgl. p. 1, yō° p. 2, yu'bōr Zb. dust-storm. — Prs.
- yudāra Gr. water-vessel. — Prs. yadāra, Shgh. yedōra.
- yōk Ishk. frog (large). — Prs.
- yōl Ishk. lung(?). — (Prob. Prs. šuš misheard as gūš.)
- yāl'bēl Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Sk. sieve; y° kēn Sk. to strain, sift. — va yōndēm y° kēn p. 3. — Prs.
- yō'lūk Sgl. is., yulak p. 2, Zar., yū° Sk., Gr. pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. yūlak. V. yō'lāk.
- yalla Ishk. grain. — Prs.
- yō'lām Sgl. p. 2 slave. — Ar.-Prs.
- yalt Sgl. p. 3 falling. — yalt-em iūd I fell. — Ar.-Prs.
- yāl'viš Sgl. is. Adam's apple. — Cf. yāl' and kaš-viš, bayal-viš. V. biš.
- yāl' Sgl. is., p., s., yōl Zb., Ishk., yāl' Sk., yāl Gr. throat. — ma mōi yāl ba tir-i dast deheš Sgl. p. 3 he hit his throat with an arrow. — Cf. Or. yārō, Psht. yāra.
- yōl Sgl. p. 1, s., yōl is., p. 3, Sk., yōl Ishk., Gr., yōl Sk., wōl(?) Zb., yūl Zar., "Wkh." yāl ear. — Cf. Yd. yū, and Prs. dial. yōl.
- yōl Sgl. p. 2 together with. — V. goḥ.
- yō'lāk Sgl. is., p. 1 plough-handle. — From yōl ear, cf. Prs. gōša handle of a vessel, Psht. yāzā(a) horn of a bow, etc.
- yam Sk. sorrow. — Ar.-Prs.
- ya'mī Sgl. is., p. 1 tired. — Ar.-Prs.

yam'gin Sk. sorrow(tul). — Ar.-Prs.  
 yōndam Sgl. is., p. 3, s., am p. 1, yōndum  
 Zb., Ishk., yu° Sk., Gr., Zar. wheat.  
 — Cf. Yd. yādam.  
 yē'nōk Sgl. is., yē'nōk p. 1, °pk p. 2, 3,  
 °ūk s., °uk Ishk., Zb., Sk., Gr. hair,  
 "Wkh." yēno goat's hair. — Cf. Yd.  
 yunia.  
 ynain Sk. (uncertain reading) stallion.  
 yār Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., yār p. 1 cave. —  
 Ar. Prs.  
 yārī Sgl. is., p. 2 a kind of tree, siyācūb.  
 yār Sgl. is., yār p. 2 penis. — Cf. Wkh.  
 yūr, Sar., Or. yur (scrotum), Prs. yur  
 having large testicles.  
 ya'rib Sgl. p. 2 poor. — Ar.-Prs.  
 yār'dāv Sgl. p. 2, g° p. 3 whirlpool. —  
 Prs. (Sgl. p. 2 with phonetic adaptation).  
 Cf. Khov. yernānu.  
 yō'rōk Sgl. is., p. 3, °ag p. 1, yō'ruk "Wkh."  
 neck. — Cf. Wkh. yārāy, Sar. žarēj  
 collar, Psht. yaraī throat, Av. garah.  
 yu'rūk Sgl. is., p. 2, °ik Gr., yōrik Zar.  
 lucerne, reške. — Cf. Yd. rryō'yō.  
 yū'kušuk Sk. bull. — V. yōr, ku'žūk.  
 yōrm Sgl. is., p. warm, hot. — nēr yōrm-ō.  
 — Av. garōma-, etc.; Sar. žarm (but  
 not in other Pamir diall.).  
 yōr'nī Sk. money. — Ar.-Prs. grānī?  
 yart Sgl. is., yort: yōst p. 2 to walk  
 about; yēst Gr. (Zb.) he returned;  
 yurs: yušt Zar. to go out. — yartam  
 bōš Sgl. is.; yorten 'mēgardam', yōštōm  
 'gaštām' p. 2. — Adapted from early  
 N. Prs. °gart- (gardidan). V. fār-yart.  
 yōv Sgl. p. 2 corn-bin, kandū. — Cf. Or.  
 žūe 'ambār', Sar. žūv, Wkh. žūv, yōv,  
 Phl. gōšān. — Cf. Yd. yurē?  
 yuz: yuzd Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., yōz: yōzd Ishk.,  
 Sk., yūz: yūzd Gr. (Zb.) to run. —  
 yuzōn, yuzōm bō, yuzōm Sgl. p. 2;

azi yōzum, azi uulo yōzd Ishk. I ran  
 formerly. — Cf. Yd. yāz.  
 yēl: yēlōd Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, : yēlōd s., Ishk.,  
 yēlō: yēlōd p. 3, yāz: yāzd Sk., : yēd  
 Gr. (Zb.), : yēlōd Gr. to say, speak. —  
 Pres. azē yēlōn, tu yēlō, ada yēlōd,  
 a'max° yēlōm, a'dōndō yēlōn, pret.  
 az-ōm yēlōd p. 1; az va fāk yēlōn  
 I say to thee, tō va mak cī-e yēlō?  
 what dost thou say to me? amax°  
 rōsk yēlōm p. 3 we speak the truth,  
 tōmax cī-e yēlōf? p. 3; xē tā-vē yēlōd  
 p. 3 he said to his father; pres. 2 pl.  
 yēlōf 3 pl. yēlōn, pret. 3 sg. yēlōd,  
 3 pl. yēlōn p. 3; azi fāk yēlōm, tō  
 mum bō ēz yāfī? yēlōm Ishk.;  
 pres. 1 sg. yāfīm, 3 pl. yāfīān, tō  
 'mōmbd yāz 'kūnā zōek-ā Sk. say (it) to  
 me, it is an old word. — Gauthiot's  
 derivation (JA, 1916, p. 247) is  
 phonetically improbable.

## H

hēci Sgl. p. 2 anything, hē Gr., hēc Gr.  
 (Zb.) any. — amē hēci nes xōfok  
 Sgl. p. 2; hēc waqī Sk. never. — Prs.  
 haf sar Sgl. p. 3 officer (in tale). — Engl.  
 (h)afīād Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 seventy. — Prs.  
 har Sgl. is., p. 2 every. — ce har xōridak  
 'az har xar'. — Prs.  
 hōr Sgl. p. 2 every, all. — hōr kull-šōn  
 'hama išan'. — Prs.?  
 hōš Sgl. p. 2 mind. — wok ēze tar hōš-ōi  
 'yak ēzī ba dīl-i mā-st'. — Prs.  
 huš'yār Sgl. p. 2 wise. — Prs.  
 (h)ot Sgl. is., p. 3, hot s., hot p. 1, 2, ot  
 Zb., Gr. (Zb.), Sk., af Ishk., af Gr.,  
 ūt Zar., hat Sgl. eight. — Cf. Yd.  
 ašō. h- from Prs.  
 'hotōdōs Sgl. p. 1, 2, 'hotōdōs is., hotōdōs



Grammophone, <sup>1</sup>olados s., <sup>0</sup>idos p. 3;  
*kaiddau* Zb. (Prs.) eighteen.  
*hase* Sgl. p. 1 loosened, released. — *h*<sup>o</sup>  
*kenen*, *h*<sup>o</sup>-em kul. V. *ya'lē*. Cf. the  
 following word.  
*haŋ* Sgl. is., p. 2, at Gr. open. — *rōr*  
*(h)əf-ti* p. 2, *ər kuð* p. 2 'yala kal';  
*dar'wāze hīr kenef!* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh.  
*ʔ*, Sar. *hāf*, Shgh. *het*. — L.w.?  
*(h)əwē* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *a'wēi* is., *hawē* Sk.  
 air. — *a*<sup>o</sup> *na'wēi* Sgl. is. it is raining;  
*tar ha*<sup>o</sup> *arazō* p. 2 it flies through  
 the air; *a*<sup>o</sup> *dūd* p. 3 he sent (it) into  
 the air (*hawē dūd*). — Ar.-Prs.  
*hāur* Sgl. is., s., *āur* p. 3, *haur* p. 2 lake.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Sgl. p. 2 one thousand. — Prs.  
*haɪ'dāu*, v. *hotados*.

### J (cf. Ž)

*jā* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. (Zb.), *jō* Sk., *jā* Gr.  
 place. — *wok jā idn* Sgl. p. 2 I come  
 to a place; az *jō kum* Sk. I hide.  
 — Prs.  
*jē*, v. *ia*.  
*ju'bār*, v. *jo'vār*.  
*jufta'ki* Sgl. is., *juftē* p. 1 twina. —  
 \*Prs., cf. Yd. *jift*.  
*jīgar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Zb., Ishk., Sk., *ōār*  
 Sgl. p. 3 liver. — Prs.  
*jih-* Sgl. p. 2, s., *jē* is., *jēh-* p. 3; *jēst* is.,  
 s., *jist* p. 2; *jās* : *jāst* Sk. to flee, run  
 away. — *psā be jī'htm*, *jīstom* Sgl.  
 p. 2 'gurēxtam'; *jēhen* p. 3 I am  
 fleeing; imper. 2 sg. *jē* is. Cf. Gr.  
*jistuk* fast (horse). — Prs.  
*jī'hān* Sk. world. — Prs.  
*jīl* Sgl. p. 2 bridle. — Prs. *jīlau*.  
*jald* Sgl. p. 2 quick. — *jald* is come  
 quickly. — Ar.-Prs.

*juāl'dōr* Sgl. p. 1 packing-needle. — Prs.  
*jāsa* Sgl. p. 3 gathering, meeting. —  
 Ar.-Prs.  
*jīla'yok* Sgl. is. spider. — Prs. *julāh*  
 weaver. V. *gūlimbofak*.  
*jān* Sk. soul. — Prs.  
*juūb* Sk. south. — Ar.-Prs.  
*jān'dār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *jā'n*<sup>o</sup> is. ram. —  
*j*<sup>o</sup> *kōlān* p. 2 they kill a ram. —  
 Prs., cf. Or. *jōndor* ram.  
*jānj* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *jō*<sup>o</sup> p. 1, *žž*<sup>o</sup> Ishk.,  
 Sk. woman. — < \**jani-ēi*, v. §§ 26,  
 97. Cf. Yd. *žžko*.  
*jan'war* Zb., Lkh. male markhor. — Prs.  
 V. *žžok*.  
*jang* Sk. war. Prs.  
*jāngal* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 forest, jungle. —  
 Prs.  
*jā'rā* Ishk. broom. — Prs.  
*jē'rāb* Sgl. is., p. 1 stockings. — Prs.  
*jās-*, v. *jih-*.  
*jo'vār* Sgl. is., p. 3, *ju*<sup>o</sup> p. 2, *ju'vār* p. 1,  
*ju'bār* Sk., *ju'bār* Gr. irrigation-  
 channel, watercourse. — Prs.  
*ju'wāb* Sgl. p. 2 answer. — *j*<sup>o</sup> *dē wok*  
*āzi* answer me one thing. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ju'wān* Sgl. p. 2, *jō'wēn* Sk. young. —  
 Prs.  
*juwā'ē* Sgl. is. she-calf, three years old,  
*ju'dna* Sk. heifer; *ju(w)ā'nē* Sgl. p.  
 2, 3 male calf one (to two) years  
 old. — Cf. Wkh. *ju'āna*, Mj. *ju'dna*.  
*juwānmar'di* Sk. courage. — Prs.  
*ju'wāri* Sgl. p. 1 jowar. — Prs.  
*jōz* Sgl. is., *jōz* p. 1 mosquito.

### K

*kī*, *ke* Sgl., Ishk. that, when, etc. —  
*Tira'mā ke šid* when autumn came;  
*ke warf dēd, nēs kō-kwān* Sgl. p. 2

- because snow fell we could not (cross);  
*yūizeð ke* he said that; *kasef ke* . . .  
*bə kunjay-ð* look where he may be;  
*məni zi Xuddai nəst kə ico tanen* p. 3  
 I have not such a God that they  
 can kill him. — *Prs.*?
- kai ken* Sgl. s. to eructate(?). — *Prs.*  
*gay* vomiting.
- kə(i)* Sgl. who? — V. § 119.
- kə ken* Sgl. p. 2 to be able. — *pāruzd-im*  
*šəwəri ke'nūk nəst-əm kə-kud* yester-  
 day I could not come (*dina rafta*  
*būdan na tdnistm*); *ari ke'nūk kə*  
*kenen 'kār karda metdnam*; *nəs kə*  
*kwān* we could not (*nə tdnistm*);  
*nər-əm kə-kə* (= *kuð*) *va hāri-dāk*  
 to-day I could do the work.
- kə'būl* Sgl. p. 3 agreeing, believing. —  
*'az pə to Xu'dāi kə 'nəsimə* I don't  
 believe in thy God. — *Ar-Prs.*
- qabr* Sk. tomb (high style). — *Ar-Prs.*
- kabar'ye* Sgl. p. 3, *qabr'yā* Sk. rib. —  
*Turk-Prs.*
- ka'būt* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., *ka'rūt* Sgl. p. 3,  
*kabūt* Sk. blue. — *Prs.*
- koc*: *kəz* Sgl. s., p. 2 to copulate. —  
*kocen buš 'mēgāyam*. — *Cf. kačāk?*  
*qai'ēi* Sk. scissora. — *Prs.*
- koci* Sgl. p. 3 anybody. *Cf.* § 119.
- kūē(i)* Sgl. p. 3, *k'ūē* Sk. wife. — *kot ke*  
*kuē-i oγod* he saw that his wife had  
 arrived; *wa xē kūē* O, my wife. —  
*Cf. Prs. kōē.*
- ka'ēāk* Sgl. p. 3 embrace. — *kə nasen.*  
*qadam* Sk. walk, pace. — *Ar-Prs.*
- qa'dim* Sgl. is. ancient. — *mə waxt-i qə.*  
 — *Ar-Prs.*
- kū'di* Sgl. p. 2, *k'ūdi* Sk. when? — *ama*  
*ādām kə oγod?* — *Cf. Yd. kə'la.*
- ka'dū* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. gourd. — *Prs.*
- kuð*, *k'ōð* Sgl. is., p., s., *k'ud* Zb., Ishk.,  
*kəð* Sk. dog. — *kuð laeši* the dog  
 barks. — *Cf. Shgh. kud*, etc., (v.  
 Turner, Nep. Diet. s.v. *kuti*).
- kudum* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *kudum* Gr. which? —  
 V. § 119. — Possibly < \**katama-*  
 (cf. Skr.), but Av. *katāma-* V. § 78 h.
- kə'dos* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *os* p. 2, s., Grammo-  
 phone, *kə'dos* p. 1, *ko'dos* is.: *yōzda*  
 Ishk., *da* Sk., *daū* Zb. eleven. —  
*Cf. §§ 93, 109.*
- kif* Gr. to pierce. — *Cf. Shgh. čaf.*  
*Prs. kaftan* to split.
- kif* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'if* p. 3, *kəfān* Gr.,  
*kūfān* Zar. hump. — *Cf. Yd. kəzfo.*
- kəfē* Sgl. p. 2, Gr., *kəfē* Sk., Zar. ladle.  
 — *Prs.*
- kaf-i-dest* Sgl. is., p. 1, *odst* p. 2, *odst*  
 Sk., *kuf* Ishk., *kaf* Gr. palm of the  
 hand. — *Prs.*
- kaf-i-pā* Sgl. p. 3, *pu-kaf* Gr. sole of the  
 foot. — *Prs.*
- ka'fas* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) cage. — *Prs.*
- kafš* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. shoe. — *Prs.*
- kufi* Sk. ill (from fever). — *Cf. Prs.*  
*kufi* bruised?
- kūh* Sk., is., p. 2, *kəh* p. 3, *kə* p. 1, *kū*  
 Ishk. mountain. — *cə kū yūzə xəšəm*  
 Sgl. p. 2 we bring firewood from the  
 hills. — *Prs.*
- kāk* Sgl. p. 1, *qāq* Sk., *kāk* Gr. dry. —  
*'qəq-kənum* Sk. I dry. — *Prs.*
- kaig/k* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., *kāig* Sk.,  
*kāiyi* Gr. sea. — *Prs.*
- k'al* Sgl. p. 2 bald, *kāl* Gr. hornless. —  
*Prs.*
- kāl* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Zb. skull. — *Cf.*  
*Shgh., Or. kāl.*
- qa'lā* Sk. fortress. — *Prs.*
- kəl* Sgl. p. 2, *kul*: *kut* s., *kəl*: *kəld* Sk.,  
*kəl*: *kut* Zar., *kut* Gr., *kef* Gr. (Zb.)  
 to kill, slaughter. — *kuləm be* Sgl. s.,



- jān'dār* *kō'lān* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *kuštan*, etc.
- kull* Sgl. p. 1, 2 all. — *kull va ifak kasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *hōr kul(l)-sōn* p. 2 'hama-išān'. Cf. §§ 114, 119. — Prs.
- ku'lē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ku'lā* Sk. cap. — 'mōnd *ku'lā* 'nīst Sk. I have no cap. — Prs.
- kū'ba* Ishk. plough. — Prs.
- ku'vā* Sk. small cake. — Prs.
- kū'f* Sgl. p. 2, *q°* Sk. lock. — Prs.
- kū'lāc* Sgl. p. 2 fathom. — Prs.
- kullax* Gr. hard. — Cf. Prs. *kulūx* a clod, Bad. Prs. *kulux* thick, stout, Paht. *klak* hard.
- ka'lān* Sgl. p. 2 big, large. — *miš tāt wān wō'k-ak k°-ū* the house of our father is a little bigger (*yak-taš kalāntar-a*). — Prs.
- ka'land* Sgl. p. 1 hoe, mattock. — Prs.
- kōla'vā* Sgl. p. 2 wooden bowl. — Derived from Prs. *kōlāb* pond, reservoir?
- kala'pā* Sk. down. — Cf. Yd. *kalāpo*, Sk. Mater. p. 262.
- ku'l'vār* Sk. small mussnec. — Cf. Lentz *kāl'wār* 'rucksack' (scarcely fr. Prs. *zar/l-wār*). But cf. Prs. (mod. coll.) *kūlabār* knapsack; Taj. *kulvor* mussnec.
- kaule'zik* Ishk. tadpole. — Cf. Prs. *kaféalēz(ak)* id., *kaflēzak*, etc. ladle.
- ka'fi* Sgl. p. 2 key. — Prs., cf. Yd. *kalīyo*.
- kī'ēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'ēl* s., *k'ēlāk* p. 3, *kīl* Ishk., *kēl*, *kīl* Sk., "kirh" MFB, *kel* Gr. knife. — Cf. Yd. 'kero.
- ko'f'ān* (r?) Sgl. p. 3 donkey's saddle.
- kām* Sgl. p. 1, *kōm* Zar. palate. — Prs.
- ka'mdk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'amok* Ishk., *ka'muk* ar'qa Sk., *kanuk* Gr., *kā'mī* "Wkh." back, spine. — p-tō *ka'mā-mō* I am

- behind thee. — Cf. Prs. *kam* waist, < \**kamb-* to bend?
- ka'mōk* Ishk. cream. — Turk.-Prs.
- kū'mak* Sk. help, assistance. — *k° kōn* help. — Turk.-Prs.
- ka'mān-i Res'tam* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ka'mān-i Rus'tem* Ishk., 'stōm Sk. rainbow. — Prs.
- kam'pīr* Sk. old woman. — Prs. — Cf. \*s.v. *tandur*.
- ka'mar* Sgl. p. 2, Zb. rock. — Prs.
- '*kamar* Zb. rib(?). — Prs. *k°* waist.
- ke'mur* Sk. pit-coal. — Turk.
- kamar band* Sk. belt. — Prs.
- kōmay-* *kōmaid* Sk., *kam-* kind Gr. (Zb.) to wish. — Cf. Wkh. *kōmī*, Shgh. *čemb*, Orosh. *čm-* (with -n from): *čnt*, etc.; Oss. *komun*.
- kan-* *kōnd* Sgl. p. 3, *kan-* *kūnd* Sk. to dig. — 'kanen Sgl. p. 3, 'kanum, *kan*, *kūndum*, 'kūnduk, 'kanuk, Sk. — Cf. Prs. *kandan*.
- ken-* Sgl., is., p., s., Ishk.: *kuļ* Sgl. is., *kuļ* p. 1, *koļ* p. 2, *koļ* p. 3, *koļ* s., *kuļ* Ishk., *kēn-* *kūl* Sk. to make, do. — *ari kenēn*, *ari-m kuļ* Sgl. is.; *az-əm ari kuļ*; *az* (h)āri *kenēn*, *az-əm hāri kuļ*, *ari-m kuļ* vōd 'karda būdam'; -o *kuōk* 'kardast' p. 1; *nēr-əm kō-kō va hāri ḡak* to-day I could do the work; *to-wō āri kuļ vō-i?* p. 2 hast thou done the work? *kenem*, *ari-m kuļ* s.; *k'enum*, *ari ari k'uluk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *kēn*.
- '*kī'nā* Sk. hate. — *k° kōnum* I hate. — Prs.
- '*kūnā* Sk. ancient. — *as'tā 'kūnā gay(hā)* is there an ancient word? — Prs.
- kund* Sgl. is., p. 1 blunt. — Prs.
- kan'dāk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kondok* Zb., 'kāndak Gr. thorn. — Borr. from 1A.??

- 'kondē* Sgl. p. 2 stem, stump of a tree. — Prs.
- kun'jā* Sgl. p. 2, °jāi p. 3, *'kunjā*, *k'ādmjā* Sk. where? — *am e-kunjā-e* Sgl. p. 2 from where is he? (*mā*) *kunjāy-o* p. 3 where is he (*da kifo st*)? Amir 'Bek *xān k'ādmjā*? Sk. — Wkh. *kun'jai*; cf. *kudum*.
- kun'jār ken-* Sgl. p. 3 to tear to pieces, cf. Gr. *kan'dār kul*. — IA, cf. Panj. *kun'jār* ruin?
- ka'pāl* Gr. skull. — From Khow. (Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 39).
- kar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Ishk. deaf, Sk. dumb. — *kar-mō šyuk* I have become dumb. — Prs.
- k/qār* Sk. anger. — *az-im 'kār kōnum*; *mun 'kar-xtuk* I become angry (my anger has risen). — Ar.-Prs.
- k'irā* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *k° nēst ēyōd* why didn't he come? — Adapted from Prs. *čirā*.
- kār-*: *kurt* Sgl. p. 2, : *kirōd* Zar. to plough. — *za'mīn kīren*, *za'mīn-om kurt*. — < \**kāraya*, cf. Yd. *kār*, Sak. *ker* to sow, v. EYP s.v. *karōl*, Charpentier MO, 26, pp. 101 sqq.
- kōr* Sgl. is., p., *kūr* Ishk., Sk., Gr. blind. — *kōr-o šyuk*. — Prs.
- q/ka'rīb* Sgl. p., is. close, near. — *am xān q°-ūi* is.; *ada ādam dīr-ūi*, *ama ādam k°-ū* p. 1. — Ar.-Prs.
- kriē* Gr. hut on the summer-pasture. — Cf. Wkh. *kīd*. V. § 22. But also Prs. *kuriē*, *kurtz*, etc.
- kur'čūn* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., "Wkh.", *'kur°* p. 3, *ker°* Gr. (Zb.), *kōr'čūn* Zb., Gauth., *ky°* Sk., *kōrčūn* Ishk. fowl. — \**kṛka-* + *čūn* (cf. § 26). V. Yd. *krio*.
- kur'čūn zzmā'nī* Sgl. is. chicken.
- 'kīrūg* Sgl. is., p. 1 plough. — Cf. *kīr*.
- kōr'gar* Sgl. p. 3 dust (misunderstanding of Prs. *gard?*).
- kark'sang* Ishk. handmill. — ? + *sang*.
- kur'pē* Sgl. p. 1, *kōr'pā* Sk. (large) bedding, *kurpa'ča* Sk. (small) bedding. — Prs. *kurpa'ča* Sk. mosquito. — Cf. Yd. *iā*.
- ka'rār* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) stopping, waiting. — *mā asmān k° iā* it stopped in the sky. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'rēr* Ishk. yesterday. — Cf. Prs. *kardā* yesterday (cf. *fardā*), and *parēr* day before yesterday.
- kōr'ēl* Sk. chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- kōr'si* Zb. back-tooth.
- kō'rōst* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *'kurust* Ishk., Gr. *kru'ōst* Sk. skin (of human beings acc. to Sgl.). — Cf. Yd. *ka'rōst*, Wkh. *k'urust*.
- ka'rāš* Sk. brown beans. — Cf. Wkh. *k'ōrōš*.
- 'kiriš* Sgl. p. 2 ploughing. — V. *kīr*.
- kw'rūt* Sgl. p. 2, *q'u'rūt* Sk. dried butter-milk. — Turk.
- kōr'ēšik* Sgl. is., p. 3, °*re'sik* p. 1, *kar'baš* Sk. lizard (*karbēš*). — Cf. Yd. *karbasa*, etc.
- kōr'yōa* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 vulture. — Cf. Yd. *karyaz*.
- kas-*: *kot* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *kas-*: *kast* Sk., *kas-*: *kut* Sk. to see, look. — 'az *ṭfak 'kase*; 2 sg. *kasī*; *kull-mōn-dak va ṭfak 'hasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *kasef* look out; *k'as* look! 'na *kasī*; *mum-bō kasū* it seems to me(?); *tar-fak ka'sūk(?)* Sk. — Av. *kas*, cf. EYP s.v. *katel*.
- 'kāsē* Sgl. p. 2, *k'āsa* Sk. big wooden dish. — Prs.
- qaus* Sk. late autumn. — Ar.-Prs.
- kus* Sgl. p. 2, 3, is. vulva. — Prs. V. *kuš*.



- kis'kūd* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", *kaskūd* Ishk., *kō°* Zar., *kš'kū* Sk. root. — Cf. Yd. *išēy*, Wkh. *iskakut*.  
*kas'sal* Sk. illness. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qa'sam* Sgl. p. 2 oath. — *q°* be *xwāren* I swear. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qism* Sgl. is. kind, sort. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kas'yok* Sgl. is. leather strap in a pellet bow.  
*kuš*, *kš* Sk. vulva. — Cf. Wkh. *kš*; Or. *kawuj* (*kaw* < \**kušā* ?), Saka *kūyāyā* < \**kušā-za* (?). V. *kus*.  
*kāš'kār* Zb., Ishk. ram. — Cf. Wkh. *kuškār* male urial, Bad. Prs. *kiškār*, etc.  
*qī's'lāq* Sk. village. — Turk.  
*kišfi* Sgl. p. 3 boat. — Prs.  
*kaš'viš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kašviš* Gr. armpit. — *kaš* prob. from Prs., cf. *baš'viš*, *viš*, Wkh. *kalrōn*, Sogd. \**pkš* 'flanc' (not with Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 48 lw. from IA.).  
*ka'ta*<sup>1</sup>) Ishk., Gr. (Zb.) big. — Turk., cf. Shgh., Or. *ka'ta*.  
*ka'ta*<sup>2</sup>) Ishk. he-goat. — Cf. *ka'ta*<sup>1</sup>).  
*kūfi* Sgl. p. 2 rock-crystal, *bulūr*. — Cf. Prs. *qūfi* a box in which precious stones are preserved??  
*ka'tānək* Sgl. p. 2 linseed (*zō'yēr*). — Prs. *katān* a grain from which oil is extracted.  
*katta-nar'xāk* Sk. thumb. — V. *ka'ta*.  
*ki'tāv* Sgl. p. 2, *kī'tōb* Ishk. book. — *'monə* *wo* *ki'tāv* *ōstō* I have a book. — Ar.-Prs.  
*k'loz* Sgl. p. 1 butter-milk. — Turk.-Prs. *qātiq*.  
*koj* Sgl. p. 1, *kōj* Sk. short. — IA, cf. Shgh. *k'ut* (horr. through Ishk.?).  
*qiv ken-* Sgl. p. 3, *qivē*: *qivēd* Sk., : *qivēd* Gr. (Zb.) to summon. — Cf. Wkh. *qivē*, etc.

- kō'eiš* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *'koviš* p. 3, *kord* Ishk., *'kūwid* Sk., *ku°* Gr., *kovid* Zar., *ko'eiš* "Wkh." pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *koviō*.  
*qwal'dār* Sk. strong. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kyēv'zāk/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *kēv°* p. 2, *'kevžuk* Gr., *°oq* Zar. magpie, *yalbək*. — Cf. Yd. *krūyō*.  
*kāw*: *kōnd* Sgl. p. 2 to dig. — *za'min* be *k'āwən*, *z°-em* *k'ōndəm*. — Cf. Sar. *kanam*, Shgh. Sk. *kōy*. — V. *kan*.  
*kāw'liḡk* Sk. calf of the leg (? Prob. shinbone). — Cf. Shgh. *kāw-e-liḡg*, etc.  
*kūz* Sgl. is., p. 1, *qāz* Sk. goose. — Turk.-Prs.  
*k'āz* Sk. dirty.  
*kā'zi* Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kā'zā* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *kūza* Ishk. jar. — Prs.  
*ku'zūk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *ki'zūk* Zb., *ku'jul* Ishk., *ku'žuk* Sk. bull. — Cf. Yd. *qī'āy?*

## L

- la ken-* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s. to leave behind. — *la-ku'rō-mōi* is. *'mānda-im*; *lā-kuš* *'mānd*, *la-kūān* *'māndan* p. 2; *uok* *ēi:l* *la-kenen* p. 3, s., *'paša* *uok* *nesi* *la-koi* not one mosquito remained. — Cf. Shgh., Or. *lā(k)* *ken*; Wkh. *la-car*, Khov. *lā-k*.  
*lo'i* Ishk. clay. — Prs. *lāy* mud, sediment.  
*lab* Zb., Ishk., *lavē*, *lav* (in a transferred sense) Sk. lip. — Prs.  
*labla'bū* Sgl. p. 2 beetroot. — Prs.  
*lāf* Ishk. bedding, coverlet. — Bad., etc. *lāf*, Ar.-Prs. *liḡāf*.  
*la'pat* Sgl. p. 2 step, trace. — Prs.  
*lā'ktā* Sgl. p. 1, 2 belt.  
*linjek* Zb., *pešur* *linj* Sk. cheek. — Prs., Wkh. *lunj* (cf. Sar. *nūrj* < \**nūnj*, *lunj*?).

*lang* Sgl. p. 2 lame. — Prs.  
*ling* Sk. leg. — Prs.  
*lip* Sk. in *fai lip* very much. — Cf. Wkh. *lip big?*  
*lēs-*: *let* Sgl. p. 2, s., *lēs*: *lišt* Ishk., *lis*: *lisūd* Zar. to lick. — *lēsen*, *letəm* Sgl. p. 2, *lēsum*, -um *lišt* Ishk. — Prs.  
*laškar* Sgl. p. 3 army. — *mən l' mō mōd-o* my army is here. — Prs.  
*lav* Sgl. p. 2 to bark. — *kuš lavōi*. — Cf. Or. *lav*, Shgh. *lāv* to speak. — V. *belav*.  
*lavz* Sgl. p. 1 word, speech. — *az va tō lavz pe'zinen* I understand thy speech. — Ar.-Prs.  
*lēw* (*minluk*) Sk. idiot, madman, demon; *leu*, *lēw* Gr. stupid, mad, *lēw* nightmare. — *a'wē lēw l' dūk* Sk. he became mad. — From Mj?  
*laxō* Sgl. s., *bolaxō* s., p. 3 to slide, slip. — *laxōm* s. slides; *ba-laxōd-at* s. — Prs. *laxōdan*.  
*la'zām* Sgl. is., p. 2, *ōn* p. 3, *ōjām* Sk. bit of a bridle. — Prs.

## M

*mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mō* Sk. month; *mā* Gr. moon. — *wok mā wōdā hast* Sgl. p. 2 he stays there for a month. — Prs.  
*mai*, v. *mēl*.  
*ma*, *mō* Sgl. is., p. in, to, etc. — *mō wazl-i qadīm* is. in olden times; *mō 'Kāfirin ilīn* they arrived among the Kafirs; *tō ma xān darūn-dō* thou art inside the house; *vēk mō piālē nāten* I pour water into the cup; *mən ig'git mō šō'nai tōd* p. 2 my finger was burnt in the fire; *ma mən xōdm-dak gab dehef* p. 3 explain about my

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dream. — Prob. an unstressed form of *mēd*. Cf. § 107.  
*ma* Sk. look here. — *'ma tēmoxbā*, *ma tōbd*, *'ma imbd*.  
*mēi* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mē* p. 3. *mē* s., *mī* Gr. (Zb.) day; *mai* Sk., Gr. noon. — *wog*, *dō*, *rōi mī* p. 2 a few days. — Cf. Yd. *mīž*.  
*-mō* I am. — V. § 120 f.  
*mōi* Sgl. is., p. cloud. — Cf. Prs. *mēy*, etc. V. § 31.  
*mō'i* Sgl. is., p., s., *mō'i* Sk. fish. — Prs. *mū-bō* Sk. hither. — Cf. *am(a)*.  
*miē*, etc. us, v. *amax*.  
*'māčik* Sgl. is., *ōčik* p. 3, *mōča-kōd* Zar. she-dog. — Cf. Yd. *ma'čio*.  
*'māida* Sgl. p. 2 small, fine. — *va dūrək točōr m'ō kenen*. — Prs.  
*mai'dān* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *māidān* p. 3 a plain; flat. — Turk.-Prs.  
*mādiyān* Zb., Ishk., Sk. mare. — Prs. *mēd* Sgl. is., p., Zar., *mēd* Ishk., Sk. Gr. (Zb.) waist. — Av. *maidya-*, cf. Wkh. *mād*, Shgh. *mīd*, Yd. *mōlān*.  
*mōd'ak* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *madak* Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), *mā'da'k* Sk. here. — *az-mō mō mōd nilōstok* I am sitting here; *mō šō* come here(?); *mō nīd* p. 2 sit down here; *mən fauj mō mōd-o* p. 3 my army is here; *azī madak ari k'enum* Ishk. I am working here; *azī māk fōrinum* Sk. I am left behind here.  
*mād'dar* Sgl. p. 3 mother. — In the expression: *ma rūm-i mādar* in his mother's womb. — Prs.  
*mōyōdak(?)* Sgl. p. 3 = *mōd oyo'dak?* Cf. Texts V, 35.  
*mōy'dōk* Sgl. is., s., *moko'd'ōk* p. 1, 3, *mūhdūk* Sk., *mukuduk* Gr., "Wkh." frog.  
*may'rib* Sk. west. — Ar.-Prs.



- moyz* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *mayz* Ishk., Zar. marrow (Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. also 'brain'). — *Prs.* (or *moyz* genuine?).
- moyz-i sor* Sgl. p. 3, *sor-moyz* is. brain. *mu'ja* Ishk., *mažo* Zb. eyelashes. — *Prs.* *meḥ'mān* Sgl. is., *mē°* p. 2 guest. — *Prs.* *mak* me, v. § 110 f.; cf. az.
- mākək* Sgl. is. hen. — Cf. Wkh. *māk*, *Prs.* *mākīyān*.
- ma'kēnī* Sk. noon. — V. *mīi*.
- māl* Sgl. p. 2 property, possessions. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk., Sk. Gr. female sheep, "Wkh." female oorial. — Cf. Yd. *māo*.
- māl'dār* Sgl. p. 2 rich. — *Ar-Prs.*
- 'mulūk* Sk. dinner.
- mā'lāim* Sgl. p. 3 soft. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mil'təq* Sgl. p. 2, *mē°* Sk. gun, — *pə m°* *pēūn dehen* p. 2. — Turk., cf. Wkh. *ma'laṣ* Sgl. is., p., s. locust. — Prob. *Prs.*
- māl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *mōl* Sk. husband. — *mām māl* Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Yd. *mēr*. V. *mā'lok*.
- mā'lok* Sgl. is., *'mōluk* Ishk., *'mu'uk* Sk., *mālāk* Gr. (Zb.) husband, man. — *fai m° ari Kenū* Ishk. many men are working; *urwēsak* (xūg-) *gnik* *ma'fuk* Sk. a fox-like (pig-like) man. — < \**martyaka*.
- mūmbucī'nāi vedūṣ* Sk. female cousin. — Cf. s.v. *uudzyd*.
- ma'imūn* Sgl. p. 1 monkey. — *Ar-Prs.*
- mīn:* mind Sk. to sleep, v. *mīs*.
- mān my*, v. § 110 f.
- mān* encl. pron. 1 pl., v. § 114.
- mō'nō kən* Sk. to resemble. — *Prs.*
- 'mindūk* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. sleep, asleep. — *am ādam minduk-ūi; hama ādam minduk-ūn* p. 1; *azī madak minduk-um*

- Ishk. I am asleep here; *azī cə m°* *xə'tuk* I have risen from sleep. — *Perf.* of *mīs*.
- mīn'dal* Sk. chair(?). — Cf. *Prs.* *mindal* table-cloth, etc.?
- man'jē* Sgl. p. 1 bed. — Cf. Mj. *'mānjo*, Wkh. *manja*. — 1A.
- mēl* Sgl. is., s., *mēl* p., *mēn* Zb., *mēnd* Ishk., Sk. mind Gr., *mēnd* Zar. apple. — *uok mēl'əm yō-vē dūdū ved* Sgl. p. 2 'yak sēba ūra dāda būdam'. — Cf. "Wkh." *mə'qū*, Wkh. *mūr*, Shgh. *mūn*, Yd. *d'muno*.
- man'yār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *man'ār* Zb., Ishk. mist, fog. — *Par.* *man'yār* mist, Shgh. steam, Taj. (Wakhio-Bolo) *maniyōl* 'tuman' Kislyakov, Trady Tadī. Bazy, III, p. 55.
- māṇḍ* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *māṇḍr* p. 1: *māndaḍ* p. 1, s., *mānd* Ishk., *māṇḍ* Zar. to rub, smear. — *māṇḍ(r)en* Sgl. is., p. 1; *māṇḍadēm* is., *māndum* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *magv*, Wkh. *māṇḍ*, etc.
- mur:* *mōl* Sgl. p. 2, *mṛ*, *mōl:* *mōld* Sk., *mūr:* *mul* Gr. (Zb.), *mūr:* *mōl* Zar. to die. — *am ādam mūrō be* (be *mūrō*) p. 2 this man is dying; *i ādam mūr;* *ḥnāy-əm mō'lok* p. 2 my(?) fire is dead (: has gone out); *māsum*, *mōl!* (*mṛ!*), *mōldum*, *mṛuk* he died Sk. — Cf. Yd. *mər*.
- mūr* Sgl. is., p. 1 centipede. — Cf. *Prs.* *mār* snake.
- mārē* (-s) Sgl. p. 3, *mārē* s. red ant; *mūrē* Ishk. ant. — *Borr.* from *Prs.* *mōrēa*, cf. Shgh. *mūrj*; Wkh. *'murēa*; *Par.* *mūēš*, etc. Cf.:
- mār'ēlk* Sgl. is., s. (black?) ant. — < \**marwi-č*. Cf. Orm. *mar'cōi*, Yd. *muryo*.
- mūr'drk* Sk., Gr. small ring. — V. *cām-mārdikog*.

mar'dum people. — *Prs.*

mēry Sgl. p. 2, 3 meadow. — *Cf. Yd. miryo.*

mar'yōk/g Sgl. is., p., s., "Wkh." mar'yōk,

mr'yuk Sk., muryuk Gr. sparrow. *Cf. Yd. brayiko.*

mar'yāci Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., mur'yāci Ishk. duck. — *Prs.*

ml'rōs Sk. inheritance. — *Ar.-Prs.*

mis Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. brass. — *Prs.*

mis Sgl. s., : mind- p. 1, min- : mind Sk. to sleep. — *Prob. Sgl. mīs- : mīnd (cf. foris- : frind; frinduk tired); mīs < \*mūs < \*ham-hufsa (cf. Sak. hūs, Yaghn. ūfs, — but Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 49 ūfs < Sogd. w'βs = Bal. wafsay(?)), with preter. on the analogy of foris, and secondary pres. min-. — Cf. minduk, misuk.*

mis Zb. nose. — *Cf. Wkh. mis.*

mus Gr. clothes. — *For \*muc < mauc-a-?*

mūsa'fed Sk. old man. — *Prs.*

musa'fer Sk. traveller. — *Ar.-Prs.*

mi'suk Sgl. p., uk Sk. sleep, dream; Sgl. p. 1, Gr. pillow. — *bēdār šid ce misuk p. 2 he awoke from sleep; me misuk(k)-mo p. 2 I am asleep; mi'suk-um 'cēnd Sk. I dreamt; m° mag 'nailuk Sk. I will sleep (: sleep has seized me). — V. mis.*

mau'sōm Sk. season. — *Ar.-Prs.*

māst Ishk. curds. — *Prs.*

māst Sgl. p. 2 fat (adj.). — *Prs. mast.*

mūš Ishk. mouse. — *Prs.*

moškri Sgl. p. 2 difficult. — *Ar.-Prs.*

māš-i kiš'kor Sgl. is. oorial. — *\*Prs.*

maš'riq Sk. east. — *Ar.-Prs.*

moš Sgl. is., p. 3, moš p. 2, moš p. 1, Zb.,

moš Ishk., mut "Wkh.", mūt Sk.,

moš Gr., moš Zar. fist. — *< \*mušti-*

*cf. Yd. mišē. Shgh., Or. mut prob. from Iehk.*

mā'tou Zb., Ishk., 'mātdb Sk. moon. — *Prs.*

'mēva Sk. fruit. — *Prs.*

mux, v. amax.

mēx<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Sk. nail, peg. — *Prs.*

mēx<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, 2 table(?). — *kitāw mēx sōr-ō 'sar-i mēz'; kitāw mēx sōr-om nūšōd. — Cf. mēz.*

max'luk Sgl. p. 2 people. — *maxlu'kān gu'šōm xaltān, cf. Texts II, 2. — Ar.-Prs.*

mux'lis Sk. honest. — *Ar.-Prs.*

mi'yān(e) Sgl. p. 2, mayōnē Sk. middle; mi'yān Zb. waist. — *ma xān mi'yāne-mō I am in the middle of the house. — Prs.*

mēz Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Sk. table. — *ce mēz riš under the table. — Prs. V. mēx<sup>2)</sup>.*

maz Sk.? — *Cf. s.v. 'bešār.*

mu'zik Sgl. is., p. 3, mo'zik p. 2, mu'zik Ishk., Sk. green peas, mušegg. — *Cf. Bad. Prs. mužuk a kind of pulse or bean; Wkh. mu'zik hail.*

## N

na, nā Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., Gr. nō Sk. not, don't. — *Cf. Prs. na, etc.*

nai Ishk., na Gr. (Zb.) reed. — *Prs.*

nāi—nāi Sgl. p. 2, nō—nō Sk. neither—nor. — *nāi xēsta, nāi pōšf neither bread nor meat.*

nou Sgl. is., p. 1, s., Sk., nō<sup>a</sup> p. 2, 3, nū Zb., naq Ishk., nane Gr., nā Zar. nine. — *Cf. Yd. nōu.*

nā'bāt Sk. a plant. — *Ar.-Prs. nabt.*

nic Ishk., Sk., Gr., nīc Gr. (Zb.) nose.

— *Cf. "Wkh." nīc (< Ishk.), Sogd. nyē, Shgh. nēj, Or. nōj < \*nāh-ēi (or \*nahya-ēi? Cf. Meillet, BSL, 23, p. 108).*



*nīd*: *nīlōst* Sgl. p., s., *nīd*: *nīd* Ishk., *nīd*: *nulust* Gr., *nalāst* Gr. (Zb.), *nīd*: *nōst* Zar. to sit down; *nīd*: *nltt*. Sk. to sit, to put(?), *nōlūst* Sk. to set. — *nī mōdāk* Sgl. is. sit down here; *az-mō nīlōstog* p. 1 I am sitting; *az nīden* I sit down; *nīdum būz*, *nīdef*, *nīlōsto-mō* p. 3; *nīdēm*, *nīlōstēm* s.; *nīdum*, *nīd!* *nīduk-um* Ishk. I am sitting; *šak-o nīlōstok* Sgl. p. 2 dew has fallen; *rēmuz 'nōlūst(uk)* Sk. the sun (has) set. — \**nī-hīda*: *nī-šasta*, cf. Sak. *nāltā* < \**nī-hīdati*: *nīfāsta* < \**nī-šasta*; Yd. *nīš*.

*nōd*, v. *nas*.

*nīdūk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *nīdūk* is., *nūdūk* Ishk. buttermilk, *dūy*; *nūdūk-īek* Gr. whey; "nēduk" MFB curd (corrupted by Tomaschek, BB. 7, into *nēwak*, and by Geiger, Et. Bal., s.v. *nēmay*, into *nēcak*). — Cf. Yd. *nīya*.

*nāf* Sgl. is., p., Gr., *nāf* Ishk., Sk., *nāf* Zar. navel. — Prs.

*nāyō* Zb. night. — Prob. a Wkh. word.

*na'hāng* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) sea-monster, crocodile. — Prs.

*nēk* Sk. good. — Prs.

*nīkā* Sgl. p. 2 wedding. — Prs.

*naql kōn* Sk. to tell. — Ar-Prs.

*'nakma sa,bab (kī)* Sk. therefore. — Cf. *nakso*.

*nan'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.

*nok'rē* Sgl. is., p. 3, *°krē* p. 1, *nūq'rū* Sk. — silver. — Ar-Prs.

*nak'sō* Ishk. now. — Cf. *nakma*, Gr.

*nak-dās* thus; *nak-īca* this; cf. Wkh.

*nik-hazi* so, Sar. *nak-dās* so, *nak-yam*

this same, Yaghn. *nah-īt* 'hamīn'.

(Junker, Drei Erz. auf Yaghn. p. 23).

*-so* < \**sāt*, Ar-Prs. *sā'at*?

*nūl* Sgl. p. 1, Zar., *nūl* Sk. beak. — Prs.

*nūl'sor* Sgl. is. sole of the foot.

*nēmē* Sgl. p. 2 half-full. — Cf. Prs. *nīma-pur*, etc.

*nīm* Sgl. p. 2, Sk., *nēm* Gr. (Zb.) name.

— *to ce nīm-dō?* *Daulat Bēk-o mōn*

*nīm* p. 2; *in nīm āz?* Sk. — Av.

*nāman*.

*namb* Sgl. is. wet. — Early lw. from

Prs., cf. Shgh. *namb*, Mj. *nōb*.

*nu'mōd* Sgl. p. 1, *nō* p. 3, *'namad* Sk.

felt. — Cf. Yd. *'nāmyo*.

*nō'mēyō* Sgl. is., *°ēk* p. 1, 2, *°ēdk* p. 3,

*nō'mēyō* s., (*na'mak* Zb., *nu'mok* Ishk.),

*'namuryāk*, *namul'γ'āk* Sk., *namul'γak*

Gr. salt. — Cf. Yd. *nō'mālyo*.

*namul-* Zar. to shut one's eye. — Cf.

Yd. *nāmīl*.

*nam'nāk* Sk. wet, moist. — Prs.

*nīm'sab* Sk. midnight. — Prs.

*nōmay*: *nōmayd* Sk. to show. — *to*

*'nōmay 'mōmbd Amir Bēk xān* show

me A. B.'s house. — Prs.?

*na'māz* Sgl. p. 3, *°ōz* Sk. prayer. — *nō-i*

*īd ī Rama'zān* Sgl. p. 3. — Prs.

*nān* Sgl. p., *non* Ishk., *nān* Sk., Gr. (Zb.)

mother. — Cf. Yd. *nīno*.

*nēnd*: *nēd* Sk. to plant. — < \**nihā(n)d-*

*aya*, cf. Wkh. *nūnd*: *nūtt*.

*nār* Sk. irrigation channel, *aryq* (larger

than *fuḍār*). — Ar-Prs. *nahr*.

*nēr* Sgl. is., *nēr* p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr.,

(*nyēr* p. 2, *nēr* p. 1) to-day. — *nēr*

*hēci -a'mō nes xōrok* p. 2 to-day I

haven't eaten anything; *nēr'sab* Sk. —

Cf. Wkh. *nēr*; but Shgh., Or. *nur*

< Av. *nūrəm*.

*nūr* Sk. light, brightness. — Ar-Prs.

*nēr'fōr'son* Sgl. p. 2, *nēr'sab* Sk. yester-

night.

*nārē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *nārē* Gr., Zar. male;

Sk. male sheep. — Cf. Yd. *nār*.

*nar* Ishk. soft. *Pra.*  
*naran'gāst* Sgl. p. 3 thumb. — *Prs.*  
*nar'asp* Sk. stallion. — *Prs.*  
*nar'vaz* Sgl. is., *vaz* Ishk. he-goat. —  
*V. vāz.*  
*nar'xōk/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *nā'xuk* Ishk.,  
*nar'xāk* Sk., *narēa* "Wkh." nail. —  
*\*naxra-ka*, cf. Yd. *anaxno*, Wkh.  
*dager*, and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *nā'xūn*.  
*nau'rōz'e* Sgl. p. New-Year festival. —  
*Cf. Texts, III, 5. — Prs.*  
*nas*: *nōd* Sgl. is., p. s.; *nas*: *nād* Gr. to  
take, seize; *nas* Sk. to hold. — *nasem*  
*boš*, be *nasē* 'mēgirad'; *nōdēm*, *nasōk*  
Sgl. is., *nasen*, *nōdēm* p. 1, 3; *dā rōpē*  
*nōd*; *xōfuk-o* *no'dōk* 'sil'fa giriftast';  
*nasem* be *pā dānd* p. 2 I bite; *cō'fūr*  
*koryos* *nas* 'bigir'; *ka'ēake* *nasen* p. 3  
I embrace; *na'sem*, 'nōdēm s.; 'na-nasī  
Sk. dost thou not hear? — Not fr. Av.  
*nā-yās-* (or, better, *yā-*, v. Meillet,  
BSL 24, 117) to keep down, hold; Sogd.  
*ny's-* to hold, seize. But cf. Yaghn.  
*nās*: *nāt*; Sak, *nā* (*nās*: *nāta*), Psht.  
*nas*: *nīc-ul*, Orm. *nas*: *nōk* (\**nafta*??).  
*nāsm* Sgl. p. 3 middle. — In *nāsm-i asmān*.  
— Ar.-Prs., cf. Fārizāndī, etc. *nāsm*.  
*neemē'sav* Sgl. p. 2 midnight. — Ar.-Prs.  
*nest*, etc., Sgl. p. 2, 3, *nās*, *nist* Sk., *nōst*  
Gr. (Zb.) is not. — 'pāruzd-im šo'icāri  
*ke'nūk* *nōst-ēm* *kō-kuš* I could not go  
yesterday (*dina rafta būdan na*  
*tānistem*); *am xān mōnen* *nest-ē* this  
house is not mine; *nās* *kō-kuān* they  
couldn't; *awē hečī nes xōfok* Sgl. p. 2  
he has not eaten anything; *pāša* *wok*  
*nesi la-koi* p. 3 he does not leave a  
mosquito; 'ēiz tēt 'nist *ōyad* Sk.  
why didst thou not come? *āz-im*  
'i'nās-psind Sk. I did not understand  
this. — From *nēst* (Prs.?), cf. § 123.

*nūš*: *nūšōd* Sgl. p. 2, : *nešt* Gr. (Zb.) to  
throw, put. — *wok čizi be nūšen*;  
*čizi-m nūšōd*; *kī'tār mār xōr-ēm* *nūšōd*  
I put the book on the table. — Cf.  
Siwandī *nōš*: *nōt'andāxtan* < \**nāšš*.  
*nūš* Sgl. p. 2 tasting. — *nūš kēnen*  
'i'mēčāšam'. — *Prs.*  
*ne'sān* Sgl. p. 2 showing. — *nō* be *dēm*.  
— *Prs.*  
*nī'sorm* Sgl. is., *orm* p. 2, 3 the shady  
side of a valley. — Cf. Wkh. *nīšir(u)m*,  
etc., Mj. *nošiy*.  
*nūš'ē* Sgl. p. 2 dirty. — Cf. *Prs.* *našt*  
spoilt, withered.  
*nušt*, v. *nēz*.  
*nūštar* Sgl. is. pine tree. — Cf. Psht.  
*naštār* (< *Prs.* *nīštar* a lance?).  
*naš* Sgl. p. 2 play, game. — *ēā naš kenuk*  
'mērim, bāzi mēkim'. — IA.  
*nav* Sgl. is. to rain. — *a'wēdi na'vōi*. —  
Cf. "Wkh." *nāv* rain, Yd. *nov*.  
*nīv*: *nīdō* Sgl. is. to bring (an animated  
being). — *nīven* 'mērasānem'; *nīdō*  
'rasānd'; *nīdōet* 'daryāvat (= daryāft)  
*kat*'. — Cf. Av. *nay-* (scarcely \**nī-*  
*apaya-*), and Yazdi *nīv* 'to send'  
with unexplained v.  
*no'vok* Sgl. is., *na* p. 1, 3, *nok* MFB rain.  
— V. *nav*.  
*no'ves* Sgl. p. 1, "Wkh.", *ne'vāsa* Ishk.,  
'navus Gr. grandchild. — Cf. Yd.  
*nowisa*. Ishk. from *Prs.*  
*no'viš*: *nōvišt* Sgl. is., p. 2, *nī'vīš*: *nīvīšt*  
Sk. to write. — *posā(d)* be *nerišen*  
Sgl. p. 2. — *Prs.*  
*na'wād* Sgl. is., p. ninety. — *Prs.*  
*nowōd/dos* Sgl. grammophone, is., 'nōwōd's  
p. 1, 2, *ōd's* p. 3, 'nowōd's s., *nuz'dāu*  
Zb. nineteen.  
*no'wōk* Sgl. p. 2, *nōu* Ishk. mill-race. —  
Cf. Yd. *nawō'yō*.



- nu'wək* Sgl. p. 2, *naucuk* Gr. new. — Cf. Yd. *nouo'yo*.  
*nucur* Gr. (Zb.) to draw (water). — Cf. Yd. *nucor*.  
*na'xəð* Sgl. p. 2 pea. — Prs.  
*nax'sin* Sk. striped. — Ar.-Prs. \**naq̄* in?  
*nd'yəb* Sk. under-bailiff. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ni'yək* Sgl. is. reed. — V. *naī*.  
*nēz*: *nəst* Sk., : *nušt* Gr., *našet* Gr. (Zb.) to go out, emerge. — Cf. Wkh. *nīuz*: *niēst*, Yaghn. *nīz*: *nīst*, possibly \**nīzita* > \**nīst*, with secondary present stem *nēz* (and Sk. secondary past base *nəst*), cf. Yd. s.v. *nī*.  
*nuzdāu*, v. *nouzdōs*. — Prs.  
*na'zār* Sgl. is. carpenter. — Ar.-Prs.

## P

- pa*, *pə* Sgl. p. 2, 3 on, with, etc. — *nasem* be *pə dānd* I bite; *pə miltəq pēun dehen* I shoot with a gun; *pa rvēyn ba pacen* I cook with ghee; *pə toror* with an axe; *pə wāda hit 'ba wāda rasid'*. — V. 107 c; cf. Yd. *pə*.  
*pai* Sgl. p. 2, 3 tendon. — Prs.  
*pōi* Sgl. p. 1, is., Gr., *pai* Ishk., *pāi* Sk. sour milk, *juryāt*. — Cf. Yd. *poya*.  
*pū* Zar. to become rotten; *pūdūk* rotten. — Cf. Yd. *pto*.  
*pəb*: *pəvəð* Sgl. p. 3 to blow. — *pəbəm* *bəð*, *pəvəðm*. — V. *puf* (*pəb*-second. pres. from *pəvəð*).  
*pu'band* Sk. instep. — Ishk.-Prs., v. *pūd*.  
*pac*- Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk.: *pəx*- Sgl. p. 1, 3, *pəx* s., *puxt* Ishk., *paz*: *pəzəð* Sk. to cook; *piz*: *puxt* Sk. to boil. — *pa'cen*, *puðf-um* *po'xəm* Sgl. p. 1; *pu'xə* has boiled p. 3; *pa'cəm*, *po'xəm* s.; 'pacum, *putsum* *puxt* Ishk.; *azi pizum*, *azim* *puxt* Sk. — *paz*- from Prs.; *piz* < *pačaya*-, with *z* from Prs.; *puxt* either from Prs., or, more probably, from Sgl. *pəx*, cf. Shgh. *pēxt*. — Cf. Yd.  
*pēca* Sgl. is., p. 1 curl. — Prs.  
*pēčuk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *pucuk* Gr. worm. — < \**pərcuk*, cf. Wkh. *pərič*?  
*pə'čün* Sgl. p. 2, *pucun* Gr., *pə'čün* Gauthiot (Ishk.) bullet. — *pə miltəq pēun dehen* I shoot with a gun. — Gauthiot (MSL, 20, p. 70) compares Prs. *paikān*, Arm. *patkan*<sup>o</sup>, but *k* > *č* is not probable. < \**pūb* + *čün*, cf. Yd. *pīč*? V. § 37.  
*pəču'waxšt*(?) Sgl. p. 2 at last. — Incorrect for \**waxšt*?  
*pa'dā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 born, appearing. — *zət p<sup>o</sup> šid* p. 2; *wok šēr p<sup>o</sup> šid* a lion appeared; *dušman p<sup>o</sup> šuð* p. 3. — Prs.  
*pe'dār* Sgl. p. 3 father. — In the expression *pəšt-i p<sup>o</sup>* his father's loins. — Prs.  
*pād'sā* Sgl. p. 3, *pād'səð* Sk. king. — Prs.  
*pūd* Sgl. is., p., s. (*pū'd* p. 1), *pū* Ishk., Sk., *pu* Gr., *pūd* Gr. (Zb.), MFB, *pud* Zar. foot. — Cf. Yd. *palo*.  
*pəðf* Sgl. is., p. 3, *pəðf* p. 1, "Wkh.". *pəðf* p. 2, *pəðf* s., *putf* Ishk., *putf* Gr. flesh, meat. — *puðf-um* *po'xəm* Sgl. p. 1. Cf. *dān-pəðf*. — < Av. \**pidica*- food (or \**pitudhwa*-, cf. § 59), cf. E.Oss. *fid* < *pitu*-. (Not convincingly Ellers, ZDMG, 90, p. 195 reg. Anc. Ir. \**pidfa*-(?).)  
*pe'din*: *pe'dit* Sgl. p. 2, s., *pe'den*: *pe'dend* Sk., *pe'din*- Gr. to light, kindle a fire. — *pe'dinen*, *pe'den!* "dar bedel" p. 2, *pe'din č'rdy* Sk. light a lamp. — Cf. Shgh. *pe'din*-, Or. *pa'din*-, Yaghb. *pa'day*-, intr. Wkh. *piding*-, Yaghb. *pa'days*-. Connection with Saka *pa'daj*s-

to ignite, to burn (< *pati* + *dag* v. Saka Studies, p. 163) seems probable, but the phonetic development is not clear (< \**pati-dagna-ya*?).  
*puf ken* Sgl. p. 2, s., *puf* Zar. to blow.  
 — *puf ke xe dōst* Sgl. p. 2 blow at your hand. — Cf. Yd. *puf*. V. *pəb*.  
*pə'gē*, v. *sāhar* *p*<sup>o</sup> to-morrow morning. — Prs. *pagāh*.  
*pā'y'zē* Sgl. p. 2, *pāg'za* Sk. clean. — Prs., cf. Shgh. *pəy'za*, Khw. *pagza*, etc.  
*pok ken* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.  
*pa'kol* Ishk., Gr. cap, *pakol* Gr. (Zb.) a woman's mantilla. — Cf. Yd. *pakoro*.  
*pālū* Sk. flank, side. — Prs.  
*piā'lē* Sgl. p. 1, *a* p. 2 cup. — Prs.  
*pul* Ishk., *pəl* Zb. bridge. — Prs.  
*pul* Sgl. p. 2 money. — *miž be pāl dē*. — Prs.  
*pə'laftuk* Sk., in *rēmuz* *p*<sup>o</sup> rise of the sun.  
*pa'lāng* Sgl. is., *ag* p. 1, Sk., *pə'lang* Sgl. p. 3, s. leopard. — Prs.  
*pāling* Gr. saddle. Denied by Sk.  
*pe'lās* Sgl. p. 1 rog. — Prs.  
*pitta* Sgl. p. 2 match of a gun. — Cf. Madagl., Turki id.—Taj. Prs. corruption of *fatila*.  
*pāla'edn* Sk. a hunter. — Prs.  
*pām*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *pām* Zb., *pom* Ishk., *pām* Sk., "Wkh.", Gr. wool. — *pām*<sup>e</sup> *dōmben* I card wool. — Cf. Yd. *pam*.  
*pām*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Zar., Gr. wide, broad. — Bad. Prs. *pām* < *pān*.  
*'pamec*, v. *'pāneo*.  
*pī'ān* Sgl. is., p. 2 below. — *to cə-mak* *p*<sup>o</sup>-*dō* p. 2 thou art below me. — Prs.  
*'pāneo* Sgl. is., *pə'neo* p. 2, s., *'ponie* p. 3 : *pənyō* p. 2, *'pamec* : *'pomaxt* Ishk., *pomuo* Gr. to dress. — Cf. Wkh. *pūmec*, Sar. *pamez*, Shgh. *peniz*, etc., Sogd. *ptmucō*, Av. *paiti-maocō*.

*pan'jā* Gr., Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *āh* Gr. (Zb.) fifty. — Prs.  
*pan'jā* Zb. finger. — Prs.  
*pə'nuk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *pə*<sup>o</sup> p. 1, 2 a pass. — *fə'rindi fə'rōu mə pə'nuk*; *o'yōdam* *pə'nuk* p. 2. — \**pn(d)ūk* < \**pantāka*, cf. Oss. *fāndag* road, etc.?  
*pə'nir* Sgl. is., *pə*<sup>o</sup> p. 1, Ishk., Sk., *pa'nēr* Sgl. s. cheese; *pə'nī*(?) Sgl. p. 3 a kind of sour milk (*dūy*). — Prs.  
*pu-nar'xdk* Sk. toe(?)  
*pən'* Sgl. is., *pōns* p. 1, 3, s., *pōn's* p. 2, *pōn's* Grammophone; *pōns* Zb., *pənj* Ishk., *pūnz* Sk., Gr., *punj* Zar. five.  
*pənzados* Sgl. is., *ōds* p., s., *pənzāu* Zb. fifteen.  
*pəru* Ishk. horsedung. — *ērok* *p*<sup>o</sup>. — Cf. Yd. *pāru*.  
*pār-dē*: *pār-dūd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *pare-dē*: *par-dūd* s., *pa'ra-day*: *paradūd* Sk. to tell. — *par'dēen* Sgl. p. 2; *pār be dēn*, *pār-em dūd* p. 3, *pare'dēem*, *par-em dūd* s. — Cf. Yd. *plār*.  
*prok* Sk. — In: *uok xo'rok prok xar*, *bād šu* eat a bit, and then go (said to an arriving guest).  
*park* Zb. ashea. — Cf. Wkh. *pārg*. V. Gauthiot, MSI, XX, p. 9 regarding Lith. *pelenai*, etc.  
*pa'rik* Sk., *parak* Gr. rib. — Cf. Wkh. *par'k*; Prs. *par(r)* side, skirt.  
*pōrk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Gr., *pār'k* "Wkh." mouse; *purk* Sk. rat. — Cf. Yd. *par'y*.  
*pīrmāi* Sgl. is. name of a large bird; *'pīrmā* p. 3 a white bird resembling a vulture (*kargas*).  
*pə'niē* Sgl. p. 1, 3 threshold. — Cf. Or. *pašin(d)*? V. § 22.  
*pa'rinda* Sgl. is., *ēnda* p. 2, Ishk. bird; *paran'da* Sk. small bird. — *p*<sup>o</sup> *tar* *ha'wā ara'zō* Sgl. p. 2.



- parenda xān* p. 2 bird's nest. — *Prs.*  
*parr* Sgl. is., p. 1, *par* Sk. feather. — *Prs.*  
*par'sāl* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *paraśl* Sk. last year. — *Cf. Prs. paraśl.*  
*prēšt* Sk. armlet, Gr. wrist. — *Cf. Sar. pardūst, Or. pār'dēst (Lentz). V. §§ 22, 32.*  
*pə'rəštem* Sgl. is. *pə'rəštin* p. 2, *pə'rəš*° p. 1 the day after to-morrow. — *Cf. wəcorin.*  
*purt(a)w* Ishk. to throw. — *purtaum.* — *Prs.*  
*par'tāwī, par'tāštuk* Sk. lagging behind, tired. — *Prob. < thrown away, v. purtaic.*  
*par'variš* Sgl. p. 2 protection, nurturing. — *p° kenēn.* — *Prs.*  
*parwīnēkōg* Sgl. is., *par'wīnīkōg* p. 1 moth. — *Cf.:*  
*par'wīnēk* Sgl. p. 2 butterfly. — *Prs. parwīnāna.* Gr. *parparānuk* is an onomatopoeic transformation of this word.  
*pār'rūzd* Sgl. is., p. 2, *pə'rəzd* Sk., *paruzd* Gr. yesterday. — *pa'rūzd wok čizl tā bē be spār'dōčē yesterday he entrusted something to thee; p° ari-m ku'ō v-ō p. 2 I had worked yesterday; p° šab* Sk. yesternight. — *\*pāra + azni.* *Cf. aluzd, Yd. žirizen.*  
*pašl* Sgl. p. 2, 3 after(wards). — *čend rōz paši; paši nau'rōz wudil xasām, paši-wa dācinuk p. 2; paši wonaf* after that(?). — *Prs. paš-i?*  
*pas* Sgl. p. 2 afterwards(?). — *Cf. Texts, II, 3.* — *Prs.*  
*pusi'dā* Sk. rotting. — *p° kām* I rot. — *Prs.*  
*pāsk* Sgl. is., p. 2, "Wkh." *posk*, skin, hide (of cows). — *Cf. Av. pāsta*

- (= \**pausta-*? *Cf. Endzelin, Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn., Ser. B., 27, p. 25).*  
*psāt, p(ə)sā(d)* Sgl. is., p., *psah* Gr. (Zb.) now, then. — *psāt-am sēr kōd* then I became satisfied; *psā(d) be nōrišen* now I shall write; *psād ba xēsta xwāri?* Sgl. p. 2 dost thou eat bread now? *psā-mō astōk* is. I have risen now; *psā vrīšen* p. 1; *psād šid, psā oyođ* p. 3. — *Cf. Yd. psāt.*  
*past* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. low; *pāst* Sk. down. — *Prs.*  
*psa* Sgl. p. 2 pistachio. — *Prs.*  
*pūst* Sk. leather. — *Prs.*  
*psātāk* Sgl. is., *pus'tak* Sk. bark of a tree. — *Prs.*  
*pa'šē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *paša* p. 1, Ishk., Sk. a fly. — *Prs.*  
*pās* *va* *ken-(?)* Sgl. p. 3 to hide, conceal. — *Read wa?* *Cf. Prs. pās* scattering?  
*pūs* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *pūl* Zb., *pu'šuk* Ishk., *peš, pššk* Sk., *pīš* Gr., *puš* Gr. (Zb.), *pššuk* Zar. cut. — *Cf. Yd. piško, Prs. pušak, etc.*  
*pīš-i-bar* Sgl. is., *pēš'w-bar* Sk., *pēšbar* Gr. breast. — *\*Prs.*  
*pōšbažgī* Sk. kitten. — *\*puš-bača gi.*  
*pošk* Sgl. is., *pōšk* p. 1, *pišk* p. 3, *pušk* Zar. dung of sheep. — *Prs. pušk, cf. Sgh. pažč, Yd. pōškedrī.*  
*pšai'māni* Sk. regret. — *Prs.*  
*pāš'ne* Sgl. is., *pā'* p. 1, *pāšne* p. 3, *pāš'na* Sk., Gr. heel. — *Prs.*  
*pē'sāni* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, °*pi(?)* p. 3, *pešd'ni* Zb., Ishk., *pē'd'ni* Sk. forehead. — *Prs.*  
*pe'šin* Sgl. is. afternoon. — *Prs.*  
*pšūr* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *pšūr* p. 3, *pu'šir* Ishk., *pš'ir* "Wkh.", *pešur* Gr. cheek; *pšūr* Sk. face, *pšūr'linj* face. —

*pešten* Sgl. p. 2 udder. — *ca* u'yū p°. — Cf. Yd. *'pistān*.  
*pešt* Sgl. p. 3 loins. — In: *ma* p°. *i* *pe'dār-ō*. — *Prs.*  
*pušt-i pā* Sgl. p. 3 instep, upper part of the foot. — *Prs.*  
*pe's-āzār* Sk. place where the horse is bound. — \**Prs.*  
*pa'fār* Sgl. is. porridge, *dā*.  
*put* Gr. parched grain ground into meal. — Cf. Yd. *pušč*, Wkh. *pōst*. V. *tūt-pot*.  
*putf*, v. *pešf*.  
*'pātik* Sgl. is., p., Gr., *'pātik* Sk. eyelid (p. 3 eyebrow?). — *pātik dē* Sgl. p. 2 wink. — Wkh. *pātak*, Khw. *phātuk*, *patok*, Madaglashti *patik*, Or. *pōde*, cf. Yd. *pēlek*.  
*po'tūn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *pa'tūn* "Wkh." thigh. — Cf. Yd. *pīšān*.  
*pi'tāu* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 the sunny side of a valley. — Cf. Yd. *pitou*, Psht. *pitāo*, etc.  
*'pa'fak* Sgl. p. 2, *pā'tuk* Sk. lentils, *patok*. — Cf. Wkh. *pa'tek*, Mj. *'pateko*.  
*pōv-*: *pōvō* Sgl. p. 2, *pav-*: *pavd* p. 3, *pōv-*: *piō* s., *pav-*: *pōed* Ishk., Sk. to drink. — *'vēk* *'pōven*, *'az-om* *'vēk* *'pōvōm* p. 2; *vē* *pa'ton*, *pavdām* p. 3; *vē* *pa'tom*, *vēk-om* *piō* s.; *vēk* *'povum*, *pōvum* Ishk., Sk. — Cf. Wkh. *pōv-*: *pitt*, Skr. *piba-*: *pittā*.  
*pēr* Sgl. p. 3 span from thumb to forefinger. — Cf. Yd. *piž*.  
*prōk* Sgl. is., p°. p. 2 cooked. — V. *pac*.  
*pa'la* Sk. cotton. — *Prs.*  
*paž*, *piž*, v. *pac*.  
*pi'ār* Sgl. is., p. 2, *piyds* Sk. onion. — *Prs.*  
*\*pur* MFB breast. — Written *yuz*, (يوز), but acc. to Shaw this is a mistake

for *pur* (يوز). — Cf. Wkh. *p'āz*, Yd. *fiz*.  
*po'zin-*: *po'zind* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., *pōzin-*: *pōzind* Zar. to understand, to learn. — *az-om* *va tō lavz* *pe'zinen* Sgl. p. 1; *az-om* *va tō lavz* *pe'zind* p. 1; *tā* *zō'vāk* *po'zinum* Ishk.; *po'zinem* *boš* p. 3; *az-om* *'nās* *prind* Sk. I didn't understand it; *fai* *p'zinuk* Sk. he who knows much. — Cf. Yd. *vzān*, Wkh. *pazdan-*, Sar. *pajān*, Sogd. *piž'n*.  
*piž-*: *pēžō* Sgl. p. 3 to wrap up. — *pēžō/lēm* *'tāu* *dādim*. — < \**pōžr-* < \**pati-darzaya*, cf. Mj. *palarz*, Psht. *blēždol*, etc.  
*pi'žin* Sgl. p. 2 clay-pot for milk. — Cf. Wkh. *pižin* udder < \**payah* *čayana*?

## R

*rā* Sgl. p. 1, s., *rāh* Zb. road. — *Prs.*  
*rō* Sgl. p. 3 face. — In: *rō* *p-āē* *Xodā* *kōd* he turned (his face) to God, *rā* *ba* *Xudā* *kat*. — *Prs.*  
*rōi* Sgl. is., p. 1, *rōē* p. 3, *rōi* p. 2, Ishk., *rōr* Sgl. s., *rūi/y* Sk., Gr., Zar., *trāi*(?) MFB three. — *rō(i)* *ry'pō*. — Cf. § 109.  
*rū* Sgl. p. 3 on. — *Prs.*  
*rēčk* Sk. belly, *rēčik* Gr., *rōčik* Zar. entrails. — < \**rēd* (< \**rauda*) + *čik*, cf. KZ., 61, p. 32. — V. § 37.  
*rēf* Sgl. is., Sk., *rēfak* p. 1 broom. — Cf. Yd. *rufo*.  
*rag* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. vein, sinew. — *Prs.*  
*rēg* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *rēg* Sk. sand. — *Prs.*  
*rēžen* Sgl. is., °yn p. 2, s., "Wkh." *rēžen* p. 1, *rēžen* p. 3, *rēženē* Ishk. clarified



- batter; *rēyn* Sk. batter. — *pa rēyn*  
*ba pacen* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *rūʔn*.  
*rah'zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*rī'kāb* Sgl. p. 2, °dō Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs.  
*raqo'si/ē kən* Sk. to dance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ra'mē* Sgl. p. 2 herd of goats. — Prs.  
*rām* Sgl. p. 3 womb. — *oʔoδ mō rām-i*  
*mādar*. — Prs.  
*rēmuz*, v. *or'mōzd*.  
*Rama'zān*, v. *id*.  
*rōn* Ishk., *rān* Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*rang* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*'rangā-i gūnagūn* Sk. multicoloured. —  
 Prs.  
*rang'zārd* Sk. pale. — Prs.  
*rū'pē*, *rō'pē* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *rūpāyē* is., *rupya*  
 Gr. (Zb.) rupee. — *az tō bē wok rūpē*  
*dāyen* Sgl. p. 1; *awāi bē wok rūpē*  
*dāyen* p. 2; *az im bē wok rūpā'yē*  
*dāyem bōš* is. — Ind.  
*rus* Sgl. p. 2, *res* p. 3, is., a. thirty. — Cf.  
 § 109.  
*rūsa'fed* Sgl. p. 2 old man. — \*Prs., cf.  
 Wkh., Or. *mūsa'fed*. Mj. *s'pī rūy*  
 means 'white-muzzled' acc. to Zar.  
*rōsk* Sgl. p. 2 truth. — *amxə rōsk yēzəm*,  
*az r° yēzən*. — < \**rāsk(a)k*, cf. Tirahi  
*rāsko* truth (< Ir.). But Yazgh. *rāzg?*  
*rismān* Ishk. thread, cord. — Prs.  
*ra'san* Ishk. rope. — Prs.  
*rōst* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 right (hand), straight;  
*rāst* Sk. right, true. — *xūb r° durk-ū*  
 Sgl. p. 2 it is a quite straight stick.  
 — Prs.  
*rāst'gū* Sk. truthful. — Prs.  
*rāš* Zb. beard. — Prs.  
*rōš-dor'suk* Sk. wild oats. Cf. *d'sin*.  
*roušan* Sk. light, bright. — Prs.  
*rūšā'nī* Zb. light (noun); *rū'shan* Sk.  
 dawn; *rausan* Gr. daylight. — Prs.  
*rašt* Sgl. is., a., Ishk. morning, dawn. —

- r° šid*. — Cf. Wkh. *rāšt* day, Khov.  
*rōšt* daylight < Prs. *rūšn?*  
*raš'tē* Sgl. is., *rīšta* Sk., 'rīšē p. 1 root-  
 fibre. — Prs. *rīša* id., *rīšta* thread,  
 line. — Cf. Badakhshi *rīša*, but  
 Madagl. *rīšta*, Wkh. *rīš'ta*, *raš'te*  
 (< Prs.).  
*rušt* Gr. a fur robe. — But Zar. *γušt*,  
 cf. Mj. *γiška*.  
*rūv* Sgl. is., p. 2 rhubarb. — Cf. Yd. *riv*.  
*rū'lav* Sgl. is., s., *riw°* p. 1, 'riw° p. 3,  
*lav* Gr., *lāw* MFB lip. — *rūv* <  
 \**rapya*, (cf. Kurd. *lēw*), the genuine  
 Sgl. form corresponding to Prs. *lab?*  
*ra'wān* Sgl. p. 1, Gr. moving, starting.  
*r° šid*. — Prs.  
*rax'sat* Sgl. p. 2 leave. — *r° šī'ān* they  
 took leave. — Ar.-Prs.  
*rōz* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., *rūz* Sk. day. — *čand*  
*rōz pasī* Sgl. p. 2; *rōzi* (= *rō'zānī*)  
*šid ke* p. 3 it happened one day that...  
 — Prs.  
*'rausan* Sgl. p. 3 window. — Prs.  
*riš'yāk* Sgl. is., p. 1 small. — *am xān*  
*šōšt*, *had xān rizi'dāk* p. 1. — Prs.  
*rīza*, cf. Yd. *rīza*.  
*rēš* Gr. platform (for sleeping). — Cf.  
 Yd. *raža*, Wkh. *rāž*.  
*ri'žuk* Sgl. p. 1, 2 male kid, one year old;  
 p. 3 he-goat. — Cf. "Wkh." *re'žā*  
 he-goat, Sar. *rezapai* goats and sheep  
 (Khov. *lešpai* < \**rēšpai* from Ir.?).  
 cf. Prs. *rēza* the small of any animal.

## S

- sō* Ishk. now(?). — In: *arī sō wazum*  
 'mēyaltam'. — Cf. *nak-sō* now.  
*sāi* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Zb., *si* Sk., Gr. hare. —  
 Cf. Yd. *šīy*.  
*sub* Zb. morning. — Ar.-Prs.

- sa'bab* Sk. reason. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'buk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. light, not heavy. — Prs.  
*'sābūn* Sk. soap. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sabr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'dik* Sk. porridge, *dā*.  
*saudo'gar* Sk. merchant. — Prs.  
*sād* Sgl. is., *sād* p. 2, 3, *sad* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) hundred. — Sk. *sada'yak* 101, *sada-bisto'panj* 125. — Prs.  
*sa'fed* Ishk., Sk. white. — Prs.  
*safē'dor* Ishk., Zb. poplar. — Prs.  
*sagla'vi* Sgl. is., p. 3, °lōv p. 1, *sagō'vi* Ishk. otter. — Cf. Yd. *sangla'ū*, Prs. *sag-i lau*, *sag(-i) ābi*.  
*sa'yond* Sgl. is., *sa'yand* Zb. curl; *seyund* Gr. (Zb.) hair. — *sor + yūn?*  
*sa'yēr* Sgl. p. 1 orphan. — Cf. Mj. *sayir*, etc. from Prs.  
*'sāhar* <sup>1)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, *sāar* p. 2, *sa'har*, *sā'ri* Sk. morning, at dawn. — *s° be xotan* p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'hār* <sup>2)</sup> Sgl. is., *sa'ār* p. 1, *ba-sa'ār* p. 2, *'sāhar* Ishk. to-morrow. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'kau* Sgl. p. 2 sneezing (?). — *s°-mā* štok 'sakau šudam'.  
*°skonok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, °nōk s., *s°kōnūk* Zar. puppy, cub. — Cf. Yd. *°ke'na*.  
*sāl* Sgl. is., p., s., Gr., *sāl* Ishk., Sk. year. — Prs.  
*sāl* Sgl. p. 1 flood. — Prs.  
*sal'lot* Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
*sāmb*, v. *saw*.  
*sāmb* Sgl. is., p. 1, *sumb* Ishk. hoof. — Prs.?  
*samba'ka* Sgl. is. tortoise. — Prs.-Turk. *sang-baqa*, Tajiki *sambaqa*.  
*sam'bak*, *sv°* Sgl. p. 1 hole (of the ear). — Cf. Prs. *sumb*.  
*son* Sk. linen. — Cf. Khw. *sān* id., Kabuli Prs. shirting.  
*st'na* Sk. breast. — Prs.  
*'sanduk* Sgl. p. 1, °ūq Gr. box. — Ar.-Prs.  
*song* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *sung* Ishk., Sk., Gr. stone, Ishk. mill-stone. — Early lw. from Prs.  
*'signi* Sk. light, bright.  
*(°)spēd* Sgl. p. 1, 3, "Wkh." white. — Cf. Yd. *spī*.  
*°spol* Sgl. is., s., p. 3, *spol* p. 1, *s°pul* Ishk., Zar. louse. — Cf. Yd. *spūo*.  
*spēr* Sgl. is., p. 1 iron plough-share; (w) *uspēr* Sk., Gr. plough. — Cf. Yd. *sporo* (also with ancient -a).  
*spār*: *spārō* Sgl. p. 2, *būspōr*: °rd Zar. to entrust. — *čizi to bē spārō-ve* he had entrusted something to thee. — Prs.  
*spōrz* Sgl. is., °orz p. 1 spleen. — Prs.  
*sēr* Sgl. p. 2, 3 satisfied. — *psāt sēr šīān* 'sēr šudim', *psāt-om sēr kōd* p. 2; *sēr-om šīd* p. 3. — Prs.  
*sīr* Sgl. p. 2 garlic. — Prs.  
*sōr* <sup>1)</sup> Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Gr. (Zb.), *sur* Zb., Ishk., Sk., *sar* ("younger form" Sk.) head. — *sur-čpāgšt* Sk. back of the head. — Cf. Prs. *sar* (from which *sar* is a lw.), etc.  
*sōr* <sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 2, 3 on. — *kitāv mēx sōr-om nūšōd* p. 2 I put the book on the table; *vōst mō kafas sōr* p. 3 he tied it at the top of the cage. — V. *sōr* <sup>1)</sup>.  
*sōrb* Sgl. is., *sōrb* p. 2, *sōre* p. 3 lead. — Prs.  
*sard* Ishk., Gr., *sart* Sk. cold. — Prs.  
*sa'rāk* Sgl. is., p. 3 road. — Afgh. Prs. *sarak* < Hind. *ṣarak*.  
*'sārek* Sgl. is., p. 1 cream. — Cf. Prs. *sar-i šīr*.  
*sormoyz*, v. *moyz-i sor*.  
*sōrx* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *sōrx* Sgl. p. 3, *sōrx* Sk., Gr. red. — Prs.?



- 'sōraē Sgl. p. 2 ear of corn. — Cf. Yd. *sor*.  
*sur'xūn* Sk. white. — Prs.  
*sōr'xas* Sgl. p. 2 wild, arrogant, *sarkaš*.  
 — *varvās s'ō-s* the fox is wild. —  
 Adapted from Prs. *sarkaš*.  
*siā'sar* Sgl. p. 1 crow (?). — \*Prs.  
*sōst* Sgl. p. 2 lazy, *sōst* p. 1 soft. — *ama*  
*ādam fai aust-o* this man is very  
 lazy. — Prs. (< \**θrusta-*, cf. OE  
*prēotan* to tire, etc., etc.).  
*stīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *stīn* Sk., *ustun* Ishk.  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Yd. *\*stuno*; *ustun*  
 < Prs.  
*sī'tar*, v. *astār*.  
*saf'adn-may'zi* Sk. brain; *sutxān-may'ruk*  
 Gr. thigh. — \*Prs. Original meaning  
 'marrow'.  
*sav*, v. *tav*.  
*sōvō* Sgl. is., *°vō* p. 3, *sōvō* p. 1, s., *sōvō*  
 Zb., *sōvō* Sk. shoulder. — *mu sōvō-o*  
 it is on the shoulder. — Cf. Yd. *suvdo*.  
*su'vār* Sgl. p. 2 horseman. — Prs.  
*savz* Sgl. p. 1, *sōbz* Ishk., *sabz* Sk., Gr.  
 green. — Prs.  
*sav'za* Sgl. p. 1, *°z* p. 2, *sab'za* Ishk.  
 grass, lawn. — Prs.  
*saw*: *sawō* Sk. to rub; *sāmb* Gr. to  
 smear. — Cf. Prs. *sāwidan*, Yd. *sa*,  
 Wkh. *sūe*, and, with nasalization,  
 (Hjuler) *sāmon*, *sāym* to rub.  
*sart* Sgl. is. hard. — Prs.  
*'sāye* Sgl. is., *'sāya* p. 1, *sā'yē* p. 2, *'sōya*  
 Zb. shade, shadow. — Prs.  
*s'yd-ō'rāy* Sk. native candle made from  
 a plant with the same name. — \*Prs.  
*sū'yūk* Sgl. p. 3, *sū°* s., spleen. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *sik* < \**syāwya-ka-*; cf. se-  
 mantically Psht *tōrai*, Torwali *šam*  
 spleen (: the black entrail)?  
*'sēzda* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *°da* p. 3, *sīzdān* Zb.  
 thirteen. — Prs.

## Š

- š Sgl. pron. encl. 3 sg. — V. § 114.  
 — Prs.  
*š-*: *šō* Sgl. p., s., *šow*: *šōd* Sk., *šu*: *šud*  
 Ishk. to go, to become. — *az° šān*;  
*az° nī šām bō-š* 'mā na mērawam';  
*az-om šān(om)*; *az-om šōdō vedem*  
 'rafta būdem' Sgl. p. 1; *šām be, šōdem*  
 s.; *šān, šōd, šōdōk* p. 3; *šām, šūdum*,  
*šōduk* Ishk.; *šō(wu)m, šōdam, 'šōduk*,  
 inf. *'šōwūk* Sk. — *'na-šōwū* Sk. it  
 can't be done. — Cf. Yd. *šūi*.  
*šāb* Ishk., Sk., Gr. night. — Prs.  
*šā'brut* Sk. monstache. — Prs. *\*šāh burāt*  
 (contam. with Wkh *šapar*, etc.?).  
*šōšx* Sgl. is., p. 1 goat's hair. — Possibly  
 < \**šōšx*, cf. Yd. *širs*. V. § 72.  
*šfūn*, v. *āšfūn*.  
*šaf'tal* Sgl. p. 2 trefail. — Prs.  
*šaf'tolū* Sgl. is., Ishk. peach. — Prs.  
*šag'nam* Sgl. is., *šabnam* Ishk., Sk. dew.  
 — Cf. Prs. *šabnam*, Mj. *šak'lam*. V.  
*šak*.  
*šō'gār* Sgl. p. 2 plastering, *šōdgār*. — Prs.  
*šō'yoš* Sgl. is. jackal. — Prs.  
*šā'yor* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., "Wkh."  
 hedgehog. — Cf. Yd. *šā'yur*.  
*šak* Sgl. p. 2 dew(?), Gr. hoar-frost. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *šak, šak*, Sar. *šok* white-  
 frost, Tajiki *šaq* dew. — V. *šag'nam*.  
*šakk* Sk., *šak* Gr. bad, wicked. — *šakk-*  
*'wēndān* to hate. — Prs. *šaq'* blaming,  
 reproaching, viewing with an evil  
 eye? — Cf. Wkh. *šāk*.  
*šak* Sgl. p. 2 to rub, crush. — *šakem*  
*be-š* 'māšakam'. — Prs.  
*\*šōšō* Sgl. is., p. 2 cattle-shed. — < \**šō-*  
*kata-*, cf. Orm. *šān* (but not Oss.  
*šā't*)? — But Shgh. *šōš*, Bartangi *šōš*  
 cattle-shed < \**šrāda-*, cf. Prs. *sarāl*.

*šikam* Zb. belly. — *Prs.*  
*šharv*: *škūl* Sk. to seek. — *Cf.* Wkh.  
*škūr*, *Prs.* *škār* chase.  
*šikār bēš* Sk. willow.  
*škōv*: *škōv* Sk. to be cold, to catch a cold. — *Cf.* Wkh. *škāv*.  
*šal* Sk. lame. — *Prs.*  
*ša'la* Sk. spark. — *Ar.* *Prs.* *š'u'la* blaze, flash.  
*šal'yām* Sk., p. 2 turnip — *Prs.*  
*š'otok* Sgl. is., *štok* p. 1, *š'otuk* Sk., *šukluk* Gr. wet, damp. — < \*a *šusaka*, cf. *Skr.* *śuṣa-* dry and *a-śuṣka-* moist?  
*še'mok* Sgl. is., p. 1 resin, gum. — *Cf.* *Prs.* *šik(i)m* gum of a tree, *šalmak* n. of a medicine, prob. < N.W. *Prakrit* \**śillmha-*, cf. *Turner*, *Nep. Dict.*, s.vv. *liṣo*, *sep*. V. Wkh. *tiṣp*.  
*š'ilax* Sgl. is., p. 2 naked, needy. — to *š'o-šo* p. 2. — *Cf.* Yd. *š'fēr*.  
*šām* Sk. candle. — *Ar.* *Prs.*  
*šām* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *šōm* Sk., Zb. evening. — *Prs.*  
*šām* Sk. travel. — *Cf.* Av. *šyaoman-* work (*kiyav-* to go, move)?  
*ša'māl* Sgl. p., s., *šāl* Sk. wind; *š'u'māl* Sk. north. — *nēr* *š'o-š*; *š'o paidā šid* Sgl. p. 2. — *Ar.* *Prs.*  
*šam'šev* Sgl. p. 2 sword. — *Prs.*  
*šōn* encl. pron. 2 pl., v. § 114.  
*šōna* Zb. shoulder-blade. — *Prs.*  
*šōnōca'rē kōn* Sk. to bathe. — *Prs.*  
*šōnzdāu*, v. *šudāšōs*.  
*šāupa'rek* Ishk. bat. — *Prs.*  
*šūr* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. town. — *Prs.*  
*šēr* Sgl. p. 3 tiger, lion. — *Prs.*  
*šarm* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. shame. — *Prs.*  
*šūrm* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", *šūrn* Zar. horsedang. — < \**šānm* < \**šāmn*, Av. *kāman-*?  
*šūr'mūk bēš* Sk., *šurmok* Gr. a kind of willow.

*šarmin'da* Sk. ashamed. — *š'o na*, *šawi* fle, shame. — *Prs.*  
*š'rīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sweet. — *Prs.*  
*šurang-zārd* Sk. brown. — V. *šūi*.  
*šarā'rē* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *š'rā* Zb. waterfall. — *Prs.*  
*šer'wā* Sgl. p. 1, *š'r'wō* Sk. soup. — *Prs.*  
*šēt* Sgl. is., p. 3, *šāst* p. 2 sixty. — *Prs.*  
*kast-ig'git* Sgl. p. 2 thumb. — *Prs.* *Sgl.*  
*šlā* Ishk. looking glass. — *Prs.*  
*šō'le kōn* Sk. to make water. — *Prs.*  
*šāt* Sgl. p. 1, 3 honey. — *Ar.* *Prs.*  
*šot* Sgl. is., p. 1, *šit* p. 2, *šot* p. 3, *šet* s., *šof* Ishk., *šūt* Sk., *šit* Gr. dust, soil, earth. — *pō šof nūd* Ishk. sit down on the ground; *šot kōn* Sk. to bury; *š'r't-ān van kol* Sk. they [have] buried him. — *Cf.* Wkh. *šof*, *šet*, Shgh. *šit*.  
*šā'tūn* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *š'tu* Gr. ladder. — *Prs.* *tātū*, *Rad.* *šōtūn*, etc. < *Turki*.  
*š'tōn* Sgl. is., p. 1, *š'm* p. 3, *š'tōn* s., *šūtn* Gr., *šij* Sk. needle; Ishk. *š'tōn* thorn. — < \**šōn* < \**šucani*, cf. *Psht.* *štōn* < \**š(u)ōn*, cf. Yd. *šinja*. — *šij* < \**šuci-*. — *Cf.* Wkh. *šic*.  
*šaitān* Sk. Satan. — *Ar.* *Prs.*  
*š'tōnōk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *š'te* p. 3, *š'tu'nūk* Zb., *š'tu'nuk* Sk., Gr., *š'tō* Zar. newborn kid, *naudūdagi*. — *Cf.* *Par.* *š'ten(ūk)* < \**š'tānya-ka*.  
*š'tor* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *š'ar* p. 3, *š'tur* Sk., Gr., *š'tur* Gr. (Zb.), *š'tur* Zar. camel. — *Prs.* or genuine? *Cf.* Yd. *š'kr'vō*.  
*š'tur* Gr. calf. — *Cf.* Wkh. *š'tur*.  
*šō'ī pōšf* Sgl. p. 3, *š'pūd* p. 1 calf of the leg. — *Cf.* Shgh. *pura-i-gōšt* (< *Prs.*) id. *Psht.* *šat-garāi* ankle < \**šarāla-*?  
*šōv*, *šōvōk* Sgl. p. 2 weeding. — *az-ōm šōv(ōk)* *dri kenuk* I have weeded (*ami*



- kār az darūn-i zamīn mēkana* (II);  
*ṣeṣk šuān, kō š° xaldāš* *šān*.  
*ša'ol* Sk., *ša'wālak* Gr. trousers. — Prs.  
*šo'el* Ishk., *šō°* Sk., Gr. road. — <  
*\*šyaw*, cf. Phl.Ps. *šob'n* (*šovān*) roads?  
 But suffix?  
*jav'ād* Sk. bag. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) *šavzōd*,  
 Wkh. *xəuzrt*, cf. Prs. *šab-gaz* 'bag'.  
*šaw* : *šawod* Zar. to chew. — *\*šaw*?  
*šwēn* Gr., *šwēn* Gr., Zb. cradle. — <  
*\*šāubanya*?  
*šax*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. is., p. twig; *šax* Ishk., Sk.  
*šaxā* Zb., *šuk* Sk., Gr. branch. —  
 Prs. *šax(ā)*, Bartangi *xax'ak*.  
*šax*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 3, Zb., Ishk., *šax* Sk. horn.  
 — *ahūn wok šax da rōd* p. 3 the  
 stag had one horn. — Prs.  
*šox* Sgl. is., p., *šax* Zar. hard, locked. —  
*ēr šax-ōi* Sgl. p. 2; *ma lāham ē šax*  
*kōd mō kafās sūr* p. 3 he fastened  
 the food at the top of the cage. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *šok*, *šur*, Yd. *šax*.  
*šox* : *šox* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *šox* : *šox*  
 p. 2 to cross, to pass over; *šox* Gr.  
 (time) passed. — *šoxlān* 'guzāš'an'  
 is.; *šox*, *šox* be p. 3 'mēāyam,  
*mēgāram*'; *guzar-em be šoxlām*, *mō*  
*vēkēm šox* p. 2; *tar asmān šox* p. 3.  
 — Cf. Wkh. *šox*, Khw. lw. *šaxē*,  
*šax* < *\*šaxē*, from *sak* to pass  
 (the time).  
*šā'zōb* Sk. brook, rivulet. — Prs.  
*šaxa-ger* Sgl. p. 3 hill. — Cf. Prs. *šax*  
 mountain.  
*šau'fī* Sgl. is., p. 2, *šov'fī* p. 1, *šou'fī* p. 3,  
 s., *šū'fī* Zb. hip. — Cf. Wkh. *šau'fī*,  
*šū'fī*, Shgh. *šēje*, (*šhū'fī* Sk.), Or.  
*šāw'fī*. Prob. a Taj. word, *\*šufī* <  
*\*šufī*?  
*šūz* Sgl. p. 1, s. eagle, *kukāb*, *šūz* p. 3  
 black eagle, *šasōr*. — Cf. Yd. *šūz*.

## §

- šou* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *šow* p. 3 horn. —  
*\*šrāw*, cf. Wkh. *šou*, Yd. *šū*.  
*šūi* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *šū* Ishk. black, pupil of  
 the eye; *šū* Sk., Gr., *šūi* "Wkh."  
 black. — Cf. Wkh. *šū*, Khw. (lw.)  
*šā*. — < Av. *syāva*, but note *š*.  
*šoc* Sgl. is., p. 2, *šac* p. 3, *šac* Gr. female.  
 — Acc. to Hjuier Wkh. *šoc* is used  
 as a fem. suffix. — Cf. Yd. *šigo*.  
*šud* Gr. heard. — Prob. *\*šud*, cf. Shgh.  
*šud*.  
*šid* Sgl. is., *šōd* p. 2, 3, s. : *šid* is., p. 2, 3,  
*šin* : *šid* Ishk., *šid* : *šitt* Sk., : *šid*  
 Zar. to weep. — *šiden*, *šidēm* Sgl. is.,  
*šōden būš*; *šidum* p. 2, 3; *šinūm*; *šidum*,  
*um šid*, *šiduk* Ishk.; *šidum*, *šidum* Sk.  
*šēn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb. podex; p. 2 anus;  
 Ishk. hip; *šēn* Gr. podex; *šing* Sk.  
 hip. — *mō šēn kēnē-ef* p. 2 'mā turu  
*mēgāyam-ef*. — Cf. Yd. *šēn*, Shgh.  
*šūn*.  
*šōnā'i* Sgl. is., p. 1 light, fire; *šōnā'i*  
 p. 2, 3, *rōnā'i* s., *rōnā'i* Zb., Ishk. fire.  
*rōnē*, *rōnē* Sk. fire. *šōnā'i dō'hō* it  
 lightened; *va šōnā'i šan* p. 2 blow  
 out the fire; *mōn iŋ'gil mō šōnā'i tōd*  
 p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *rōnā'ig*, Khw.  
 (lw.) *rōnā'i*, Kab. Prs. *rūnā'i*. — Cf.  
*rūnā'i*.  
*šōš* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *šōš* p. 1, 2, *šrē* Zb.,  
 Sk. lung. — Prs.  
*šā'el* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *šā'rēi* Sk. shirt;  
*šā'el* Gr. woman's shirt. Prs. *šāh*.

## T

- tēu* Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother. —  
 Oss. *teu*, cf. Mj. s.v. *yūi*.  
*tu*, *tō* Sgl., *tō* Ishk. thou. — V. § 110.

*tūi* Sk. wedding. — *Prs.*  
*tablar'za* Sk., Gr. fever. — *Prs.*  
*tābi'stān* Sk. summer. — *Prs.*  
*to'bat* Sgl. is. down of birds. — *Cf.* *Mj.*  
*tobot.*  
*tuf* Sgl. p. 1, Sk. steam; Zar. foam. —  
*Prs.*  
*tuf* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *tōf* Sk., *tuf* Zar. saliva.  
 — *Prs.*  
*tūyd* Gr. he went, walked. — < \**taxta-*,  
*cf.* *Shgh.* *tūid.*  
*tā'yā* Sk. mother's brother. — *Kabuli*  
*Prs.* *tayā'i*, *Bad.* *taya.*  
*tēy(ə)m* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, 'lēyum Ishk., *tēym*  
 "Wkh.", Gr. grain, seed. — *tēym*  
*d(e)ān* p. 2 they sow. — *Cf.* *Yd.* *tuym.*  
*ta'hām* Sgl. p. 3 food. — *ta'hāma dēi!* —  
*Ar-Prs.*  
*tāke* Sgl. p. 3 alone. — *pād'sā t° f°rind*  
 'pād'sā yak tāke mānd'. — *Cf.* *Prs.*  
*taka* a single volume, *Yd.* *toko.*  
*ta'ke* Sgl. p. 3 male kid, one year old.  
 — *Prs.*  
*tuk'mā* Sk. button. — *Turki.*  
*tok-sa'ri* Ishk. pillow. — *Or.* *taksa'rā;*  
*cf.* *Par.* *taiśō'ri*, *Madagl.* *toi-i-seri* +  
*Prs.* *takiya.*  
*takat* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) endurance. —  
*ovzui t° nās kōd 'dīl-i t° na kard'.*  
 — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tāl* Sgl. p. 2 cooking-pot. — *Cf.* *Yd.* *tāl.*  
*tī'lā* Sgl. is., p., *tī'lā* Sk. gold. — *Prs.*  
*tūl:* *tūld* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., : *tūd* Gr.  
*(Zb.)* to shave. — *'tūlin*, *'tūldm* Sgl.  
 p. 1, *f'ūlum*, *f'ūldum* Ishk. — *Cf.*  
*Yd.* *tūz.*  
*telf* Sgl. p. 3 child, *bača-i maida.* — *Ar-*  
*Prs.* *tīfl.*  
*to'lap* Sgl. p. 2, *ta'lap:* *talapt* Sk. to  
 wish, seek. — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tal'pak* Sk., Gr. tur cap. — *Turki.*

*talx* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. bitter. — *Prs.*  
*tamba* Sgl. p. 3 to thee? — *In wok t° astēen*  
 'yak tara raedn mēkenim'.  
*tamox*, °ox Sgl., Ishk. you. V. § 110.  
*ta'mūz* Sgl. p. 3 autumn. — *Ar-Prs.*  
*tan* Sgl. p. 2 person. — *cōmnd tan-ān*  
*ma tamox xān? ma miē xān rōi*  
*tan-ān.* — *Prs.*  
*ta'na* Sk. body. — *Prs.*  
*tand* Sgl. p. 2 steep. — *Prs.*  
*tandur* Sk. thunder. — *Prs.*  
*tang* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Sk. narrow. — *Prs.*  
*tan'k* Sk., *tanuk* Gr. thin, narrow. —  
*Prob.* genuine.  
*tar* Ishk. wet, moist. — *Prs.*  
*tar* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr. through, among-t,  
*in(to), to.* — *parenda tar hawā arazō*  
*the bird flew through the air; wok*  
*ēze tar mōnc[n] hō-ēi 'yak ēzi ba*  
*dīl-i māst'; tax'sim kenān tar xān*  
*p. 2 they divide amongst themselves.*  
 — *Cf.* *Yd.* *tro.* V. § 107.  
*tir* Ishk. roof-beam; Sk. arrow. — *Prs.*  
 \**tor:* *torō* Sgl. p. 2 to fart. — *torōm*  
 'gūz kardam'. *Cf.* *torō bā[d] dyem*  
 Sgl. s. id.  
*tar'bo:* Sgl. p. 2, *tār'būz* Sk. water-melon.  
 — *Prs.*  
*torf:* *torft* Sk., *tōrf-* Zar. to steal. —  
*Cf.* *Yd.* *tōrf.*  
*'torik* Zb., 'tā° Ishk., Sk., °rik Sk.  
 dark(ness). — *Prs.*  
*tur'ki* Sgl. is., p. 1 darkness. — \**turk*  
 dark (*cf.* *Yd.* *tiro*) + *Prs.* -i.  
*tira'mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2; *tira'mā* Ishk.,  
 'ti° Sk. autumn. — *t° k' šīš, cō kū*  
*yūzō xāšm.* — *Prs.*  
*t°rās-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to fear. — *trāsēn ke*  
*fōrnisen be p. 2 I am afraid to lose*  
*it.* *Cf.* the foll. word:  
*trōs* Ishk., *Prōs* Sk., *trās* Gr. fear. —



- t° kenum, t°-um kul* Ishk., *t° kən-* Sk. I fear; *t° 'dégum* Sk. I frighten. — < *tars?* But cf. Sar. *intrás-* to shy, etc.
- trīš-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to sneeze. — *trīšəm* *boš*, pf. *trīšūk* 'axse mēzanad' (pres. I). — Cf. Wkh. *ītrūf*, Yd. *īrf*, etc.
- trēš* Sgl. is, *trēš* p. 1, *trūs* Ishk., *trūs* Zar. sour; *trūs* Gr. bitter. — Prs.
- trōšp* Sk. sour milk. — Cf. Yd. *trīšp*.
- trā'zē* Sk. scales. — Prs.
- teske* Sgl. p. 3 — ? — Cf. Texts V, 72.
- tas'mā* Sk. a strap. — Prs.
- tā-i-sar* Ishk. top of the head. — Cf. Mj. *tā-i sar*. Prs.
- toš kən-* Sk. to empty out. — Cf. Wkh. *toš*; EVP., s.v. *toš*; Nyberg, *Studia Indo. Ir.*, 214.
- tošna* Sgl. is., *°ē* p. 1, *tašna* Ishk., *taxm* Sk. thirsty. — *tošna*, etc. < Prs. Reg. *taxm* (also in Wkh.), v. s.v. Wkh. *taš*.
- tēša* Sgl. is., *°īšē* p. 1, 3, *°ša* Ishk. adze. — Prs.
- tāt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *toš* Ishk., Gr., *tā(f)* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) father. — *mič tāt xān*; *tāte* *xē māl taxsīm koš*; *xē tā be yēšōš* he said it to his father. — Cf. Yd. *tāt*, etc.
- tūt* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., Sk. mulberry (tree). — Prs.
- tūtī* Sgl. p. parrot. — Prs.
- tūt-pāt* Sgl. p. 2 mulberry-flour, *talkān*. — Prs. V. *put*.
- tav* Sgl. p. 2 fever. — Prs.
- tā'vē* Sgl. p. 2 griddle. — Prs.
- trē-: tōš* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *ted* Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh." *thēd*, *sav-: sōd* Ishk., *sav-: sūd* Sk., Zar. to burn (intr.); *shē-: sūd* Sk. to burn (tr.). — *trōšī* Sgl., *savū* Ishk. it burns; *mān iggūt mō šonāī tōš* p. 1

- my finger was burnt in the fire. — Cf. Shgh., Wkh. *ōšē*, Khwarizm. *ō'w*, etc. V. § 37.
- to'vūr* Sgl. is, p. 1, 3, Zb., *tu'vūr* Sk., Gr. axe. — *va durk t° māida kenen* p. 2; *š'rēd kuš pe t'ovor* p. 3. — Prs.
- tāve'stān* Sgl. is, p., *tōvō'stōn* Zb., *tābī'stān* Ishk. summer. — Prs.
- tax'marg* Zb., *tāxmur* Sk. egg. — Prs.
- tāxm-i-mury*, cf. Wkh. *tāxmory*, etc.
- tax-rū* Sgl. p. 3 plank. V. Texts V, 14. Prs. *\*taxt-rū*.
- tax'sīm* Sgl. p. 2 dividing. — *va māl t° kel* — Ar.-Prs.
- taxt* Sk. curtain. — Prs.
- taxta* Sgl. p. 1 roof-board, p. 3 plank. — *taxta-pāre rū* p. 3 on a piece of plank 'rū-i taxta-pāra'. — Prs.
- tax'tā* Sgl. p. 3 steam(?). — Cf. Yd. *tax*.
- ta'yāk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *tāy* Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*. Cf.:
- tiya-xa'rak* Sgl. is. donkey's foal.
- tēz* Sgl. is, p., Ishk., Sk. sharp. — *tēz kən-* Sk. to sharpen, whet. — Prs.

## V

- va* a particle denoting the accusative. V. § 104.
- vōv'rim*, v. *vōv'rin*.
- vī-dī'ok* Sgl. p. 2 irrigation, watering, *xākāva*. — *v° kenān*. — V. *rēk*.
- vōš* Sgl., *vūd* Ishk., *vōš* Sk. was. — Cf. § 125.
- vā'yd* Sk., *vā'yd* Gr. nightmare. — Cf. Wkh. *vā'yd*, Sar., Or. *vōid* < Av. *baxta* fate, misfortune.
- vē(k)* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., Gr. water. — *vēki diān* = *vī-dī'ok kenān* (q.v.); *warfō vē šurōi* the snow melts; *vē mō plālo nūšen* Sgl. p. 2; *vē pavdam*; *vēk*

*xənuḱ-ē*, *daryāo yəx-o kuḱ* p. 3 the water is cold and the river is frozen; *arāz mā vēk* is. fly into the water. — From a purely phonetic point of view \**āpāk(i)ya* seems to be the most satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Orm. *wek*, with loss of *ā*.

*vō'koṣṭin* Sgl. p. 1 day before yesterday.

*vən* Sgl. p. 2. — V. Texts III, 2.

*vīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., *vīn* Sgl. s., p. 3, *vanū* "Wkh." beard. — Cf. Shgh. *bān* < \**upā(ha)na*, cf. Gr. *ὑπὸν* (v. NTS, VII, 120; cf. Kretschmer, Glotta, 18, 204; 22, 246; Pisani, Misc. Etym., 107).

*vānd*: *vāst* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *vōnd*: *vāst* Ishk., *vund*: *vust* Sk. to bind, tie. — *vānden* Sgl. p. 1, *vem* s., *vōndum* Ishk.; pret. *vāst*; pf. *vāsto-mō-i* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *vād*.

*vōnd* Sgl. is., p. 2 stick.

*vōr* Sgl. p., *var* Zb., Ishk., Sk., *vōr* "Wkh." door. — *vōr kōx (hāf)-ōi* p. 2 the door is closed (open). — Cf. Yd. *Pvor*.

*vūr* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. burden. — *vūr kenēn* p. 3 I load. — Cf. Yd. *vīra*, Wkh. *vūr*.

*vriē* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *vriē* p. 3, Sk., *vriē* Zar., *vō'cēr* (!) "Wkh." eyebrow. — \**brūci*, cf. Yd. *vriyo*.

*v'rūd* Sgl., *v'rū* Ishk., *verūd*, *veru* Sk., *v(r)ūd* Gr., Zar. brother. — Pl. *vrūdār*: *m' amīc xān hōvō vrūdār-ān* p. 2; *am xān mā v'rūdaren* is. this house belongs to me and my brothers; *am xān mām v'rūden-ē* p. 2 this house is my brother's. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.

*vrūdāc* Sgl. is., p. 1, *vrū'hāc* Sk., *v'rūdār-kuē* "Wkh." brother's wife.

*v'rōk* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., *veruk* Sk., *verok* Gr., *verāk* Gr. (Zb.) horse. — *am v'rō*

*mām v'rūden-ē* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vār'j*, Or. *vōrj*, Yazgh. *'varāk* < \**bāraka*.

*'vōrok* Sgl. p. 2 window. — Cf. *vōr*.

*vrēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.: *v'rēt* p. 1, 3, *vrt* s.; *vōlēl*: *vōlēd* Ishk., *vrānd*: *vrēt* Sk., *vrēl*: *v'rūt* Zar. to break. — *psā vrēlen* Sgl. p. 1; *vrandum*, *vratum*, *vrēt*, *vratham*, *vrutuk*, *vrānduk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. *v'rāz*, Yd. *vri*. — Reg. *vōlēl* v. § 74. *vrānd* has been influenced by \**škand* (Wkh. *škandiv*). *vrōn*: *vrōnd* Sk. to scold. — Cf. Wkh. *vārand*.

*vr'vēs* Sgl. is., p., *vēs* s., *ur'vēs* Zb., *'vū* Ishk., *'urvēs* Sk., *uricus* Gr. barley. — *vrēs sōr-xān-ō* Sgl. p. 2. — < \**rpasiya*? Cf. Yd. *yaršio*.

*vr'vēs* Sgl. is., s., *vō* p. 3, *vr'vēs* p. 1, *vr* Zb., *vrweist* Ishk., *'urvēs(ak)* Sk., Gr., *vr'vēsdk* Zar., *vr'vēs* "Wkh." fox. — < *rūvēs* < \**raupāsya*, v. § 88. Cf. Yd. *rūso*.

*v'rāz* Sgl. is., p. 2; *vr'vāz* Sk. above; *vrōz* Sk. up, *vrāz* Gr. (Zb.) high, tall, up; *vrāz* Gr. a mountain height. — *vō v'fāk v'rāz-mō* Sgl. p. 2 I am above you. — Cf. Khw. (lw.) *vārz* above (v. BSOS, VIII, p. 664), Ingush (lw.) *barz* tumulus < Av. *barzah-*? But note Or. *vr'vāz* hillside = Prs. *farāz-kah* (Lentz); (Zangana Kurd. *vr'vāz* high < \**abī-rāza-*?).

*vrūzōman* Sgl. is., p. 2 nephew. — V. *vrūd*.

*v'sīn* Sgl. is., *vasīn* Gr. whetstone, *ausdn*. — Cf. Yd. *'afsino*.

*vīs* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Gr., *vīs* Gr. (Zb.) below; *vīst* Sk. floor, ground. — *vō mām vīs 'az tā-i mā*: *vō mēt vīs* p. 2 under the table; *vō kafas bīs* (!) under the



- cage; *ce viš* from below; *ce āsmān* *xarō me viš* p. 3 descended from heaven. — V. *baṣalviš*, *pālviš*, *kašviš*.  
*vīš* Sk., *viš* Gr. bed.  
*vōš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *vūš* Gr. rope. — \**bastra*, cf. Shgh. *vāš*, Psht. *wāš*; Prs. dial. *baš* bandage.  
*vaz* Sgl., *vuz* Ishk., Gr., *vš* Sk. goat; Sgl. is. also female markhor. — *wok* *vaz-əm wēnd* p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vaz*, Mj. *vaza*.  
*vōzd* Zar. pillow. — Cf. Yd. *virzanē*.  
*vōzōk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 branch.  
*vōzōk* Sgl. is. fat, *vzōk* Sk. thick. — Cf. Sar. *divēz*, Yazgh. *dōvūz*, Wkh. *baj*(?) < \**diwas*-, cf. Yd. s.v. *livzin*.  
*vōšdūk* Sgl. p., Ishk., *vzōdūk* Sgl. is., *wūšdūk* Sk. long; Ishk. (and Gr. *wūšduk*) high. — Cf. Wkh. *vōrz*, Shgh. *vūš*, Psht. *ūšd* < *borozant*.  
*vūžēr* Sk., *vajer* Gr. (early) evening. — Cf. Ishk. *vajēr* day before yesterday, v. *wōcōrin*. — Scarcely from *uz-ayar*, cf. Yd. *uziro*.

## W

- wai* Sgl. oh. — *wa xē kūē!* oh, my wife. — Prs.  
*wa*, dem. pron., v. §§ 115, sqq.  
*wū-bō* Sk. thither. — A dative form. Cf. *wōd*.  
*wuc*: *wucud* Gr. to find room. — Cf. Mj. *wūj*, Yazgh. *wiž*.  
*wōcōrin* Sgl. p. 1 yesterday, p. 2 day before yesterday, *wōcōrim* is. three days ago, hence; *wōjēr* Ishk. day before yesterday. — The correct meaning prob. is the one given by Sgl. is., the true word for 'yesterday' being Sgl. *pāruzd* (and Ishk. *karēr*?), and for 'the day before yesterday' Sgl. *vōkōlin*. If that is the case, *wōcōrin/m* may be derived from \**upa-čāru* + *in/m*, cf. *porōtin*, and Shgh. *vēder* < \**upa-turya*. V. *vūžēr*.  
*wūc* Zar. up. — Cf. Wkh. *wūc* < *wūcā*.  
*wāda* Sgl. p. 3 marriage, marriageable age. — *po wō hit telf* 'ba wāda rasid'. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wōd* Ishk. willow. — Cf. Yd. *wiya*.  
*wūd*: *wēt* Sk. to put. — Cf. Yd. *wul*.  
*wōd*, *wōda(k)* Sgl. p. 2, *wōdok* p. 3, *wōdak* Ishk., Sk., *wāk* Sk., *wōda* Gr. (Zb.) there. — *ce wōd šid* he went from there; *mo wōd šid* he went there; *wōdak oyođast*, *wōda (h)ast* Sgl. p. 2; *oyođ mo wōdok* p. 3; *wōdak xōn tin-ō*, *wō ti xōn* Ishk. Av. *avađa*.  
*wūdōyō* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *ōyō* p. 2, *ōyō* p. 3, *ōyōd* Ishk., *wōdūyō* Sk., *uđōyō* Gr., *widōyō* Zar. daughter. — *mūm-buci'nā-i wōdūyō* Sk. female cousin (: my uncle's daughter). — Cf. Yd. *luydo*. Reg. *wu*- cf. § 92.  
*wū'dr* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *wū'deš* p. 3 (and *wū'dhēl* 'kūh' for 'gūh'?), *wū'deš* Zar. goat's dung, manure, *pošk*, *pārūb*; *wū'dr* Ishk. cow-dung. — *pasi naurōz* *wō xāšān* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *pāskedrī*.  
*wū'dit* Sgl., *ōid* Zar. span from thumb to little finger. — Cf. Yd. *wūlēyo*; "Wkh." *wūlēt*.  
*wah* Sk. bad smell.  
*wājāb* Ishk., *ōab* Gr. span from thumb to little finger. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wōjēr*, cf. *vūžēr*, *wōcōrin*.  
*wōk* Sgl. is., Zb., Ishk., Gr., *wōk* Sgl. p., *wōk* Sk., *wūk* Zar. one. — *wōk kitāv*; *pasa wōk nesi lahoi* the flies didn't leave one. — Cf. Yazgh. *wug*. V. § 87.

*wō'ki* Sgl. p. 2 'yaki'. — *w° w° zamin kul-son baxi kenen* I give all of them one field each.

*wō'kdk* Sgl. p. 2 a little. — *miē tāt xān w° kalān-ū* our father's house is a little bigger, 'yaktāš kalāntar-a'.

*wō'lāt* Sgl. p. 2, 'wulo Ishk., wulo Gr. (Zb.) before, in front of, formerly; 'lō, wlo Sk. forwards. — *azi w° ʔzd* Ishk. I ran in front; *w° ʔwondok-əm* *ʔd, psāt-əm sēr kōd* formerly I was hungry, now I have become satisfied.

*wālē* Sgl. p. 3, Ishk. rafter. — V. *wāʔ*?).

*wō'lākt* Sgl. p. 2 first (adv.). — *am 'ādam w° o'ʔd* this man came first. — V. *wō'lāt*.

*wō'l'mēk* Sgl. is., s., 'lk p., 'ē "Wkh.", *ilmēk* Gr. (Zb.), *duimik* MFB (with ʔ instead of ʔ). — \**uximāhyaka*, cf. Yd. *imoyo*.

*wō'lyka* Sgl. p. 2 alone. — *az w° mō*.

*wō'lāt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 village. — Ar.-Pra., cf. Khw. (O'Brien) *wāl'lāt* village, cultivation.

*wō'l'vōš* Sgl. p. 1, 'wulvūs Gr., *vālvās* MFB trouser-string. V. *wāʔ*?) and *vōš*; cf. Yd. *warwaden*.

*wāʔ*?) Sgl. is., *wāl* p. 1, 2, *wōʔ* Zar., var MFB trousers. Cf. Yd. *woyo* (prob. an ancient pl.).

*wāʔ*?) Sgl. is., p., *wōʔ* "Wkh." roof-beam. — Cf. Yd. *wāy*.

*wō'k* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wō°* p. 2, s., *wō°* p. 3, *wō°* "Wkh.", *wō'k* Zb. kidney. — Cf. Yd. *wō'ya*, Wkh. *walkk*.

*wō'ʔok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wō'uk* Ishk., *u°* Gr., (*u°* *lu/dk* Sk., *wō'uk* Zar. flour. — \**ārtaka*, cf. Yd. *yārē*.

*wō'ʔex* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wō°* p. 2, *wō'lex* "Wkh.", *u'lex* Sk., *ulex* Gr. rib. — V. *ā'lex* hill; cf. Yd. *alixa* rib;

N.W. Ir. Turf. "rg side, Psht. *arax* side, Georg. *alagi* direction (lw.).

*wān*, v. *wā*.

*wōn* Sgl. is.: *wōnd* is., p. 2, *wōn* s., Sk.: *wōnd* s., p. 1, 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., *wōn*: *wōnt* Zar., *rīn*: *vīnd* Gr. (Zb.) to see. — *nō wō'nō-š* Sgl. is. he doesn't see him; *wōndom-on* is. I saw them; *az-əm wōnt*, *wōndum*, *amax wa-ʔak wōndan* p. 1; *wōnd-əm wa-ʔak*, *xōdm-əm wōnduk* p. 2; *wōnem*, *wōndəm*, *xōdm-om wōnt* s.; *wōndum*, *azi fak wōnduk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *wōn*, Shgh. *wōn*: *wōnt*.

*wōn* Sgl., Gr., Sk., *wōn* Zb., Ishk., Zar., *wān* "Wkh." blood. — *wōn be zīdū* blood flows; *wōn zōnē* wash off the blood; *wōn-i zūwōi* he is bleeding(?). — Cf. Yd. *ino*.

*wānīc* Sgl. is., p. 2 female calf, two years old, *turptk* (cf. Par. *tōrpt*), *fəyōmē*; *wānīc* p. 3 heifer, three years old; *wānīc* Gr. fem. calf; *wō°* Sk. heifer. — < \**yurānīc*. — Cf. E.Oss. *wānīg*, W.Oss. *īconug* young bull < \**y(u)wān*. *wānī* Sk., Gr. (Zb.), *wānī* Gr. cloak, coat. — Av. *warōnā* name of a part of the dress.

*wōnt* Ishk. calf of the leg.

*wō'nīš*: *wō'nīšt* Sgl. p. 2, *wō'nīš*: *wō'nīšd* p. 3, s., *wō'nīy*: *wō'nīyd* is. to go round, walk about. — *wō'nīy*, is 'bayard, biā' is.; *cō wōš wō'nīšt* p. 2 they returned from there; *psā be wō'nīžəm* 'mēgardam', *wō'nīžəm be*, *wō'nīždəm* p. 3. — Apparently from \**wi-našy*?. Cf. Shgh. *nēš*, \**nāš* (Sk.) to turn; *nōš* (ABO) to wander about??

*wē'rē* Sgl. p. 3 gums. — Bad. Pra. *wē'rā*, cf. EYP. s.v. *ōraī*. Cf. also Skr. *velā* gums.



- wōre* Gr., Zar. quail. — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*.  
*wur'cūn* Sgl. is., p. 1 (<sup>o</sup> is.?) smoke-hole.  
 — Cf. Yd. *rūlen*, Wkh. *ricq*. V. § 88.  
*warf* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., "Wkh." *v°* Gr.  
 snow. — *warfə dehō* it snows; *w° vē*  
*šmēdi* Sgl. p. 2 the snow melts; *d'ax-*  
*nā-i warf* Sk. snow of the hills. —  
 Cf. Yd. *warfo*.  
*wōrəfs:* *wōrəft* Sk. to stand. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wurəfs*, Mj. *wurəfs*. See EYP. s.v.  
*riyawdōl*, and Bailey, Or. Stud. Pavry,  
 p. 22.  
*'wērak* Sgl. p. 2, *wē'rāk* p. 3 female lamb.  
 — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*.  
*wō'rok* Sgl. is., Zb., *wa'rāk* Sgl. p. 2, *wō°*  
 p. 3, *'waruk* Ishk., Gr., Zar. *u'ruk*  
 Sk. male lamb. — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*,  
 "Wkh." *warl*.  
*wōrk* Sgl. is., *wōrk* p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk.,  
 "Wkh.", Zar., *urk* Sk., Gr. wolf. —  
 Cf. Bur. (lw.) *urk*, Yd. *wury*.  
*wō'rokok* Sgl. is. demin. of *wō'rok*.  
*wur'mēk* Sgl. is., *°ik* p. 1, *wō'mēk* p. 3  
 poplar.  
*wārv-* Sgl. p. 3, *wōrv-* Zar. to boil (tr.).  
 — *va rēk wārv-*. — Cf. Mj. *wurv-*,  
 Par. *yārv-*, etc.  
*wa'sē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 wide. — Cf. Yd.  
*wosa*.  
*wōsi* Zar., *rāse* Gr. cotton thread. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *wōsi*, Yd. *wōsi* (?).  
*wus:* *wud* Sk. to carry; *uss:* *wud* Gr.,  
*wūs-*, *wūd-* Zar. to take, lead away.  
 — *wusum*, *wus*, *wudum*, *wuduk*,  
*wusuk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *is*.  
*wō'sōk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *wa°* p. 2 calf, up to  
 one y. old, *naušudagl*; *wa'sōk* p. 1, s.,  
*ed'suk* Sk., *'wa°* Ishk. calf. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *wōk*.  
*wu'sūk* Sgl. is., "Wkh.", *u'suk* Sgl. p. 2, 3  
 elbow.

- wōst* Sgl., *wāst* "Wkh." fat, tallow. —  
 Cf. Yd. *wāzd*, Sar. *wāst*.  
*'wastuk*, v. *ostok*.  
*wōšō* Sgl. p. 2. — *w° nōd* 'unjā bišm'.  
 — < *wōš* + *jā*.  
*wōst* Sgl., Gr. (Zb.), *bist* Zb., Ishk.,  
 Sk. twenty. — V. § 24. Cf. Yd.  
*wišto*.  
*wōš* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *šš* Sgl. p. 2, 3,  
*uš* Sk., *wuš* Zar., *uš* Gr. straw, *kāh-i*  
*safed*. — Cf. Yd. *wuš*.  
*wōšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *wōst* "Wkh."  
 juniper, arca. — \**happsi-tā* (cf. Yd.  
*yocurso*) might result in \**wōšt*, but  
 why *-tā*, and why Sgl. *wōst*? Kati  
*'wišt* may be a lw. from Ir.  
*wōtuk* Sgl. p. 2, *wōtik* Gr. feast, *tūi*. —  
*nēr-mō wōtuk*, to-day I am feasting (?);  
*wōtuka gāxān*. — < \**wōdk* < \**wōduka*,  
 cf. Yd. *waly?*  
*wōtan* Sgl. p. 2 country. — *dīr w°* ba  
*šid*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wu'ter* Sgl. p. 3, *°er* s., *'wusir* Ishk., *'u°*  
 Zb., *u'sur* Sk., Gr., *wu°* Zar. ashes.  
 — \**ādārya*, cf. Or. *ādir*, Shgh. *dir*,  
 Saka *āhāra*. V. §§ 37, 91.  
*wēz* Sgl. is., p., Zb., Ishk., Sk., Zar. root;  
*wēz* Gr. twig. — Cf. Yd. *wōzo*.  
*wōz* Sk. 'the earth, a planet' (?).  
*wōz* Sgl., *wuz* Sk., *wōz* Gr., *wuz*  
 "Wkh." snake. — Cf. Wkh. *fūks*,  
 Shgh. *de'vūsk*, Or. *t(u)fausk*, Sar.  
*tafūsk*, Yazgh. *de'γōre*.  
*waxt* Sgl. is., *waqt* Sk. time. — *mō w° i*  
*qadīm*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*waz-* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk.: *wāt* Sgl. p. 1, 3,  
*wāf-* Ishk. to fall. — *wa'zen*, *az-om*  
*wāt* Sgl. p. 1; *wāzm* p. 3; *ari sō wāzum*  
 Ishk. 'mēyaltum', *wāfum* I fell. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *waz*, Shgh. *wāš-* (from  
 pret. *wēšt*), Paht. *wātōl*.

*waʔ'min* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. heavy. — Prs.

*wuʔ'injak* Sgl. is., s., *wuʔ*° p. 3 wife; *wuʔ'injak* Gr. (Zb.) woman. — *w*° *zomanok* oʻyod mə dər-i Sgl. p. 3 his wife became pregnant. — Reg. z-j < j-j v. § 75. Cf. *jönj*.

*wüznuḱ* Zar. inflated goat-skin, mussuck. — Cf. Wkh. *yām*, Yd. *izē*.

*'wuz'nel* Sgl., *wuz'nel* Ishk., "Wkh."; *uznuḱ* Gr., *wu*° Zar. daughter-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *znuḱ*.

*waʔ'zir* Sgl. p. 3 minister. — Prs.

*woʔ'dān* Sgl. p. 3 back-tooth.

*wuʔ'āfir* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wuʔ'irzir* s., *wuʔ'erzir* "Wkh.", *ujirj* Gr. partridge, *kauk*. — Cf. Yd. *forfo*.

*wuʔ'dān* Sgl. p. 1, °den p. 3, *wuʔ'den* s., *wuʔ'dān* is., *wuʔ'den* "Wkh.", 'ādan Zb., *wuʔ'din* Ishk., 'ādan Sk., *wuʔ'den* Zar. millet. — < \**(h)drzana*-, cf. Yd. *yurzan*.

## X

*xē* Sgl. p., Ishk., Gr. own. — *xē dōst* Sgl. p. 1 his own hand; *šūān xē xān* p. 2 'buran xōna-i xud'; *wa xē kuē* oh, my wife; *xē māl taxsim kuē* he divided his own goods. — < *huahya*? Cf. § 118. But Gr. *xadak* (I my)self.

*xāb* Sk. sleep. — Prs.

*xūb* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. good, well, quite. — *xūb ādam-ā*; *čiziā-i xūb* p. 3 good things; *xūb rōst durk-ā* it is a quite straight stick. — Prs.

*šēb*: *šēbt* Sk. to bent. — Cf. Wkh. *šēb*.

*xēč* Sgl. p. 3 inflated skin, *maška*. — Prs. *xikča*.

*xōdā* Sgl. p. 3, *xu'dō* Sk., °dā Gr. God. — *xōdā az-mō* 'xudā mā astim'. — Prs.

*xōdm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xōdm* p. 2, s. dream. — *mo xōdm wēnd* p. 3 he saw in a dream; *xōdm-um wēnt* s. — Cf. Yd. *xūbon*.

*xu'dāri* Sgl. is., *xō*° p. 1, 2, s., *xu'dōri* Zb., *xo*° Ishk., *xu'dāri* Sk., *xudāri* Gr., °ōri Zar. water-mill. — *xōdāri yūyuk* Sgl. p. 2 to grind in the mill. — Cf. Yd. *xīryo*.

*xāfa* Sk. anger. — Ar-Prs.

*xof* Sgl. p. 3, s. to cough. — *xofom baš*. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xōf* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *xaf* Zb., *xafuk* Gr. scum, foam. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xōfuk* Sgl., *xōfuk* Sk., *xā*° Gr., *xuf* Zar. cough. — *xō-o noḱok* 'silfa giriftast'. — V. *xof*.

*xūg* Sgl. is., Gr., *xūk* Sk. wild boar. — Prs.

*xāk* Sk. tomb. — Prs.

*xāke'stār* Sgl. is., *xāki*° p. 1, 2 ashes. — Prs.

*xālī* Sgl. p. 2 empty. — Ar-Prs.

*'xōlēk* Sgl. p. 1, *xu'lāk* Sk. maternal uncle; *xuḱuk* Gr. paternal uncle. — Kab., Baḱ. Prs. *xāla* maternal uncle, Ar-Prs. *xālū*.

*xōlm* Sgl. p. 1, 3 mucus from the nose. — Prs.

*xā'lās* Sgl. p. 2 finished. — *baš,xō/* *šōwōk xō stān* the weeding was finished. — Ar-Prs.

*xuāf* Sgl. is., s., *xo*° p. 1, 2, *xoḱ* Ishk., *xōl* Zb., Sk., Gr., *xāl* Gr. (Zb.), *xōār* MFB, *xūl* Zar. six. — < \**xwaka*-. V. § 55.

*xuāfēdos* Sgl. is., *xuāfēdos* p. 1, 2, °ados s., *xuāfēdos* p. 3 (*šōnsdān* Zb.) sixteen.

*xām* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xōm* Zar. raw. — Prs.

*xōm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xom* p. 1, s., Ishk., *xum* Gr., "Wkh.", *xq* Sk. milk. — Cf.



Prs. *šama* milk which flows spontaneously from the udder. But Sgl. *x* = Prs. *š* is only possible, if < *xš*. — Possibly ancient lw. from Prs. *xām*, cf. Afgh.-Prs. *hr-i-xām* 'fresh milk'.  
*xā'məṇḍək* Sgl. p. 2 tick. — Cf. Kab. Prs. *xamandūk* beetle, wood-louse (Bogdanov, JASB, NS, 26, 118).  
*xān*, *xā* Sgl. is., p., *xān* Ishk., Gr., Sk., "Wkh."; *xānadr* Sk. house. — *ma mān xān*, *ō tō xān* Sgl. p. 1; *tar xā* p. 2 among the houses, families, *rū-i xāna*; *amfn xān mun-ō* Ishk. — Prs. *xān(a)*.  
*xān-bərš* Sgl. p. 2 corner of a house. — Prs. \**xān-burj*.  
*xānd-* Sgl. p. 2, *xānd* Ishk., Zar., *xānd-*; *xānd* Sk. to laugh. — *xāndum buš* 'mēxāndam'; *paād ba xānden* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *xōnd*.  
*xīng* Sk. bluish grey. — Prs.  
*xīnj* Sk. whey.  
*xan'jar* Sk. dagger. — Prs.  
*'xənək* Sgl., Zb., *x(ə)nək* Sk. cold. — *tək xənuk-ō* p. 2; *'nēr fai 'xənək* Sk. — Prs.  
*xap* Sk. silence. — Prs.  
*xair* Gr. sweat. — = \**xēd*? Cf. Yd. *xūl*.  
*xīr* Zar. sister's son. — Cf. Mj. *xurī*.  
*xēr* Sgl. is., p., *xur* Ishk., Sk., Gr. *xor* Zb. ass. — Cf. Yd. *xoro*.  
*xūr*: *xōrīd* Sgl. p. 2, *xur* p. 3 to scratch oneself. — *xurum buš* p. 3, *xōrīdōm* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *xāridan*.  
*xarābē* Sgl. is., *ōāb* p. 2 lean. — Ar.-Prs. *xarābē* Sgl. p. 2, *ōbū'za* Sk. melon. — Prs.  
*xarē* Sgl. p. 2 expenditure. — *xarš xāstān*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xū'rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.

*xōr'mōn* Sgl. p. 2, *'xūrman* Sk. threshing-ground. — *x<sup>o</sup> xūgen* p. 2 'čuyul mīkum'; *xōrmō xūyūk*. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.  
*xarn* Sgl. p. 1, *xər'n* p. 3, *xern* s., *kurni* Gr. raven, *xdy*. — Cf. Yd. *xun*.  
*xər'n* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xər'n* s., *xərīd* is., p. 2, s. to buy. — Cf. Yd. *xō'n*.  
*xars*, Sgl. is., *xirs* p. 1, s., *xars* p. 3, *xars* Sk., *xurs* Gr., Zar. bear. — Prs.  
*xō'rūs* Sgl., *xū<sup>o</sup>* Sk., *xō'rūs* Ishk. cock. — *x<sup>o</sup> bōg kenōi* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.  
*'xeršeg* Sgl. p. 1 n. of an animal, smaller than a wolf, red and blue(?), with long tail and snout. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rūso*.  
*xarac* Sk. mountain-brook, *x<sup>o</sup> tək* ravine water; *xaraw* Gr. gorge with a stream. — Prs. *xarāba* a small stream.  
*xu'rūš* Sgl. p. 3 itching. — Cf. Prs. *xāriš*, v. *xūr*.  
*xarī'gār* Sgl. p. 2 custom-official. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xō'sor* Sgl. is., s., *xō<sup>o</sup>* p. 1, *xu'sur* Ishk., *ōār* Sk. father-in-law. — Prs.  
*xusərō'rē* Sgl. p. 1 wife's brother. — Prs., cf. Yd. *xəsərō'rō*.  
*xēitē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ōta* p. 2, s. bread. — *az x<sup>o</sup> xwāren* p. 2; *nāi xēste nāi pād* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *'xisto*.  
*xāš'trek* Sgl. p. 1 arrow; is. small bow used as a toy. — Cf. Yd. *xəsmānč* + *tir?*  
*xāš-* Sgl. p. 2, s., Zar., *xāšō* p. 2, 3, *xāš*: *xāš* Sk. to draw, pull, smoke. — *čilim xāšen*, *čilim-əm xāšō* Sgl. p. 1; *dam fāšek xāšen* I yawn; *xarš xāstān*; *guđōm xāstān* 'ambār kašidan'; *xəza xāšān* they kill(?) goats; *cə kūyuz<sup>o</sup> xāšōm*; *xōdīf xāšān* p. 2 they spread dung; *pādsā xāšō* *xē tīr-i dast* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. *xāš*, Yd. *xōš*.

*xēs* Sgl. p. 2 kinsman, relation. — *dūdum*  
*xē xēs* be I gave it to my kinsman.  
 — *Prs.*  
*xūšk* Sgl. is., °*kāk* p. 3, *xōšk* Ishk. dry.  
 — *Prs.* (Sgl. p. 3 *xūšk* + *qāq*).  
*xas'pā* Sk. a kind of porridge, *atāla* (cf.  
 Yd. *a'fīlā*). — Cf. Shgh. *xu'pa*,  
*xīst* Sgl. p. 1 brick. — *Prs.*  
*xo'f* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *xu'f* Ishk., Gr., *xōš*  
 Sk., *xu'x* "Wkh." mother-in-law. —  
 Cf. Yd. *xōso*, Wkh. *šāš*.  
*xō'āš kōn* Sk. to wish, want. — *Prs.*  
*xu'š dāuman* Sgl. is. wife's brother's wife,  
*zan-i xusurberā*. — Cf. Wkh. *xu'š dāman*,  
*Prs.* *xu'š dāman*, *xu'š* mother-in-law.  
*xav*: *xavd* Sgl. p. 3 to descend. — *cā*  
*āmān paše xard* mosquitoes des-  
 cended from the sky. — Cf. Yd. *xafē*.  
*xāwand* Sgl. p. 2 master. — *Prs.*  
*xwār*: *x(w)ol* Sgl. p. 2, : *xōl* p. 3, is.,  
*xor*: *xul* s., *xar*: *xul* Ishk., Sk.,  
*xar*: *xul* Zar. to eat. — *xwārēn* (cf.  
 § 131) Sgl. p. 2, *xēsta xorem* s.; is  
*xwār* p. 2 come and eat; *az-em xēsta*  
*xwōl* p. 2; *xēstē-em xōl* is., *xēsta-im*  
*xul* s.; *xwōlō-dak* p. 2 he has eaten;  
*xarem*, *xulum* Ishk.; *xaram*, *xarī*  
*xulēm*, *xāruk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xor*.  
*xā'yē* Sgl. is., °*ē* p. 2 scrotum. — *Prs.*  
*xūy*: *xūš* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to thresh. —  
*xormōn xūyēn* p. 2, *xūyēn* s., 'xirmāne  
*kunum*'. — Cf. Yd. *xā*.  
*xāz*: *xōt* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Sk., *xaz*: *xōt*  
 Ishk., *xaz*: *xōt* Gr. (Zb.), : *xul* Gr.  
 to rise. — *az-em xōt* Sgl. is.; *xāzen*,  
*xōtem*, *bād cā wōš xōt* a wind arose  
 from there, *sāar ba xōtan* p. 2;  
 'xazum, a'zi cā 'mīnduk xō'tuk Ishk.  
 I have risen from sleep; 'xazum, xazī,  
 'xōtum, xatuk, xazuk Sk. — Cf. *Prs.*  
*xāstan*, Psht. *zātāl*, etc.

*xāšok* Gr. sweet. — Cf. Wkh. *xūšy*,  
 Shgh. *xāš*, Psht. *xōš*, etc.

## Y

*yā* Ishk. or; *yō—yō* Sk. either—or. —  
*Prs.*  
*yō*, v. 6.  
*you* Sgl. is., p. 2 grain (coll.), *yalla*; *yan*  
 Gr. cereals, provisions. — Cf. Yd.  
*yōn*.  
*yēca* Zar. nest. Cf. Yd. *yēxio*.  
*yūš* Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother's  
 wife, *zan-i ēvar*. — Cf. Mj. *yūi*.  
*yay* Sgl. p. 1, *yōy* Gr., *yuy* Zar. yoke. —  
 Cf. Yd. *yūy*.  
*yak* Sgl. p. 2 one. — In: *yak sāl fauž*  
*oyōd*. — *Prs.* Prob. only used in  
 special expressions.  
*yā'lē* Sgl. p. 1, °*ā* p. 3 released, opened.  
 — *y'ēm kol* p. 1; *kafas rauzan y'*  
*kōd* p. 3 he opened the window of  
 the cage. — *Prs.*  
*yāl* Sgl. p. 1, cō'rō(k)-*yāl* is., p. 2 mane.  
 — *Prs.*  
*yelyār'band* Sgl. is. rope fastening the  
 yoke round the bullock's neck.  
*yūn* Sgl. is., *yūy*: *yūrā* p. 2, *yūy*: *yūrā*  
 p. 3, *yūy*: *yūrā* s., *yūln*: *yūld* Ishk.,  
*yurn*: *yurd* Zar. to grind. — *xu'dāri*  
*yūnuk* is., *xō'dāri yūnuk*, *yūnīs* p. 3  
 grinding. — Cf. Yd. *yāy*. V. § 138,  
 and s.v. *wufōk*.  
*yūpāk* Sgl. p. 3 pine-marten. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wīnek*, Yd. *wūp*.  
*yir* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yir* p. 1, *yir* p. 2 stone,  
 rock. — Cf. Yd. *yar*. V. § 27.  
*yur'ya* Sk. ambling. — Wkh. id., cf. Turk.  
*Prs.* *yarya* a swift horse.  
*yārē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ārē* Zb. avalanche.  
*yarx* Gr. animal's droppings. — Cf.



- "Wkh." *rax*, Zāngani Kurd. *rex* id., Sar. *riš* excrements \**irx* < Av. *hizra*-thin excrements?
- ya'str* Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.
- yō'tuk* Sgl., 'yetik Sk., Gr., *ya°* Zar. bridge. — < \**etk*, v. § 24. Cf. Yd. *yaya*.
- yōv*: *yēvō* Sgl. p. 3, s., *yio* p. 2, *ie*: *ivd* Zar. to spin. — *yēven* *boš*, *yēvōm* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *yī*.
- yiv'dōk* Sgl. is., p. 2, *iv°* p. 1, *ivduk* Gr., *kieduk* (?) Sk. thread. — V. *yev*.
- yax* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yax* p. 1, *yax* p. 2, *yex* s., *yax* Sk., Ishk., Zar. ice, frost. — *daryāo yax-o kuak* p. 2 the river is frozen. — Prs.
- yō'xōai* Sgl. is., *ō'xōai* p. 1, 3, *u'x°* s., *ixōai* p. 2, *ō'xōi* "Wkh.", *ixō* Sk., Zar. *ixā* Gr. sister. — *rōi-xōai* *mōnen-i* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *ixō*. V. § 92. Cf. also Shgh. *ka(x)wōi* woman < \**ka-hwāhā*?
- yōz* Sgl. is., *yūz* p. 2, Zar., *yās* Sk., *yuz* Gr., *yū* MFB firewood. — *cō kū yūz°* *xašōm* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *žūz*, Shgh. *žiz* firewood, Pahl. *γōza* taggot, *γaz*, Prs. *gaz* tamarisk, Sak. *gyaysa*, Oss. *qās(ā)* reed. — V. Walde-Pokorny, I, 569 \**gēg(h)* (cf. e.g. Norw. *kage* low shrub).
- yōzda*, v. *kōdōs*.

## Z

- za* Sk. —? — In *a'zi za 'cē-wūnēm*, *tō 'zō 'cē-wūnē*, 'au 'zō 'cē wūnū, *māx ze 'cē-wūnūn*.
- zē* Sgl. is. bowstring. — Prs.
- zī* Sgl. p. 3 such, like that. — *mōnt zi Xudāi nēst*, *kō wō žanan 'az mā itari Xudā nēst*, *ke ūna bukušān*; *tā-dō*

- ma zi cē-wa gaxtog?* 'cīrā hami kāri *kardi-ast* (?) why hast thou done such a work? — Cf. Wkh. *azi* such, *hazī* like that. V. Texts, V, 78.
- zār*: *zād* Sk. to sweep. — V. *astar*, cf. Shgh. *zēdār*, etc. V. § 63.
- zid*: *zūst* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to flow, run. — *wēn be zidū*, *wēn zūst* p. 2; *wēk ziden* p. 3 I let the water run, 'dūc *mērdzēm*. — Cf. Yd. *zayal*.
- zūy* Sgl. p. 1, s. raven, *zāy* (with red beak); *zāy* Sk. crow; *zāyčuk* Gr. enough. — Cf. Yd. *zāyo*.
- zō'yōlog* Sgl. p. 1 humble-bee. — < \**uz-gartaka*?
- zō'yēr* Sk. linen. — Prs. *zayir* linseed.
- zūkām* Sk. a cold ('another word exists'). — Ar.-Prs.
- zōl* Gr. sleeve of a garment. — Cf. Shgh. *zūf*, Or. *zū*, Sar. *zūf*, id. < \**zūda*, Oss. *dīs*, *dus* < \**dušā*, Sāngisāri *dūše* < \**daušaka*, \**dū°*, or *dušpa°*, Prs. (B.Q.) *jušda* < \**zūšy'aka* (?). Derivation from Av. *zūš* 'pretty, ornament' seems improbable. Possibly < \**duš* (with *z* from *zasta*?), cf. Prs. *dōš*, and, with reduced vowel, Lett. *pa duse* armpit, breast of a garment. But \**duš-o*, with vowel gradation, from \**deus*/*duš* would have to be an extremely ancient formation.
- zile'žim* Sgl. p. 1, is. earthquake. — *zaminžim* (q.v.) + *zilzila*.
- zāf* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *zōf* "Wkh." yellow. — Cf. Yd. *zīt*.
- zambūr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 wasp. — Prs.
- zō'mūd* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *zē°* s. son-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *zā'mai*.
- zema'ni* Sgl. s., *kurčūn zemā'ni* is. chicken. — V. *zema'nōk*.

zā'mīn Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Gr. field, earth; Sgl. p. 1 floor. — *zāmīn-əm kōndəm* p. 2; *zōfūr z<sup>o</sup>-ō* p. 2 I have four fields. — *Prs.*

zāma'nōk Sgl. is., p., "Wkh." boy; zō'man Sk., zāman Gr. (Zb.) child. — *mən zān kōvō zāma'nāk-ō* Sgl. p. 3; *z<sup>o</sup> tawālīd šīd* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *zāmon*.

zāmīn'əm Sgl. p. 2 earthquake. — *Prs.* *zāmīnjumb*. V. *zīl'ēm*.

zēmī'stān Sgl. is., *zāme<sup>o</sup>* p. 1, *zēm<sup>o</sup>* p. 2, *zāmī'stān* Ishk., *zē<sup>o</sup>* Sk. winter. — *Prs.*

zē'nē Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *zēy-* p. 1, s., *zē'nūd* p. 1, s., *zē'ney-*: *zē'nūd* Ishk., *zē'nay-*: *zē'nūd* Sk. to wash. — *zē'nēm* Sgl. is., *zē dōst zē'nēyen* p. 1; *wēn zē'nē!* p. 2; *zē'nūdēm* p. 1; *zē'nayum*; *zē'nai*; *azī zē dust zē'nūd* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *zēnay*.

zīn, v. *zūng*.

zīn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. saddle. — *zē'rō-zīn* Sgl. p. 2. — *Prs.*

'zīna Ishk. ladder. — *Prs.*

zīnda Sgl. p. 2 alive. — *az z<sup>o</sup>-mō*. — *Prs.*

*zīndōgō'nī kən* Sk. to live. — *Prs.*

*zīn'hōr 'bō zīn'hār* Sk. never(?). — *Prs.*

zēnz Sgl. p. 2, *zēnj-* p. 3, *zēnz-*: *zēy'd* Ishk., Sk., *zānz-*: *zēy'd* Gr. to seize, catch, lift up, take on one's back. — *zēnzēn* Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Shgh. *zēz-*: *zāy't*, Or. *zōz-* to seize, Sogd. *zīt* to hold. Av. *zāza-* (*haz-*) to get hold of (with secondary nasalisation) does not explain *zēy'd*, etc., while Skr. *ud-ānō-* 'to lift, elevate' does not quite suit the meaning of the Sogd. word. Cf. also Saka *biysamj-* to grasp?

*zūng* Sgl., Gr., *zīn* Ishk.(?), *zūg* Sk., *zōng* Zar. knee. — Cf. Yd. *zīk*, Wkh. *zun*, etc.

*zūngvīš* Sgl. is. calf of the leg. — V. *zīd*.

*zanggiāk* Sgl. is. wooden pegs for keeping the two strings of a pellet-bow apart.

*zār* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. poison. — *Prs.*

*zōr* Sgl. p. 2 strong, powerful. — *az zōr-mō 'ba sar-i tu zōr astīm'*. — *Prs.*

*zard* Ishk., *zārd* Sk., *zōrd* Zar. yellow. — *Prs.*

'*zardāk* Sgl. p. 2 carrot. — *Prs.*

*zar'dolu* Ishk. apricot. — *Prs.*

*ziāt* Sgl. p. 2 much. — Ar.-*Prs.*

*zōt* Sgl., *zōs* Ishk., Gr., *zōs* son, *zāt* Gr. (Zb.) son. — *zōt paidā šīd*; *zōfūr zōt-ō mōnēn* Sgl. p. 2. — Av. *zōdā-* birth, Turf. Phl. *zīg* boy. V. § 37.

*zō'vūk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *zō'uk* p. 3, *zē'vūk* is., s., Zb., *zō'vōk* Ishk., *zō'uk* Sk. tongue, language. — *tī zō'vūk pō'zinum* Sgl. is.; *tō 'mōmbd yāl 'kūnd zōvāk-d* Sk. tell me if there is an ancient word. — Cf. Yd. *zōvīy*. Also the Yazgh., Yaghn., Sogd., Oss. forms go back to \**hizōāka* (> Saka \**hizōāka*). \**hizōā* is retained in Shgh., etc. (*zēv*) and prob in Psht. (*zībā*), while Wkh. *zīk* goes back to \**hizōka*. S. and W.Ir. have \**hizōān*, which is influenced by *dantān*.

*zāxm* Sgl. p. 2, *zāxm* Sk. wound. — *z<sup>o</sup>-ō šīdk*. — Ar.-*Prs.*

*zax'mī* Sgl. p. 2 wounded. — *az-mō z<sup>o</sup> šīdk*. — Ar.-*Prs.*

## Ž, Ž

*žā* Sgl. p. 2, *žē* p. 3 before, in front of. — *az tū žā-mō 'pēš-i tē-īm'*; *tō mən žā-ōš 'tō pēš-i mā-š[ī]*; *ada ādam tō žā-ō* he is before thee; *oyōš pādšā žē* he came before the king; *is men žē 'pēš-i mā biā'*.



\* *žū'ok* Sgl. is., p. 1, *γucōk* "Wkb." male markhor; *žucōk* Gr. (Zb.) deer. — Cf. Yd. *mā-žyq*?

*žūdūk* Sk. murderer. — V. *žan-*.

*žāla* Sgl. is., °lē p. 3, *žāla* p. 1, Sk., j° Zb., Ishk. hail. — Prs.

*žan-*: *žōd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *jan-*: *žōd* s., *žan-*: *žad* Sk. to kill. — *žafa(k)* *žanen*; *az-om* *ica žōd 'ura kuštan'*; *žanāy-om žōd* I extinguished the fire; *va ženāi žan!* Sgl. p. 2; *wayim Xō'dā 'žanem*; *va-lā Xōdā-im žōd* p. 3. — Cf. Prs. *žadan*, etc.

*žān'žek* Sgl. is., °žek p. 1, 2, *žān'žek* p. 3, *žanjek* s. entrails. — Possibly < \**žānj-ek* < \**žarnačl*, cf. Psh. *žayai*

*catgut* (with IE. \**gh-*, but cf. Lith. *žarnà*, Skr. *hīrā* with \**gh-*).

*žōšt* Sgl. is., p. big, large. — *am ādam cō mōčaf j/žōšt* is.; *am xān žōšt, haš xān riziāk* p. 1; *čārvā cō vōz žōšt-o* p. 2; *žamanōk žōšt šīd* p. 3.

*žwondok* Sgl. p. 2, *žen'dōk* p. 1, *žūnduk* Ishk., Sk., Gr. hungry. — *az ž°-mō* p. 2; *wulāi ž°-om vōd* p. 2; *az-im ž° žōduk* Sk. — < \**a-ž(i)wantaka-*, cf. Skr. *a-žirant-* destitute of a livelihood. *žondok* Sgl. p. 2, *žandāki* Gr. (Zb.) hunger, famine. — *yo ž° šīd* p. 2. — V. *žwondok*.

*žiq* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *žic* p. 3, *žic* Ishk., *žic* (ž-?) "Wkb." coal. — Cf. Or. *žej*.

### List of Placenames.

*Inji'gān* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s. Lutkuh. Cf. Yd. — Mj. *Yūdg.*—Leitner, Dardistan in 1895, map of the Chitral expedition, gives the form *Hingan*.

*Izi'vūk* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *žz°* s. Zēbāk. — *Izi'vū bē* to Z.

*Baš'gal* Sgl. p. 2 the Bašgal valley in Nuristan.

*Čūtrād* Sgl. p. 3, *Čē'trāl* p. 2 Chitral. — V. *Šām*.

*Dō'rā* Sgl. p. 3, *Dēr'rā* p. 1 the Dorah Pass.

*Flaxma'rig* Sgl. p. 3, *F'laxma'lik* s., *Flakmarikh* Indian Survey, n. of a village in Sanglech.

*Faizō'bōd* Sgl. p. 2 Faizabad.

*Gōgōrd Dašt* Sgl. p. 2 n. of a place below Lake Dufferin.

*Gaske'stān* Sgl. p. 2 "The Tamarisk Place" (?), n. of a place near Lake Dufferin.

*Kāfēr'stān* Sgl. p. 2 Nuristan; *mō Kāfirren* among the Kāfirs (of Lutkuh).

*Kō'stān* Sgl. p. 1, *Kō'estān* p. 2 Chitral.

*Kī'rī* Sgl. p. 1, 3 Chitrali. — Cf. Yd. *Kūa*, v. BSOS, VI, 441.

*Lān'dūr* Sgl. p. 3 n. of a place in Lutkuh below Shoghor.

*Mandē'žān* Sgl. p. 2, s. Munjan; *Mandē'žī* adj. p. 3. — Cf. BSOS, VI, p. 439.

*Pa'rōy* Sgl. p. 2 Kafir. — Cf. Yd. *Pōrāyo* Nuristan.

*Pōroy* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *Pōrōy* is., *Parch* Indian Survey, *Fareg* Burhan ud-Din, *Pōruy* Mj. n. of a village in Sanglech.

*Pō'rūn* Sgl. p. 2 Parun, Prasun in Nuristan.

*Ški'tūl* Sgl. is., p. 3, s. (p. 3 also °ād), *Škitūl* p. 2, *Iskitul* Indian Survey, Curzon, *Isketul* B.u.D. n. of a village in Sanglech. — < \**uska-γ*

*Saṅ'lēš* Sgl. p. 3, °ēš p. 2, °iē p. 1 (Prs. form?), *Saṅg'lēš* p. 1 *Saṅglic* Ind. Survey, Curzon *Sanglech*. — *Caṅ'lēš* (= *c-Saṅlēš*) p. 2 from S. — Not with Herzfeld, AMI, VII, p. 59 < M.Pr. *saxraliṣ(ā)n*, *saxralicān*.

*Šo'yoṭ* Sgl. p. 3, s. Shoghor in Lutkuh. — Cf. Yd. *Šo'oyo*.

*Škāsīm* Zb., *Škāšm* Ishk. Ishkashim.

— Cf. Anc. Chin. \**Sak-ka-sjem* (v. Marquardt, *Ērānshahr*, p. 224), Beruni سگانشم.

*Šām-Čatrāš* Sgl. s. Chitral. — Cf. BSOS VI, p. 440.

*Xōša* *Nimkū Sar'vār* Sgl. p. 1 Terich Mer in Chitral. — Cf. 'Tiraj Mīr or Sarowar', Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, quoted by Stein, Serindia, I, p. 51.





WAKHI





## INTRODUCTION

1. Our chief source of information about Wakhi is still R. B. Shaw's valuable, but of course incomplete and now in several ways insufficient, account.<sup>1</sup> The LSI. (Vol. X) adds further to our knowledge of this linguistically important dialect, besides giving a complete bibliography up to the date of the publication of the volume. To this I refer once for all. Recently S. I. Klimchitskiy has published some Wakhi texts, together with a short vocabulary and important notes on phonology and morphology.<sup>2</sup> A few Wakhi words are also given by Zarubin in his *Munji Vocabulary*,<sup>3</sup> and some remarks of a general nature are found in my *Rep. N.W. Ind.*, pp. 67 sqq.

Still no comprehensive account of Wakhi has been published, and since Geiger's short survey<sup>4</sup> no attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the language. The following notes may therefore, it is hoped, in spite of the insufficiency of the new material on which they are based, be of some use for the understanding of one of the most archaic, and at the same time most peculiar, of living Ir. dialects.

2. The material utilized for the following account of Wakhi has been collected by the late Dr. Sköld, by Lt. Colonel Lorimer, and by myself.

During my stay in Chitral 1929 I had occasion to interrogate

<sup>1</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikol), JASB. 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Ваханские тексты, in Труды Таджикостанской язы, том III, лингвистика pp. 76—124; изд. Академии Наук СССР, 1936.—I did not see this article till my own account of Wkh. had already been written, and I have only been able to insert a few references to it.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 8, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2.



four inhabitants or natives of Wakhan, but each of them only for a very short time.

My informants were:

1. *Nabī*, a young man from Namadgūt in Russian territory. He was born in Zebak, but had been brought up in Wakhan and had lived most of his life and had married there. He asserted that he had learnt Wakhi as his first language.<sup>1</sup> Although his language was evidently Wkh., it was much mixed with Ishk. words. N.
2. A man from Wark, on the Afghan side of the river. His language was not really Wkh., but a kind of Ishk.—Sgl. interspersed with Wkh. words. The small number of grammatical forms noted were all Ishk.—Sgl. Thus *a'ze* 'I', *tə'fak* 'thee', *tumux* 'you', *kenen* 'I do'.<sup>2</sup> As remarked above<sup>3</sup> the Sgl.—Ishk. words given by W in the great majority of cases present the characteristic archaisms of the Sgl. dialect, thus, e.g. *ū* for Ishk. *ī* in *pūš*, *kurčūn*, *ō* for Ishk. *d* in *kiskūd*, *zəmūd*, etc. W.
3. *Alī Shāh* a 30—40 years old inhabitant of Khandūt. He admitted that he had lived for some time in Hunza, and, in spite of his assertion, I do not feel certain that he was really a native of Wakhan. He used several Khow. and other IA. words, and his pronunciation of Wkh. was in some respects incorrect or vacillating. X.  
—Regarding the sounds of Wkh. he quoted a Prs. proverb: *Fārsi hunar, Arab šakar, Waxi tinz-i-xar*.
4. *Shāh Nawūz Khān*, a village headman, about 50 years old, from Yamg in Russian territory. He was by far my best, and probably my only quite reliable, Wkh. informant. Unfortunately Y.  
I could only work with him for a few, short sessions.
5. Dr. Sköld's Wakhi material<sup>4</sup> consists of a list of words and a list of verbs corresponding to those given by Hjuler. He also gives a few Sk.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Stein, Innermost Asia, II, p. 871, "Namadgut, though inhabited by Wakhis . . . is reckoned as belonging to Ishkashim."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ishk.—Sgl. § 8.

<sup>4</sup> V, Preface.

paradigms of verbs. I have not come across any information in his papers as to name(s) or home-village(s) of his informant or informants.

6. Colonel Lorimer with great kindness has permitted me to make full use of the copious vocabulary which he compiled from Wakhi settlers in Hunza in 1935. At the time when his vocabulary was placed at my disposal, I had already worked out my own, and I have only inserted a limited number of such words which appeared to be of special interest from the point of view of historical and comparative linguistics. Col. Lorimer's valuable Wkh. material will, I hope, be published in full.

3. The geography and history of Wakhan has been dealt with by several authors.<sup>1</sup>

It has since long been recognized that the name of *Xandūt*, the largest village in Wakhan, is represented by the Ancient Chinese form *xu-m-d'â-tâ*,<sup>2</sup> given by Hsüan-Tsang. It is also possible that Hsüan-Tsang's *Hu-mi* (*γuo-mjet*) may be identical with the modern village of *Yamit* (< \**Hamit(i)*?).

The Prs. names for the valley and its language, *Waxân* and *Waxi*, are evidently related to the native forms *Wuġ* 'Wakhan', *Āik* 'Wakhi' (language and inhabitant).<sup>3</sup> *Āik* is a curtailed form of \**W(u)ġ-ik*, and *Wuġ* may be derived from \**Waxšu*, with the development of *xš* mentioned below. This sound-change appears to be of some antiquity, since it is reflected not only in Hsüan-Tsang's name for the river *U-hu* (*uo-xuo*),<sup>4</sup> but also in Skt. *Vokkāna*, *Bhokkāna*,<sup>5</sup> and in Mas'ūdī's *Auxān* = *Waxān*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, passim; Olufsen, In the unknown Pamirs; Stein Innermost Asia, II, pp. 863 sqq., On ancient Central Asian tracks, pp. 311 sqq. [Cf. now also Hudūd al-'Ālam, ed. Minorsky.—Corr. note].

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Karlgren's reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Sköld *Āik* is used in E.Wakhan.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Kṣemendra*, *Avadānakalpalatā* (transl. into Chinese 472 A.D.).—*Vakṣu*, Var.Br.S. and *Vaṅkṣu*. M.Bh. 'Oxus', cf. Tib. *Pakṣu* (Tanjur Colophon, acc. to Lévi, J.A. 1933, p. 27) may have been borrowed from some other Ir. dialect.

<sup>6</sup> Marqu., *Ēranšahr*, p. 235. Cf. *ibid.* p. 234 about *Waxab* and *Waxšab*.



The derivation of the Burushaski name for a Wakhi *Guit*s, pl. *Guiti-co*<sup>1</sup> is unknown.

4. The extent of the ancient fortifications in Wakhan, the ruins of which have been investigated by Stein,<sup>2</sup> and the description given by Hsuan-Tsang point to the existence of "an earlier population and resources far greater than those of to-day".

The present population of Russian Wakhan is estimated by Stein at some 3 000 souls, living in about 200 households,<sup>3</sup> and by Klimchitskiy at 5 000. On the Afghan side of the river the population appears to be more numerous, according to Minorsky there are 3 500 inhabitants, living in 64 villages and hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

5. Among the inhabitants of Wakhan there are some Munji and Shughni settlers who do not speak Wakhi.<sup>5</sup>

But on the other hand the hardy Wakhis, accustomed to living at high altitudes, have in recent times overflowed into the upper parts of nearly all the neighbouring valleys, and have established themselves above the settlements of the older inhabitants. In some cases permanent immigration has been preceded by exploitation of summer pastures and of local supplies of fire-wood.

The Wakhi settlements in the Yarkhun valley in Chitral have been described by Stein,<sup>6</sup> and Colonel Schomberg<sup>7</sup> informs us that several villages in the Ishkoman valley in the Gilgit agency contain

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, *Bur. Grammar*, I, Intr. pp. IV and XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869; *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pp. 311 sqq. — Stein is evidently right in rejecting Olufsen's hypothesis that these "Kafir" forts were built by raiders belonging to the Shabposh-Kafirs of Kafiristan (Olufsen, *Through the unknown Pamirs*, pp. 176 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> *On Anc. Centr. As. Tracks*, p. 311. In *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869 another estimate is mentioned, which agrees with that of Minorsky (*Enzykl. d. Islam*, s.v. Wakhan), who counts 27 villages with 2 000 inhabitants. Acc. to Olufsen, *op. cit.* p. 56, there are 172 households in Russian Wakhan, including Namadgut.

<sup>4</sup> From *Burhan-ud-Din*, *Badakhshan i Kattagan*, p. 164. Acc. to *Bud-Din* there are 27 villages in Russian Wakhan.

<sup>5</sup> Gauthiot, *MSL*, XIX, p. 133 f.; Olufsen, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Serindia*, I, p. 50; cf. also *Rep. N.W.Ind.*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *From the Indus to the Oxus*, pp. 81 sqq.

a strong, but recently immigrated Wakhi element. The Wakhi settlements in upper Hunza, including the Shingshal valley, are mentioned by several authors,<sup>1</sup> but the most detailed account of them is given by Lorimer<sup>2</sup> who estimates the number of Hunza Wakhis at 2411. Stein<sup>3</sup> mentions Wakhis living at Dafdar in Sarikol, and Dr. Jarring has kindly informed me that according to information received by him from an inhabitant of Guma, on the upper reaches of the Yarkand Darya, Wakhis had settled in the hills south of that place about 60 years ago, and use to come down to the weekly market, speaking a language of their own.<sup>4</sup>

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a village called Shund near the hot geysir in the Garm Chashma valley in Shughnan. There can scarcely be any doubt that this name is identical with the Wakhi word *sundr* 'hot', but it is not certain that it indicates the presence of Wakhis, at any rate not in modern times.

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of speakers of Wakhi, but we may perhaps guess that it lies somewhere about 10—15000.

6. There is nothing in written records, oral traditions or place-names which points to an immigration of Wakhis into Wakhan in historical times. We are not able to decide how long the language has been spoken in its present home, but all circumstances seem to indicate that Wakhi, in its essentials, is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Ir. settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period. This does not exclude the possibility that Wakhi may once have been ousted from other

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Stein, *Sandburied Cities*, p. 42; Schomberg, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Conway *Climbing in the Karakoram*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Burushaski Gramm.*, Intr. pp. IV, XXXIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandburied Cities*, p. 64; *Innermost Asia*.

<sup>4</sup> Acc. to Jarring Pakhpas also are living near Guma, and besides at Kōk-yar, in Karatagh, and in the neighbourhood of Karghalik. The Turks believe that they speak Persian among themselves.—They do not appear to be Wakhis.



valleys by later immigrants, nor that the language may have been strongly affected by the admixture of other Ir. elements. The intricacies of Wakhi phonetical development can in fact only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that an assimilation of foreign elements, similar to that which we can observe to-day, has been going on for centuries.

7. The isolated position of Wakhi among the neighbouring Ir. dialects is shown by a number of phonetical, morphological, and lexicological peculiarities.

Wakhi alone among the surrounding Ir. dialects preserves inter-vocalic surd stops and—at least to some extent—*ś*, changes surd fricatives to stops (also in groups with *r*), assimilates *rn* > *r*, does not change *śn-* into *zn-*, or *śm* > *m*, and develops a mixed vowel from ancient *ā*. Note also the Saka—Wkh. development of IE *k̑w* > *ś*.

In the field of morphology may be mentioned the very peculiar forms of the personal pronouns, the infinitives and past participles containing an *n*, and the existence of *three* stems in some verbs. Note also the preservation of the ancient meaning of the root *baw-* in *vitt* 'became'.

The astonishing originality of Wakhi vocabulary will appear from the following short list of the more remarkable words not found in the neighbouring dialects.<sup>1</sup>

Nouns: *avārt* span, *bārin* knee, *bāspūr* eagle, *čorm(ū)* canal, *dager* nail, *dʷrukš* bull, *drōst* sleeve, *ḍai* man, *ḍuri* stack, *ḍus* wasp, *ḍelk* brick, *kaš* boy, *mingas* sparrow, *mār* cloud, *nayd* night, *noyordum* bear, *pʷrčōd* girl, *pert* back, *pīrz* evening, *regiš* beard, *rōyat* young she-goat, *ramet* chewing the cud, *rīp* hair, *rešip* whip, *rowār* day, *rešip* whip, *skid* skull-cap, *skōrd* bridge, *spōrdānj* flea, *šōnd* raven, *šafš* hair, *šung* wood, *šapt* wolf, *tap* wing, *wadek* road, *vōin* light, *wrokš* Ovis Poli, *wēuē* arrow, *woundr* field, *wēānj* belly, *wēuner* stable, *wīyīn* pass, *yījīn* felt, *yukš* male ibex, *yūmj* flour, *yīnōt* dream, *yāngal* finger, *yīrk* barley, *yīsp* shoulder, *yīšək* plough-handle, *yaž* twig, *yīžūn* bridle, *zem* snow, *zaž* thorn, *žārš* milk, *žitr* woollen thread.

<sup>1</sup> For further details v. Voc., *passim*.

Adjectives: *baſ* good, *ɣaf* much, *ɣeſ* male, *ruzn* white, *sttr̄n* barren, *šundr* hot, *šəɣd* new, *šix* near.

Adverbs and Pronouns: *sak* we, *sūst* you, *v̄rōk* to-morrow, *wūdɣ* to-day.

Verbs: *būt-* to overthrow, *car-* to do, *ɛalg-* to wish, *ɛərm-* to enter, *dediɣ-* to look at, *gafs-* to run, *ɟat-* to arrive, *hūmū-* to be, *kšūy-* to hear, *liv-* to slip, *nesi-* to lie down, *nezd-* to sit down, *pəðmeſ-* to swell, *permər-* to wither, *pūrind-* to sell, *pūtmi-i-* to mimic, *rəſ-* to go, *rand-* to give, *rasūd-* to break, *rešup-* to sleep, *šand-* to mix, *tu-* to be, *vidāw-* to ride, *wāc-* to become, *wəzi-* to come, *šān-* to speak, *ydd-* to pile up, *yūnd-* to carry, *yāw-* to eat, *yawer-* to select, *yđž-* to bear, *zūbed-* to burst, etc., etc.

8. But although Wkh. possesses a greater number of peculiar traits than most other Ir. languages, it naturally agrees with one or other of the neighbouring dialects on special points. None of these resemblances, however, amounts to a special relationship between Wkh. and some other language together with which it might be said to form a group.

An ancient and important isoglott which unites Wkh. with Saka is the development of IE *k̑w* into *š* (*śś*).<sup>1</sup> We also find some lexical accordances between the two languages, cf. Voc. s.vv. *šai* and *hūmū-*. But the retention of intervocalic tennes, the development of *θr*, *θw*, *-š-*, the forms of the personal pronouns, and several other important traits separate Wkh. from Saka.

9. The special points of resemblance between Wkh. and Mj.—Yd. are mainly restricted to a number of words containing *l* < *δ*.<sup>2</sup> Some of these words may have penetrated into Wkh. through the contact with Munji settlers in Wakhan, but in several cases the Wkh. forms do not correspond to the Mj. ones. Thus we find Wkh. *malung* 'middle', but Yd. *malanē*, Wkh. *šil* 'sweat', but Yd. *xāl*; Wkh.w *lānd*<sup>3</sup> 'tooth', but Mj. of Wakhan *lāt* (Gauthiot). It is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Reichelt, *Idg. Jahrbuch*, I.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 69. Cf. also Gauthiot, *MSL*, XIX, pp. 133 sqq., and *Rep. N.W.Ind.*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> If correct.



perhaps possible that some Wkh. words with  $l < \delta$  may have come from Saraghlani (or Saraghlami?), a dialect which is at present separated from Wkh. by Ishk., but which may perhaps at an earlier date have been in direct contact with it. One of the three Saraghlani words given by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> is *wolike* 'water', cf. Yd. *wolo*, Mj. *wēla* 'irrigation channel', etc.<sup>2</sup>

And among the place-names from the Saraghlani (Sarghulami) district given by Burhan-ud-din<sup>3</sup> we find *Melengau* or *Melengab* as the name of a village situated on the middle one of three tributaries of the Zardiv river. We shall hardly be wrong if we identify *meleng* with Wkh. *malung* 'middle', and *au*, *ab* with Prs. *āb*.<sup>4</sup>

10. With the Shgh. group Wkh. shares the important suffix *-ung/-en*), the development of the prefix */ra-* into *re-*, *ra-*, and a number of words, especially verbs. As might be expected, the accordances are most numerous between Wkh. and Sarikoli, the only member of the Shgh. group which is not separated from Wkh. by other, intervening, communities.

In some cases the Sar. word has apparently been borrowed from Wkh., ancient or modern. Thus, Sar. *sic* (but Shgh. *sey*) 'needle' < Wkh. *sic*; Sar. *xiðp* 'wolf' < Wkh. *šapt* (< \**šap'd*, in its turn from Khow. \**šapið* > *šapīr*); Sar. *kauk* 'spring' < Wkh. *kik* (< \**kōk*); Sar. *gažnez* 'earring' (but *yaul* 'ear') < Wkh. *gišniz* (*yiš* 'ear'); Sar. *wišk* 'calf' < Wkh. *wušk* (< \**wasyaka*); Sar. *imbat* 'to overthrow' < Wkh. *būt* (< \**ambut*-), etc.

Other Sar. words which have probably been borrowed from or influenced by Wkh. are: *reb* 'hair on the body', *yaž* 'ibex', *indij*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 24, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning given by Zar. may be due to some misunderstanding.

<sup>3</sup> Kattagan i Badaxšan, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Other Saraghl. place-names containing *l* are *Lučiv* and *Garaliv* (غزاليو). *-iv* may be the ancient obl. pl. ending. Unfortunately our knowledge of Saraghl. is restricted to these place-names and the three words given by Zarubin. Repeated endeavours to get hold of some information about the dialect through local officials have so far not proved successful, in spite of the kind interest shown by the Ministry of Education in Kabul and the Afghan Legation in London.

'slave', *zamān* (but Shgh. *žani*), etc.) 'snow', *pamez*- 'to dress' (but Shgh. *peniz*-); Wkh. *rip*, *yukš*, *andag*, *zem*, *pamec*. Some of the Sar. words given by Shaw as corresponding to Wkh. ones, may of course turn up in some other dialect of the Shgh. group. But it is safe to say that the contact between Wkh. and Sar. has been specially close. The profound differences which in many respects exist between Wkh. and the Shgh. group show, however, that the actual accordances are due more to secondary contact than to ancient relationship. On the whole Wkh. has been the influencing part, no doubt because Wakhis have settled in Sarikol from early times, but at least a few Wkh. words appears to be of Sar. origin: *žeraž* 'knot' < Sar. *žerež* (with *ž*- < *g*-, characteristic of the Shgh. group); *sudy* 'smooth'; *rau* 'flame'. Cf. also § 30.

11. Also Ishk.—Sgl. presents a few instances of special lexical correspondence with Wkh. Cf. e.g. Wkh. *ktič* 'hut': Ishk. *krič*;<sup>1</sup> Wkh. *pʰzöv* 'heart': Sgl. *özüi*, etc.; Wkh. *gož*- 'to do': Sgl. *gax*-; Wkh. *niviz*- 'to go out': Sgl. *nēz*-; Wkh. *pōv*- 'to drink': Sgl. *pōv*-; Wkh. *škāv*- 'to catch a cold': Ishk. *škōv*-; Wkh. *wūzəm*- 'to bring': Sgl. *žim*-, and other words.<sup>2</sup> Note also that Wkh. *žemak* 'moon' agrees with Ishk.—Sgl. and Mj.—Yd., but not with the Shgh. group. Some of the correspondences mentioned above are no doubt due to recent borrowing,<sup>3</sup> but others, such as *pʰzöv/özüi*, indicate a certain amount of contact at an early date.

There are, however, no phonetical changes common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk.,<sup>4</sup> and only a small number of special morphological correspondences.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the ancient distinction of gender<sup>6</sup> is common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk., but it is also found in the neighbouring IA. language Khowar.

<sup>1</sup> But v. Sgl.—Ishk. § 22.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in Sköld's material (from W. Wakhan?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Voc. s.v. *xodōrg*, *fril*-, *kalibm*.

<sup>4</sup> Note, e.g., Wkh. *srtāž*, but Sgl. *uuznūl* < \**snuša*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the abs. gen. in *-an*, and the 2 pl. in *-əv* common to Sgl.—Ishk. and Western Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> V. § 105.



On the whole it seems probable that Sgl.—Ishk. belongs to a later wave of Ir. settlers than Wkh., and that this latter language must be considered to form a separate branch of the north-eastern Ir. dialects.

12. The numerous Prs. lw.s in Wkh. need not detain us here. Their exact provenience, phonetical appearance, relative date, etc., present many interesting problems, which must, however, be discussed in connection with a general survey of the expansion of Persian in Tajikistan, Badakhshan and the Pamirs. The extreme variety of pronunciation of many Prs. lw.s points to repeated borrowing of the same words from various sources.—One example of double borrowing may be mentioned here: According to Sköld there exists, besides the naturalized loan-word *xaly* 'person, man, people (люди) (coll.)', also a more recent and 'literary' word *xalq* 'nation (народ)'.

Also the provenience of the Turkish lw.s, many of which are common to Wkh. and Sar.,<sup>1</sup> must be left to be studied by the specialist.

I have not been able to detect any words of undoubtedly Burushaski origin in Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> and the derivation of *tör* 'walnut' from Tibetan<sup>3</sup> is highly improbable.

13. There are a few IA. lw.s in Wkh., the exact source of which cannot be determined. Thus: *ēker* 'partridge', *mutr* 'augury', and possibly *kend* 'woman'. Also a number of words containing a cerebral sound are probably of IA. origin. Examples are: *čat* 'horned cattle' (Sar. *čāt*); *čut* *car-* 'to tear asunder'; *kač-* 'to throw'; *koč* 'short'; *qač* 'mucus'; *kučöl* 'dagger'; *mōn* (?) 'male oorial'; *mānd-* 'to rub' (v. s.v. *mānd-*); *pač* 'penis'; *peč* 'round'; *ptok* 'bread'; *pəndək* 'unripe apricots', etc., regarding which cf. Voc. s.vv.—There is also a curious, but possibly accidental, similarity between Wkh. *mingas*, etc. and the Kati-Kafiri words for 'sparrow'.

<sup>1</sup> V. Shaw's Voc. *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> As for Wkh. lw.s in Bur., cf. my Preface to Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, I, p. XXIV.—Add Bur. *diččik* (Conway *dishtik*) 'brick', v. § 73.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

14. I have found no certain Shina lw.s in Wkh.,<sup>1</sup> but from Khovar are borrowed *türt* 'ford' (Khow. *thürt*); *šiven* 'rope' (Khow. *šimēnī*); *šapt* 'wolf', Sar. *šitp* (< \**šapīd* > Khow. *šapir*). The number of lw.s from Khovar is, however, very restricted.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore most surprising that Wkh. should have borrowed the personal pronoun 1 pl. *spā* 'us' from Khow. *ispa* (< \**spā*), and probably also *sav*, *sab* 'you' from Khow. *bisa* (< \**bsā* < \**vasā*). Also the occurrence of a cerebral *š* is probably due to Khow. influence.<sup>3</sup>

What renders the borrowing of Khow. pronouns into Wkh. all the more astonishing is the fact that Wkh., which at any rate in our days is the language of the poorer and politically and culturally less important community, has supplied Khow. with a considerable number of lw.s. It is not always easy to distinguish Khow. words of Wkh. origin from those belonging to other Ir. dialects, but in some cases there can be no doubt about Wkh. being the immediate source of the Khow. words.<sup>4</sup>

Examples are: Khow. *waxār* 'ladder'; *andāw* 'fever'; *do'yūr* 'finger-nail'; *rīgīš* 'beard'; *šay'gūr* 'entrails'; *šonthu* 'raven'; *xēl* 'sweat'; *pāz* 'breast'; *zox*, *jox* 'thorn': Wkh. *waxār*, *andav*, *dəgar*, *regiš*, *šay'gər*, *šōnd*, *šāl*, *pūz*, *zax*. Also Khow. *isprāsk* 'rafter'; *isprū* 'flower'; *bizbār* 'eagle, kite'; *axam-* 'to descend'; *kišipi* 'magpie'; *nošk* 'beak'; *yoz* 'ice' may be of Wkh. origin; cf. *sipask*; *spray*; *bispūr*; *šām*; *kiržepč*; *nüčk*; *yaz*. It is also tempting to derive Khow. *supuk*, Wershikwar *sapa* 'hoof', Burush. *sap* 'horseshoe' from a lost Wkh. form with *p* < *f*. On the other hand, Khow. *sar-* 'to appear' and *vor* 'smell' (Wkh. *südüy-*, *vül*) may have come from any E.Ir. dialect, and it is impossible to tell whether Khow. *šā* 'black' has been borrowed from an older form of Wkh. *šiu*, or of Ishk. *šūi*. There are also several words common to Khow. and Wkh. the origin of which is altogether unknown.

<sup>1</sup> As for Shina *lištik* 'brick' < \*Wkh., cf. § 73.

<sup>2</sup> The Khow. words given by Wkh. x., excepted. They are, at the utmost, used within a very limited circle of Wakhi speakers.

<sup>3</sup> Note, on the other hand, the striking difference in the treatment of ancient *kw* > Wkh. *š*, but Khow. *šp*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BSOS. VIII, pp. 261 sqq.



15. The crossborrowing between Wkh. and Khow. can hardly have been conditioned merely by scanty communication across the Hindu Kush passes, or by the slight and apparently quite recent contact between the two languages in the Yarkhun valley.

We know that the Khos won Chitral proper from the Kalashas at a comparatively recent date, and that their original home—original of course to be taken in a relative sense—was Upper Chitral, the valleys round Mastuj.<sup>1</sup> Also the Kho settlements east of the Shandur Pass, in the Ghizr district of Gilgit agency, may be fairly ancient. We are therefore entitled to assume as a possibility that the Khos in early times may also have crossed the easy saddle of the Baroghil Pass and occupied at least some part of Wakhan, mingling with the Ir. Wakhis coming from the West.

But this remains a matter of speculation as long as no further documents are found which may throw light upon the early history of the Khos.

16. It is very probable that dialectical differences should exist within the extensive territory in which Wkh. is spoken. But so far very little is known about such variations. Differences of pronunciation, especially of vowels, are frequent in the available sources, but it is not possible to assign them to different parts of Wakhan. It may, however, be mentioned that Wkh.y., in accordance with Klimchitskiy's, Hjuler's, and Sköld's informants, used forms in *-ov* for the 2 pl. of verbs, while Wkh.x., Shaw, Stein and LSI had *-it*. The western neighbours of Wkh., Sgl.—Ishk. and Mj.—Yd., have *-of*, but Sar. and Shgh. have *-id*. It may therefore be surmised that an isoglott separating W.Wkh. from E.Wkh. passes between the villages of Yamg and Khandut. Similarly Sköld and Klimchitskiy give *kert* 'did' (cf. Wkh.y. *kerk* 'has done') while Shaw has the more regular form *cart*. Also the variation between intervocalic *-d-* and *-d-* may be of a local nature, *-d-* possibly belonging to W.Wakhan, where influence from Ishk. might be suspected. As for the forms of the infinitive v. § 157 sq.

<sup>1</sup> As for the ancient name of this region cf. BSOS. VI, p. 441.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

17. For reasons explained above<sup>1</sup> only one of my Wkh. informants, viz. Wkh. y., can be relied upon with regard to the phonetical structure of the language. In the main Y's sounds agree with those given by Shaw, Sköld, Lorimer and Klimchitskiy. Discrepancies, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, may either be due to dialectical and individual variation or to inexact notation.

### *Consonants.*

18.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>t, &lt;d&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c, (j)</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>č</i>	<i>č, j</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>	<i>(θ),<sup>3</sup> δ</i>			<i>š, ž</i>	<i>x, ɣ</i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, ž</i>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>&lt;l&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

<sup>1</sup> § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Not used by Y.

<sup>3</sup> Very rare.

<sup>4</sup> Not a separate phoneme.



19. The consonant system of Wkh. appears, as far as it is possible to judge from our present limited knowledge of the language, to be based upon the following correlations:

1. Voiced: *b, d, (ḍ), g (ḡ), ĵ, v, ḍ, ṛ, γ, z, ž, ž.*

Surd: *p, t, ṭ, k, c, č, f, θ, x, s, š, š.*

There are no voiced counterparts of *q* and *č*, and *ḍ* and *ḡ* are rare and uncertain phonemes. The great number of correlations of voice in Wkh. are worth noticing.

2. Plosive: *p, b, t, d, k, g, q.*

Fricative: *f, v, θ, ḍ, x, ṛ, x.<sup>1</sup>*

3. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ, ḍ.*

Sibilant: *s, z, š, ž.*

But *š* and *ž* have no plosive counterparts.

4. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ.*

Affricative: *c, (j), č.*

A very fragmentary group of correlations.

5. Plosive: *p/b, t/d, ṭ/(ḍ), k/g.*

Nasal: *m, n, (ŋ) [ŋ].*

6. Labial: *p, b, m, f, v*

Dental: *t, d, n, θ, ḍ, c, (j), s, z.*

Retroflex: *ṭ, ḍ, n, č, š, ž.*

Palatal: *č, ĵ, š, ž.*

Velar: *k, g, [ŋ], x, ṛ.*

Uvular: *q, x, γ.*

Aspiration of surd stops has been noted occasionally in Y: *k'ōm* 'palate' (Bell. *khom*); *p'ūn* 'palm' (Bell. *phūn*); *p'ūz* 'breast'. Cf. X *k'sla* 'ram'; *p'ūd* X 'foot'; *p'ānz* N 'five'; *k'ənd* Sk. 'wife'. But it seems to be much less marked than in most other Pamir dialects.

20. *Labials*: *f* and *v* are labio-dentals. *w* is a bilabial semi-vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*Dentals*: The voiced affricate *j* is very rare. I heard it only in *jai* 'bowstring' (L. *j/zēi*). Kl. gives also *jūṛ* 'yak' and *joqlāi* 'small'

<sup>1</sup> Either *γ*, or (if *x, γ* are taken to be velar sounds) *q* is without a counterpart.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Kl. a bilabial, voiced "sonant".

(Sh. and Sk. also *j*). But Wkh. *y*, etc. *zəka'lai*. The numeral 'five' has *j* acc. to Sk., Kl. and Z., but Sh. and my informants had *pānz*, etc.

It is doubtful whether postvocalic *d* and *ð* are separate phonemes. Wkh. *y* always has *-d*.

*ð* is of rare occurrence, especially in non-initial position (cf. Voc. s.vv. *pīðu* L., *yoð* L.). Phonetically *r* is alveolar.

*Palatals*: *y* is phonetically nearly a fricative.

*Cerebrals*: Y had initial *t̪* only in *t̪ör* 'walnut' and no examples of *ḍ*. This may, however, be due to accident. Kl. gives *ḍ* also in initial position. *ṇ* is a variant of *n* before *d* (*pəṇḍək* Sk. 'bud', *māṇḍ* 'to rub', but Y *māṇḍ*). Independent *ṇ* was heard only in the pronunciation of W, and not with certainty true Wkh.

Kl. gives two words with *ʃ*. I never heard this sound.—To my ear *ʃ*, *ʃ̣* and *ʃ̤* were retroflex sounds, and Kl. also at first took them to be "cerebrals". Afterwards he had the pronunciation of the Wkh. sounds analysed by Ščerba, who comes to the conclusion that *ʃ̣* is dorsal and resembles Engl. *sh*, while *ʃ̤* is coronal and akin to Russ. *ʃ*. I have not the slightest doubt that this analysis is phonetically more correct than Kl.'s and my own (which was based on a very short observation). But I am still inclined to believe that the *ʃ̣* series *phonologically* belongs to the retroflex sounds, and the *ʃ̤* series to the palatals. Kl. groups the *ʃ̣* sounds with the dentals as 'dorsals', and the *ʃ̤* sounds together with *r* as 'coronals'.

It did not always seem easy to distinguish the two series of *ʃ̣* and *ʃ̤* sounds, nor *ʃ̣* from *ʃ̤* (or *ʃ̣*, *ʃ̤* from *x*, *ɣ*), and considerable variations are found in the different sources. But in the great majority of cases my notation of Y's pronunciation agrees with Kl., and usually also with Sk. There can at any rate be no doubt about the existence of three separate series. Cf. e.g.: *diṣ̌*, *dišt̪* Y, X, Sk., Kl. 'to know'; *dāšt̪* X, Sk., Kl. 'plain': *xāṣ̌*, *xāšt̪* Y, Kl. 'to pull' (but *-ṣ̌* Sh., Sk.); *ništ̪* Y, *nəyōšt̪* Kl. 'went out': *Wuẓ̌* Y, Kl. 'Wakhan'; *goẓ̌*, *gošt̪* Y, X, Kl., etc. 'to do'.



A 'cerebral' *l* is used in a few words by X, and a similar sound is probably denoted by L's *l̃*.

*Velars*: I have followed Kl. in grouping *ṣ̌*, *ṣ̌̃* with the velars, and *x*, *ɣ* with the uvular *q*, although I am not certain about the correctness of this classification. Acc. to Kl. *x* is akin to Russ. *x*, and identical with Shgh. etc. *ṣ̌* (= *ṣ̌̃*). To my ear Shgh. *ṣ̌* has much more of the *ṣ̌* character than Wkh. *ṣ̌*, which appeared to me to be a slightly advanced *x* (something between German *ach* and *ich*, but more allied to the former sound).

*ŋ* is not a separate phoneme, but a variant of *n* before *g*.<sup>1</sup>

*Glottal*: In spite of Kl.'s remarks to the contrary I believe that *h*, at any rate in the speech of Y, must be considered as a phoneme, but one with a very limited range of employment and very unstable. It is chiefly found in initial position.

21. Final voiced consonants usually become unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *ricṣ̌*, *ruṣṣ̌*, *rūṣṣ̌̃*, *yāṣṣ̌̃*, *yīṣṣ̌̃*, *tuxṣ̌̃*, *pəṣṣ̌̃*, *səṣṣ̌̃*, *skōṣṣ̌̃*, *naṣṣ̌̃*, *faṣṣ̌̃*, *geṣṣ̌̃*.

Wakhi possesses a geminated *tt* (common in preterital forms), and to some extent *kk*, perhaps also other geminates.

### *Groups of Consonants.*

22. Groups of consonants are numerous and frequent. Especially to be noticed are groups of surd stops (in final position): *kt*, *tk*, *pk*, *pt*, etc. Acc. to Shaw we also find *ḍt* and *ṭt*.<sup>2</sup> A number of other groups occur in the preterital stems and in the 3 sg. present. In these forms we also find a number of morphonological changes.

Through loss of short, unstressed syllables more complicated groups occasionally arise, as in *kəṣṣ̌̃gā* Sk., *ḍkər*, *tpār*, *dgör* (v. s.v. *dəger*).

Characteristic of Wkh. are the numerous groups of stops followed by *r*. A short svarabhakti-vowel is sometimes developed, e.g. in *brin*, *br̥it*, *d̥rev*, *p̥rič̥*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *tug* X is a variant of \**tugg*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *sprök*, *sprök* L. sole.

Other frequently occurring groups of consonants are: *kš, gn, γn, vd, vn, xt, xs, fs, ft, fst, γz, γ/γd, rk, rt, rx, rč* (and all other possible combinations of *r* + cons.), *nd, n), ng, nđ, nz, mb, md, lg, ld, st, sk, sp, št, št, šk, šp, zd, zg, zn, žd, žg, žt, žn*, etc.

### Vowels.

23. I feel very diffident about the possibility of establishing the vowel system of Wkh. from the material which I was able to collect, and it certainly varies a good deal in the different parts of Wakhan; but according to the pronunciation of Y, my most reliable informant, I believe it to be of the following type:

#### Short Vowels.

<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

#### Long Vowels.

<i>ī</i>	<i>ĩ̃</i>	<i>ū</i>		<i>ĩ̃</i>	<i>ũ̃</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	or, possibly:	<i>ē̃</i>	<i>ō̃</i>
				<i>ā̃</i>	<i>ū̃</i>

24. *i* is a wide sound (*ɪ*): *bʳrt, dʳrs, dʳrgā*.  
*e* is frequently open (*ɛ*): *dʳger, kend, xɛšt*. But I have noted *e* in *čey, dendik, dʳrev, dečd, ʃer, kerk, tʳešp, žeč, yez, zem*, etc.  
*a* was frequently heard as *ʌ*: *sʌ'min, sʌn'duq, čʌžm*. But *sak, šač*.  
*ā* in *sʳpərdān*) is prob. a palatalized variety.  
*u* is wide (*ʊ*): *nəmut, pʳrs*. Before *y* we find *ū* in *kšūy*.  
*ə* is found both in stressed and unstressed position: *čkər, dəyd, gəzd, kəʃ, kəž, məst, nədavn-, pətr, rəyd, rəx'nig, səkr, s'təž, wəsk, wəšk, žərz, žə'mak*, etc. The delimitation between *e* and *ə* is often uncertain.—*pʳzöv* probably stands for *\*pʳzəv*.



- *ī* appears in *kīrpa*, *kīš*, *ḍis*, *ḍitr*, *gūḍim*, *kik*, *wīš*. It appears to be distinguished from *i*.
- o* in *goṣ*, *kipok*, *kʳoṣ*, *noṛodum*, *solx*, *xošk*, etc. is an open sound (ɔ).
- i* appears e.g. in *ḍit*, *skid*, *ḍin*, *rəxnig* (but Kl. *rəxnēg*).
- ē* is narrow, and appears only in lw.s: *bēd*, *bēwa*, *bēx*, *mēšak*, *pēča*, etc.
- ī* is high, mixed, unrounded. Cf. *ṡū*, *kīnd*, *kīrən*, *mōḍīr*, *ṡīr*, *ṡū*, *ṡīr*. The vowels in *ṡbūr*, *hūb*, *pūḍ* (L. *puēḍ*), *ṡū*, *ṡūi* probably represent attempts to denote varieties of this sound, conditioned by the nature of the neighbouring consonants.
- ā* is a palatal *a*. Examples are, e.g.: *ṡār*, *nān*, *yāngəl*.
- ū* occurs, e.g. in *xūn*, *pūn* (*pūn*), *pūz*, *yūnd*.
- ō* is a low and wide *ō*, sometimes of a rather advanced type. Examples are the Prs. lw.s: *ambōy*, *diōr*, *dəryō*, *kōm*, *kōna*, *rōn*, *rōst*; but cf. also *pōv*, *ṡkōrd*, *ṡkōrē*, *tōr*, *tōrt*, *vōč*, *vʳōk*, *xōdōrg*, *yīnōt*, *yōč*. In a number of Prs. lw.s I have noted *ā* (or *ā*<sup>1</sup>): *āṡšak*, *dāmād*, *kitāb*, *vʳāzū*, *xdlī*, etc., but I am inclined to believe that this notation represents merely a variant of *ō* (ɔ), and not a separate phoneme. Cf. also *wāft*- (pret. of *ūf*-) = *wōft* Z.

25. The phonological distinction between short and long vowels appear to be clearer than in Yd.—Mj., but dubious cases no doubt occur. The overshort vowels are probably either unstressed variants of short ones, or svarabhakti vowels; e.g. in *dʳrukš*, *dʳraxt*, *dʳrev* (*drōv*-Sh., Kl.), *kʳrust*, *ḍōgʳn*, etc.

I have noted the following diphthongs: *āi* (*pāi*); *ūi* (*kūi*, *trūi*); *ōi* (*jōid*); *īu* (*nīu*, *īu*), *īū* (*ṡīū*), *au* (*yau*, *vʳau*).

26. In Sköld's material we find, corresponding to Y's vowels: *i*, *ī*,<sup>2</sup> *u*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, *a*; *i*, *ī*,<sup>1</sup> *ū*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*.—*ā* and *ō* are probably variants of *a*, *o*, or of *ā*, *ō*, and *ə* is a variant of *ə*, the exact quality of which I am unable to determine. It is not clear whether his *ā* is meant to design an independent phoneme, separate from *ō*.—In some words

<sup>1</sup> Swedish long *ā*.

<sup>2</sup> Written *ū*, *ū* in some of his notes, but corrected into *i*, *ī*.

Sk. gives vocalic *r*, *ŋ* and *m* (e.g. *rɪndag*, *rɪndag*), but these may be variants of *ər*, *rə*, etc.

The vowel system of the village of Langar Kishm<sup>1</sup> as described by Kl. agrees fairly well with that of Yamg. We find the short vowels *i*, *ü* (corresp. to *ĩ*), *u*, *ə*, *ö* (*ô*), *a* (*ɛ*), and the long vowels *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ū*, *ā*, *ō* (*ō*). Kl.'s *ō* (*ô*) corresponds to my *ε*, at any rate in some cases (*kōnd* = *kend*). The total number of his vowel phonemes amounts to 13, the same as I believe to have found in Yamg.

<sup>1</sup> The above section was written when I got his paper.



## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

27. Initial surd stops remain. Thus, e.g.: *kūi* 'who'; *kibīt* 'pigeon'; *k-*, *t-*, *p-* *kerk* 'hen'; *tu* 'thou'; *p̄pār* 'axe'; *taṣ* 'thirsty'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pū'd* 'foot'; *patr* 'son'; *pānz* 'five'; *p'ū(?)n* 'palm of the hand'. Regarding aspiration cf. above, § 19.

We find a change into a fricative in *ḡān-* 'to burn'; *ḡān* 'hot'; *xūf* 'foam'; *xāš-* 'to pull'. Cf. Sar. *ḡau-* 'to burn', and v. above Yd.—Mj. § 63, Sgl.—Ishk. § 18.<sup>1</sup> If we are right in assuming that ancient *ḡ-*, *x-* resulted in Wkh. *t-*, *k-* the change into fricatives in these words must be late, or they must be lw.s. The change of *\*kaf-* > *xaf-*, and of *\*taf-t* > *\*ḡaf-t* might be due to a kind of assimilation.

Sonorization has taken place in *gahal* Sh. 'lazy, slow' (< Prs. *kahal*) and possibly in *gīz-* 'to rise', if < *\*kēz-* < *\*xaiz-*.<sup>2</sup> The derivation of *gōṣ-* 'to do' < *\*karš-* is very uncertain, and with *gāč-* 'to totter' cf. not only Sar. *wa-koč-*, but also Yd. *ḡōṣi-*.

*ḡūy* Sk. 'multicoloured' is borr. from Shgh., and *ḡir-* Sh. 'to sing' from Sar. (cf. Av. *kar-* 'to praise', etc.). It is tempting to derive *ḡōṣ-* 'to kill' from *kuš-*, but the *č-* may have come from a present base *ḡauš-*.

28. The fate of ancient *č-* is uncertain, just as in Yd.—Mj. and *č-* Sgl.—Ishk.

<sup>1</sup> V. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 299. Cf. also Saka *khava-* 'foam' < *\*xapa-* < *kafa-*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But a derivation < *\*an-gēz-* < *\*an-kēz* < *\*han-xoiz-* is more probable.

In most genuine Wkh. words we find *c*-; e.g., *cəbūr* 'four'; *cum* 'how much'; *cə-waxt* 'when'; *car-* 'to do', etc.<sup>1</sup> But we also find *č*-, not only in lw.s and words of unknown origin, but also in *čərm* 'canal', *čažm* 'eye';<sup>2</sup> *čip-* 'to pick'.<sup>3</sup> As for *čāw-* 'to go', v. § 55.

### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

29. Intervocalic tennues are, as a rule, retained.<sup>4</sup> Thus *-k-* in *maks* 'fly'; *tuk-* 'to go'; *tūk* 'willow', and, with ancient suffix *-ka-*, *detk* 'brick'; *mərtk* 'dead'; *purk* 'mouse'; *yupk* 'water'; *wuvuk* 'willow'; *würk* 'lamb'; *kik* 'spring'; *doek* 'inflated skin'; *yašk* 'tear'; *zik* 'tongue'; *žik* 'Wakhi', and past ptc, such as *žinak*, *žanetk* 'said'. —*yūk* L. 'dewlap' is of unknown derivation.

In secondary contact with *n*, *m* and *z*, but not with *r*,<sup>5</sup> *k* becomes *g*: *mizg* 'urine'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *yīg* 'raw'; *wurzg* 'right (hand)'; *đūng* 'snare'; *đəng* 'seed'. Cf. also *andag* 'slave' (< \**andg*, or lw.?) but *rānjk* 'fast, light'. *γarāy* Sh., St. 'collar', and *rečey* L. 'a fast' may be lw.s. Note *səgin* Y, *sigin* Sh., B. 'horse-dung', but *skin* L. 'yak's dung'.

30. Intervocalic *-t-* remains in *ət* Kl. 'and'; *bət* Kl. 'again'; *đit* 'smoke'; *kibit* 'pigeon'; *kūt* 'roof'; *kat-đit* 'soot'; *klič* 'hut'; *pitvār* 'small mussuck'; *rāyət*, *rāyd* L. 'young she-goat'; *sāt* 'baking-pan'; *wist* 'twenty'; (*y)ət*, *-et* 'this'; in pres. 3 sg., e.g., *pīt* 'he drinks', and in preterites and past participles such as *vīt* 'was'; *žatum* 'I said'; *detem* 'I gave'; *pītik* 'drunk', 'rotten'; *pəčētk* 'cooked'; *setk* 'satisfied', etc.—*gət-* 'to obtain'; *γat-* 'to arrive'; *žət* L. 'early supper'; *dētər* Sk. 'memory' are of uncertain origin.

The unstressed preposition *pu* < *pati* has lost its *t*, but it is

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> With assimilation < \**cažm*? Cf. Kl. *čəžm* with complete assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> Probably with retention of *č* before *i*. V. § 33. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. But cf. Yd.—Mj. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> V. Geiger, § 20.—Cf. the retention of *-š-* as an unvoiced sound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 76, 80. But *et. parg* 'ashes'; *pərg* 'necklace'.



retained in *pütmüi*- 'to mimic'; *pütrüz*- 'to lean against'; *pütžärm* 'wooden trough', and, with sonorization, in *pazdan*- 'to recognize' (Sar. *padždn*-). It is doubtful whether *pümez*- 'to dress'; *peterö*- 'to spring from one root' and other verbs with *pa*⁻ contain ancient *pati*-. More probably they have ancient *api*- or *upa*-. Also the derivation of *potuun* L. 'repair' from *\*pati-dāna*- is uncertain.— It is not likely that *pač*- in *pačraz*- 'to arrest' goes back to *pati*- (+ *\*raž*- < *razš*-?).<sup>1</sup>

The geminated postvocalic *tt* which occurs in some preterital bases must be due to internal development in Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

Verbs in original *āu* or *āi* have past stems in *d*, e.g., *staud* (*stau*-) 'praised'; *sədōid* (*sədūi*-) 'appeared'; *wōzdōid* (*wīzdey*) 'washed'; *porōd* (*puru*-) 'washed'; *varoid* 'howled'. This is possibly due to influence from Sar., where we find *staud*, *parod*, *varaud*, etc.

*xədōrg* (*xedōrg*) 'watermill' is prob. borrowed from Ishk. (we should expect genuine Wkh. *\*žēlirk*); *sudγ* 'smooth' from Sar.

Also *madāž* 'mare' must be a lw. And *pārd* 'last year' < *\*parut*- may have been influenced by *\*sard* 'year', cf. *pardīngi* 'of last year': *sērdīngi* (*\*sardīngi*) 'of this year'.

31. The only instance of ancient *-p* given by Geiger is *nəpūs* 'grand-child'. Other examples are: *yupk* 'water'; *təpār* 'axe'; *režup*- 'to sleep'; *rīp* 'hair on the body'; *repk* 'refuse, sweepings'; *drepč* 'broom'; *nīpes*, etc. (v. s.v. *nəbəs*) 'comb'; *rešip* 'whip'; *šipk* 'twig, rod'; *škop* 'castrated'; *šup* 'night's halt'; *čip*- 'to pick'; *kāp*- 'to suck'; *žip*- 'to spin', and, with early contraction, *špūn* 'shepherd'. Of unknown derivation are: *čup* 'small hawk'; *drūp*- 'to scratch'; *kipok* 'cuckoo' (?); *lup* 'big'; *rapic*- 'to lose the way'; *sup* 'spider'; *šilāp*- 'to splash'. Regarding *rīpk* 'neck-rope' cf. sub. *-b*. *ruparu* Sh. 'opposite' is adapted from the Prs. form.

We find *-b* in *kibit* 'pigeon' (influenced by the lw. *kabūt* 'blue');

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *čərm*- 'to enter' < *\*ati-ram-??* But v. Voc. s.v. *tanž*- 'to fold sheep'.

<sup>2</sup> After a stressed vowel?

*kobūn* 'wooden bowl, dish' (of uncertain derivation), and in *nəbəs* 'comb' (v. above).

*tovn*, *tov cerāk* 'to twist' is borrr. from Prs. *tāv*, cf. Sar. *tuw čīgao*. Also *parvēy-* 'to attain' may originally belong to another dialect. *andav* 'fever' might be derived from *\*han-tafya-*, and *θāw-* 'to burn' has prob. got its *-w-* from the past *\*θawd* < *\*tafta-*. The causative suffix *-v-* is probably of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *tətvārt* 'the year before last' < *\*tṛta-parut*, and of *vṛrōk* 'to-morrow' from *\*aparaka-* is quite uncertain.

32. The retention of intervocalic stops appears to have been the rule in the dialect which forms the main base of Wkh. Cf. the similar archaism in the much less isolated W.Bal. But in this respect, as well as in many others, the development of Wkh. may have been troubled by the admixture of foreign elements in various ways, and it is very difficult, perhaps even on principle impossible, to decide which irregularities are due to the internal development of the language.

33. The treatment of intervocalic *-č-* is parallel, on the one hand to that of intervocalic surd stops, on the other to that of initial *č-*.

The regular outcome of ancient *-č-* is *-c-*. Thus: *sic* 'needle'; *ričn* 'smokehole'; *dič-* 'to milk'; *ce* 'from'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pec* 'face'; *dočk* 'skin bag' (< *\*dačaka-*?). The derivation of *rapic-* 'to loose one's way'; *ručopc* 'cousin', and *iska-cusk* 'top of the shoulder' is unknown.

Before an *i* ancient *č* retained its palatal character. Thus: *šač* 'dog' (< f. *\*sica-čī*); *voč* 'paternal aunt'; *dṛrepč* 'broom'; *antərč* 'sister-in-law'; *wolč* 'quail'; *yôč* 'duck'; *wič* 'moth'; *dārč* 'thread'; *vašč* 'milkpail', which all may go back to feminines in *-čī-*. In secondary contact with *n* we find *-nṣ*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the adj. suffix *-enṣ*, *-unṣ* (f. of *-unṣ*); *stranṣ* 'durree, rug'; *sṇpərdänṣ* 'flea';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 79.



šūnj 'corner'; wānj 'belly'. Cf. yūmj 'flour'.—vīč 'outside' may go back to \*abyačī. rečey 'fasting' is a lw.,<sup>1</sup> and the derivation of nūčk 'beak'; šačūv- 'to strain', and tirīč L. 'dark' is uncertain. Regarding žārj/ž 'milk' v. Voc. s.v. rāuj Sh. 'flame' is probably bor. from Sar.<sup>2</sup>

As to the development of -čy- cf. § 55.

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

34. Wkh. belongs to the group of N.E.Ir. dialects in which voiced stops were changed into fricatives at an early date.

Ancient *g-*, from which *γ-* has become slightly palatalized (*ǰ-*), at any rate in the dialect of my best informant Y,<sup>3</sup> and in the varieties of Wkh. described by Sk., L., Z. and Kl.<sup>4</sup> The same sound is probably denoted by Shaw's italic *g*.<sup>5</sup>—X pronounced *g-*, e.g. in *giū* 'cow'; *gi'dim* 'wheat', etc. One would certainly be inclined to regard this merely as an incorrect rendering of Wkh. *ǰ-*, if it were not for the past ptc. *ki'tetk* (= *ǰatetk* Sh.) 'arrived' (< \**ktetk* < \**g(a)tetk*) of *gat-* (*ǰat-* Sh., etc.) 'to arrive'. Cf. also *kšūy-* 'to hear', if < \**gušaya-*. It is therefore possible that a certain section of Wakhis really pronounce *g-*.

Examples of *ǰ-* are: *ǰiū* 'cow'; *ǰidim* 'wheat'; *ǰār* 'stone'; *ǰiš* 'ear', etc.—Cf. the parallel palatalization of *ž-*. *γ-* appears chiefly in lw.s, but, according to Y, W, Sk., Sh., etc., also in a number of genuine Wkh. words. Thus, e.g.: *yaš* Y, W; *yāš* Sk., Sh. 'mouth'. It is impossible to decide whether this notation does represent the real pronunciation of Wkh.

*gī* 'excrement' is an early lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 29.

<sup>2</sup> This would also account for the diphthong. But Sh. gives Sar. *sanz*.

<sup>3</sup> Also in some of the words given by W.

<sup>4</sup> Note the further palatalization in *šip-* 'to spin' (if not early lw. from Sar., cf. *žerāx* 'knot'), and *yip* L. 'fat' (= Khow. *yip*).

<sup>5</sup> Which I have transcribed with *ǰ*.

35. In intervocalic position we find  $\gamma$ ,  $\check{\gamma}$  in  $\delta i\gamma$  Y,  $\delta i\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'butter-milk';  $r\check{\gamma}i\check{s}$  Sk.,  $re\gamma i\check{s}$  Sh.,  $regi\check{s}$  Y 'beard' (Khow.  $r i\gamma i\check{s}$ , borrr. from Wkh.);  $r\check{\gamma}g\ddot{u}m$  Sk.,  $ra\gamma\ddot{u}m$  Sh. 'heifer';  $spr\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'flower';  $r\check{\gamma}\dot{\gamma}ot$ ,  $r\check{\gamma}y\dot{d}$  'young she-goat' (if < \**fra-gatā*);  $y\ddot{u}y\check{o}ne$   $\gamma\check{o}r$  L. 'anvil' (\**ā-gana*?). The derivation of  $\check{\gamma}ir\check{o}v$ :  $\check{\gamma}ir\check{o}gn$  Sh. ( $\check{\gamma}er\check{o}gn$  Kl.) 'to be stuck' and of *prigīn* Sh. 'horse-clothing' (Sar. *parwein*) is unknown.  $t\ddot{u}y$  'she-goat' may be a lw.
36. Examples of  $\delta < d$  are:  $\delta\check{\gamma}d$  'daughter';  $\delta i\check{r}$  'sickle';  $\delta i\check{t}$  *d* 'smoke';  $\delta i\check{e}$  'to milk';  $\delta i\gamma$  'buttermilk';  $\delta i\check{r}$  'distant';  $\delta e\check{t}k$  'brick';  $\delta i\check{z}$  'wall'.

A number of words with *d* probably go back to ancient forms in \**han-d*, e.g. *diš* 'to know'; *durz* 'to seize'; possibly also *dārč* 'thread'. *dediŷ* 'to look' is due to dissimilation.<sup>1</sup> *dast* 'hand' is borrr. from Prs., and *dūr* 'belly' may, in spite of its vowel, be an ancient lw. from Ishk. *dūr*. All sources agree in having *d* in *dendik* 'tooth'. In this word the initial may have been influenced either by Prs. or by Ishk.—X has  $\delta i\gamma$ ,  $\delta i\check{r}$ , but *degd*,  $d\check{i}l^w r$ , *die*, etc. This may, however, be due merely to his imperfect knowledge of Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

*lèw* 'demon' belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type, cf. also W. *lānd* 'tooth'; *lāst* 'hand',<sup>3</sup> and *məlung* 'middle'; *žil* 'perspiration'; *vūl* 'smell'; *wolun* 'to shake apricots' (\**wi-dunau*?).<sup>4</sup> Note the rendering of Wkh.  $\delta$  by Shina *l* in *lištik* 'brick', v. Voc. s.v. *šetk*. Burushaski has, however, *diščik*.

37. For ancient *-d* Sh., Z., Kl., L., W. and Be. have the expected *-d*,<sup>5</sup> while Y., X., Sk., St. and Hj. in most cases have *-d*. Cf. the Voc. s.vv. *mād* 'waist'; *pū'd* 'foot'; *mədīr* 'noon'; *skid* 'cap'; *wād* 'canal'; *sədūi* 'to appear'; *wūdγ* 'to-day'; *wədek* 'path' the lws *madāž* 'mare'; *kšād* 'wide'; *xədōrg* 'watermill', and also *šād* 'six'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> If true Wkh. words. Hayward's '*las*' '10', '*shal*' '6' are prob. misheard for *das*, *šād*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 9.

<sup>5</sup> Written (d)z by Be.



Note, however, Y *pōdn* 'saddle'; *nəḍavn-* 'to embrace'; *pidīng-* 'to take fire';<sup>1</sup> St. *maḍūr*, *waḍuk*, and Sk. *ṣūdi* 'theft' but *ṣūd* 'thief'. This variation must be due to difference of dialect.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of *-ḍ-* are: Sh. *škōḍ-* 'to break'; *rōḍ-* 'to flee'; *nūḍn* 'to sit' (v. Voc. s.v. *nezd-*); *tūbed-* 'to burst'; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; L. *naḍun* 'quiver'; *waḍ* 'handle'; *speḍk* 'sole'; *pāḍ* 'ligature', and, with unknown etymology, *šid* 'uphill'; *peḍeṣen* 'breast work'; *yīḍesen* 'ripened crops'. Note Kl. *perməyūng* 'belt' with *y* from Prs. As to *-l- < -ḍ-* v. above.

Y *rəstəv-* 'to break' = Sh. *rasedūv-* does not prove any great age for the no doubt secondary transition of *-ḍ- > -d-*, since a similar form is also given by Kl. (*rəstv-*), who always has *-ḍ-* in modern postvocalic position.

If *šapt* 'wolf' is borrr. from early Khow., it goes back to *\*šapθ < \*šap(i)ḍ*, cf. Sar. *xiḍp*.<sup>3</sup>

38. Initial *b-* results in *v-*, e.g. in *vānd-* 'to bind'; *vīr* 'load'; *vīt b-* 'was'; *vərz* 'long'. X hesitated between *vīt* and *bīt* 'was', and gave *hidek* 'road' corresponding to Y *vədek*. Cf. his pronunciation of *γ-* and *ḍ-*.

All sources have *furz* 'birch', with unexplained *f-* for *v-*. Cf. also Voc. s.v. *fuks* 'snake': Ishk. *vuks*.

39. Intervocalic *-b-* results in *-v-*: *pōv-* 'to drink' (pres. 3 sg. *pīt*); *-b- ḍviy-* 'to steal'; *ḍrev-* 'to sew'; *səmvər* 'yoke' (*\*sami-bara-*); *nuc-* 'to soak'. Also *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *višiv-* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib-ʔ*); *vizam-* 'to rub', and *vīc* 'outside' probably contain ancient *\*abi-*. With *ṣūv* Sk. 'cornbin' cf. Ishk. *ṣōv*; and with *poziv* 'heart' Sgl. *ōvzui*. Be. *gavust* 'fist' may stand for *\*ṣavust*, if connected with Skr. *gabhasti-*.

X has, as might be expected, *-b-* in *pōb-* 'to drink'; *sab*, *sav* 'you', and *drip-* (for *drīb-ʔ*) 'to sew'.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient prefixed forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 16.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v., and cf. § 14.

40. The only certain instance of *j* is Y *jəi*, L. *j/zēi* 'bowstring'; cf. *j* Kl. *jəl* 'string of an instrument'. *juγ* 'yak' and *jək/qlai* 'small' (v. s.v. *zəkalaī*) are not true Wkh. words.—But cf. *či* < \**či* (§ 33).

Intervocalic *-j-* is perhaps found in *wuzem-* 'to bring', if < \**ā-jamaya-*. *sprēž-* L. 'to blossom' < \**spra)(a)ya-*. The derivation of L. *yōž-* 'to bear' and *wižēik* 'ibex' is unknown.

#### Cerebrals.

41. St. gives *t* in *hāt* 'eight', but all other sources have the regular *t* (< *št*). I have noted dental and cerebral *t* in Y *b<sup>rr</sup>rt/t* 'elbow', cf. St. *b<sup>rr</sup>rt*, but Sk. *b<sup>rr</sup>et*, Sh. *bōret*.

All other words with *t* are of IA, or unknown, origin. Thus: *at* Sk. 'open'; *baṇḍ* X 'walking stick'; *čat* 'horned cattle'; *čut* Sk. 'asunder'; *doṭki* X 'calf, 1 y. old' (?); *kaṭ-* 'to place, throw'; *kəṭ* 'short'; *kuṭōl* W 'dagger'; *paṭ* 'penis'; *peṭ* 'round'; *p<sup>t</sup>ōk* Sk. 'bread'. The only word with *t-* is *fōr* 'walnut'.

We find *ṇḍ* in *māṇḍ-* (but Y *mānd-*) 'to rub'; *pəṇḍək* Sk. 'unripe apricot'; *ṇ* only in W *məṇū* 'apple' and *mōṇ* 'urial', which are certainly no true Wkh. forms; and *l* in X *keṭi* 'yoke peg' which is a Khov. word.

#### Surd Fricatives.

42. We find ancient fricatives retained in *xūr* 'ass'; *xūn* 'house'; *fīak* 'shoulder-blade'; *ṣām-* 'to descend'; *yīṣ* 'ice'; *ūf-* 'to weave'; *parwuf-* 'to plait', *xuf* 'foam'. The initial fricatives in *xāṣ-* 'to pull'; *xuf* 'foam'; *ṭāc-* 'to burn'; *ṭin* 'hot', and the *ṭ* in *yoṭ* 'nest' (< \**ā-haḍa-*?) are of secondary origin. Cf. also *ṣeč* 'bread'; *skaf-* 'to trip'; *pīṭu*, *pṭū* 'mosquito', and *yīṣūn* 'bridle', the derivation of which is uncertain.

In a number of cases we find, however, Wkh. stops corresponding to fricatives of other Ir. languages.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *gīz-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ṭr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.



'to rise' (< \*aŋ-kēz- < \*haŋ-xaiz-); *kik* 'spring' (< \*xākū, cf. Orm. *xāko*, etc.<sup>1</sup>); *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl' (if < \*k<sup>mb</sup>ūn < \*xumbāna); *kās* 'to thresh' (if < \*xad + sa-); *rūk* 'forehead, brow' (cf. Prs. *rux*); *pēi* 'paddle, shovel'; *ramet* 'chewing the cud' (if < \*raumaḍa-); *tap* 'wing' (cf. Rosh. *tēf*); *yīnōt* 'dream' (\*hufnaḍā?), and, possibly, *dəger*, *djōr* (Cap. *hindiger*) 'finger-nail' (if < \*ngōr < \*n(a)kōr, cf. Sar. *naṣaur* < \*nazōr). Cf. also Khow. *supuk*, Werchikwar *sapa* 'hoof'; Bur. *sap* 'horseshoe', prob. from Wkh. \*sap(ak), and possibly Khow. *auzetu* 'heifer', which might be borrowed from a Wkh. form derived from \*abi-zaḥyā and corresponding to Yd. *pəzeḥi*.

Wkh. *pūz* 'breast' corresponds to Mj. *fūz*, and Wkh. *kap* 'hump' to Av. *kaofa*, etc. But we find *p* also in Khow. *pāz*, Sar. *puz* (both of which words may however be l.w.s from Wkh.), and in Sar. *kiep*, Orosh. *kūp*, etc.

It seems probable that ancient initial and intervocalic fricatives were changed into stops in Wkh., just as was the case with fricatives followed by *r*.<sup>2</sup> Words containing fricatives may be borrowed (e.g. *xūn*, *fūk*), or due to mixture of dialect.

In the name of the village *Xandut* (Hüan-Tsang *Xuən-d'ā-tā*) *x* may go back to *huc*.

In *yōc* 'duck' (< \*āḍiči?) *ḍ* has possibly been dropped before *č*.

#### Sibilants.

43. Initial and intervocalic *s* remains in Wkh. Thus: *sū* 'hare'; *sic* *s* 'needle'; *skid* 'skull-cap'; *sokr* 'red', etc.; *nesi* 'to lie down'; *nūs* 'to lose'; *pos* 'fat sheep'; *ḍas* 'ten', etc.
44. Also *z* remains unchanged: *zik* 'tongue'; *zem* 'snow'; *zart* 'yellow', *z* etc.; *wuz* 'I'; *wāz* 'to fall'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *vīzam* 'to rub to powder'.

<sup>1</sup> Sar. *kauk* < Wkh. \*kōk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the parallel development in W.Bal., Par. and some dialects of Kurd.

45. There is no certain instance of ancient *ṣ*- in Wkh. But it is possible that *šāp*- 'to suck'; *šīr* 'dung', and perhaps a few other words may contain Ir. \**ṣ*- < \**ks*-.

46. The treatment of intervocalic *ṣ*- is varied, and it is difficult to determine the genuine Wkh. development of this sound. One fact appears, however, to be evident: Wkh. did not change *ṣ*- into \**ṣ̌*- as do most of the neighbouring Pamir dialects, Saka, Psht., Orm., Par., etc.

We find *ṣ* and *ṣ̌* in Y, X, Kl. *yiṣ*, etc. 'ear': Sk., Sh., Z *yiš*, etc.; Y, X *regiš*, etc. 'beard': Sk., Sh. *rəyiš*, etc.; Y *ramuš*- 'to forget': Sk., Sh. *rimuš*-, etc.; *ṣ* in Y, X, Sh., Z *siš* 'louse'; Sk., L. *müš*-, *muš*- 'to conceal, steal' (\**mušya*-?); Y *piš*, etc. cat; Sh. *wušūy*- 'to untie'; *ṣ* in Y *yišek* 'plough-handle'; *ṣ̌* in Y, X, Sk., Kl. *sitəṣ̌*, etc. 'daughter-in-law'; Sh. *piṣ* 'biestings'. In all these words Ir. *ṣ* goes back to IE. *s*. IE. \**ks* and *gy* apparently yield the same result in Wkh.<sup>1</sup> Thus: Y *tiš*- 'to shave': X, Sk., L. *tüš*-, etc.; Y, W, Sk. *küš* 'vulva'; L. *peš*- 'to ripen'; Sh., L, Kl. *pšew*-, etc. 'to return' (\**apačya*-); Sh. *pargöš*- 'to be entangled' (\**pari-guz* + *s*?). Of uncertain origin are: L. *rüş* 'Ovis Poli'; *nerəš* 'boiling over'; *wušeng* 'entire (bull)' (< \**wršanaka*?); *yišir* 'threshold'; *mešen* 'along with'; Y, Sh. *diṣ*-, *diṣ̌*- 'to crush' (cf. L. *dešen* 'millstone'); Y, X *məš(u)* 'ankle' (cf. Sh. *mašin* = Sar.).

*mai* 'sheep, female urial' probably belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type (cf. Mj. *miyo* 'sheep'). *kal(ɪbən)* 'armpit' appears to be of Ishk. origin, although this dialect has now adopted the Prs. form *kaš(viš)*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *fril*- 'to crumbe': Ishk. *vrēl*- 'to break'.

There remain to be explained *šād/d* 'six',<sup>3</sup> and *yākš*- 'to boil',

<sup>1</sup> As to Yd.—Mj., cf. § 75.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sar. *bifel* < \**upakaša*-, Sogd. *pkšy* 'side, flank'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly with dissimilation of sibilants from \**šūz* (cf. Oss. *šəsūz*), with unexplained *z*.



if correct and connected with Av. *yaēš-*. Regarding *šəmak* 'moon', cf. 60.

As to *ž* in groups of consonants cf. § 74.

ž

### Nasals.

47. Initial *m*- and *n*- remain: *mād* 'waist'; *maks* 'fly'; *mərt* 'dead', *m*-, *n*- etc.; *nāu* 'nine'; *nə* 'not'; *naʃd* 'night', etc.

Intervocalic *m* and *n* remain, e.g. in *ʃidim* 'wheat'; *səmvər* 'yoke'; *m*-, *n*- *zem* 'snow'; *yəm* 'this'; *būn*- 'to winnow'; *kīn*- 'to draw a sword'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'.

In secondary contact with *g* (< *k*) *m* and *n* are assimilated into *ŋ*. Thus: *noŋ* 'name'; *yīŋ* 'raw' (but *yūm* 'flour' < *\*āmači*); *diŋ* 'springe' (but Sar. *dom*); *mʷlung* 'middle' (if < *\*madama*); *doŋ* 'seed', *-uŋ* < *\*ānaka* (f. *-en*).

*mingas* 'sparrow' is dissimilated into *wiŋgās* Sh., *iŋgas* X. Cf. *šivən* 'rope' < Khw. *šimeni*. A very special case is *dəger* 'nail' (Capus *hindiger*), if < *\*n(d)gōr* < *\*n(a)kōr*.<sup>1</sup>

### Liquids.

48. Initial *r* occurs in *rien* 'smoke-hole'; *rūyn* 'ghee', etc.; inter- *r* vocalic *-r-* in *ʃār* 'stone'; *mar-* 'to die', etc.

Ancient *l* is retained in *yāŋgəl* 'finger'; *liv-* 'to slip' (< *\*sleib*), *l* while *lič-* 'to lick' is probably a lw. The etymologies of *lup* 'big'; *namul-* 'to hem'; *parköl-* 'to excavate'; *šilāp-* 'to splash'; *wulun-* 'to shake apricots', etc. are unknown, or uncertain.

We find *l* < *r* in *wolč* 'quail'; *plōŋgōšt* 'finger-ring'; *kučöl* W 'dagger'. *l* interchanges with *r* in *wēra* Y: *wēla* X 'gums'; *miŋgōr* Y: *miŋgōl* X 'beak'; *xariyōn* X *xilian* Sh. 'nephew'; *palč* Y, X, Sh., Sk.: *parč* Be. 'leaf'. There is apparently a tendency in Wkh. to change *r* into *l* before *č*, and perhaps before *tk* (restitution of *r* in perfect stems?). We find *r* retained in *pərčōd* 'maid'. But this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 42, 77.

word has ancient simple *r*, while *l* in *palč*, *walč*, *walk*<sup>1</sup> go back to, or form part of, ancient groups of consonants. Cf. the change of *r* > *l* before certain consonants in Saka. Note the insertion of *l* in *šolx* 'branch' (< Prs. *šūx*?).

#### Glottal.

49. Initial *h*- is lost in *wask* 'dry'; *yir* 'sun' (Av. *hūr*-); *yinōt* 'dream' *h*- (\**hufnaðā*-?); *yoyut* Be. 'groin' (< Av. *haxti*-); *andag* 'slave'; *ce* 'from'. The prefix *ham*- has in many cases been reduced to *m*-, *n*-, which is assimilated to a following consonant.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the general disappearance of *h*- in all neighbouring languages it seems probable that *hūb* 'seven' and *hāt* 'eight' have got their *h* from Prs. But why *hūmi*- 'to be'?

Intervocalic *-h*- is lost in *šū* 'hare'; *šūi* 'sister'; *nezd*-. *nein*- *h*- (*nieng*) 'to sit', and possibly in *rōin* 'light', if < \**bāhanī*. Cf. \**hy*- in *ḍai* 'man, lad'; *kūi* 'who'; *mīy* 'month'. As to *wuʒen* 'blood', cf. § 62.

#### Semivowels.

50. Initial *w*- remains. Thus: *wād* 'watercourse'; *walk* 'kidney'; *w-* *wīn*- 'to see'; *wūr* 'rain'; *wān* 'belly'; *wunuk* 'willow'; *wūr* 'lamb'; *wušūy*- 'to untie', etc. — *w*- is lost through assimilation in *ūf*- Y (analogically *āft*-) 'to weave', but *wōf*- Z, *wuf*- Sh.; *wʒen* X, N 'blood': *wuʒen* Y. Note *žik* 'Wakhi' < \**w(u)žik*.

There is a number of words of unknown origin having initial *w*-, e.g., *wuʒer* 'stable'; *wīnek* 'marmot'; *wuč* 'arrow' (< *ušč* < *išuči* ?); *wuʒeng* 'entire (bull)'; *wīžik* 'ibex'.

In *γōš*, *γōš* 'male' (Prs. *gušn* < *varəšna*) and *γer* 'wool' (if connected with Av. *varənu*) *w*- has become *γ*-. These words may originally belong to some other dialect, cf. Par. *w* > *γ*- and Saka *wi* > *gu*- (before labials).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *walk* 'kidney', § 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 76 sq.



51. Intervocalic *-w-* remains in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *čāw-* 'to go'; *drāw-* 'to reap'; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *rāwez-* 'to fly'; *yawcer-* 'to select'; *wasēr-* 'to become cold'; *wazem-* 'to squeeze out'; *wūndr* 'field' (the three last words with *awa-*). In modern final position *āw* often results in a diphthong: *ŷīu* (Z *ŷīw*, Sk. *γīw*) 'cow'; *nīu* 'millrace'; *nāu* 'nine'; *yau* 'that'; *tau* 'thee'; *zāu* 'grain'; *šou*, *šēw* 'horn'; *vrau* 'eyebrow'. Cf. *īu*, *īw* 'one'.

Between Wkh. *ī* and a following consonant *w* is elided. Thus: *yīt* 'he eats'; *drīt* 'he reaps'; *čīt* 'he goes'. The development probably was *awa* > *au* > *ī*.<sup>1</sup> But cf. also *pīt* 'he drinks' (*pōv-*), *θīt* 'it burns' (*θāw-*, with secondary *w*).

52. Initial *y-* is retained in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *yūm* 'twin'; *yaž* 'twig'; *y-yašk* 'trained, taught', and possibly in *yīrk* 'barley'; *yūnd-* 'to take away'; *yaz* 'ice'. Regarding *antərē* sister-in-law, v. Voc. s.v.

*zāu* 'grain, provisions' is of foreign origin (cf. Khw. *žō*). *žōδ-* Sh. 'to sow' (Sar. *yēδ-*) is probably identical with *žēδ-* Sh. 'to strew, sprinkle' (Sar. *ŷieδ-*). The derivation of this verb is uncertain.

53. Intervocalic *-y-* appears in *pūtmūy-* 'to command'; *zwāy-* 'to roll up'; *sədūy-* 'to appear'; *ŷīy-* 'coire'; *rami* Sh. 'to command'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'. Cf. also *trūi* 'three'; *pāi* 'curds'; *wīgīn* 'pass' (*\*wi(y)-ayana-*?). *-y-* was elided in *mədīr* 'noon' < *\*madya-ayara-*; *pezīn*, *pīzən* 'udder' prob. < *\*payah-zana-*; *tī* 'thy' < *\*taya-*? As for *pēi* 'paddle', *strei* 'female' v. Voc. s.vv.

Note *dēdiž-* 'to look after': Av. *diday-*.

#### Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

54. Wkh. has a tendency to develop prothetic semivowels before ancient initial vowels, in accordance with all neighbouring Ir. dialects.

Thus, before original *u*, we find a prothetic *w-* in *wəšk* 'dry'; *wūč* 'high'. In *wuz* 'I' unstressed *a* was changed to *u* at an early

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *au* > *i*, § 99.

date, and in *wurzg* 'right' *r* became *wr*. But note *wüzem*- 'to bring' (< \**ā-jamaya*-?); *wüdḡ*, *ūdḡ*, etc. 'to-day' (< \**adyaka*?).

Prothetic *y*- is much more frequent, and numerous examples will be found in the Voc. Cf., e.g., *yāṅḡəl* 'finger'; *yupk* 'water'; *yukš* 'male ibex' (with development of *y*- before the change of the vowel into *u*); *yurm* 'forearm'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *yīš* 'ice', etc., and even the Prs. lw. *yafṭa* 'week'. In *yīr* 'sun' < *hūr*-, and *yīnōt* 'sleep' < \**ūn*- < *hufn*- the vowel must have moved towards \**ū*, *i* before the prothetic *y*- was added.

No prothetic semivowel appears before the unstressed initial vowels in *andav* 'fever', *andag* 'slave'. The absence of *y*- in *in* 'one' (besides *yīw*) is probably also due to lack of stress. In *hūb* 'seven', *hat* 'eight' the Prs. *h* (v. § 49) has prevented the development of a prothetic *y* or *w*.

### Groups of Consonants.

#### First Component an Affricate.

55. Ancient *čy* (< *čiy*, *čay*) apparently results in *č* (or *čʔ*). Cf. X, Kl. *čy* *čāw*- 'to go': Sk. *čāv*-, Sh. *čau*-; Y, Kl. *rəč*-, X *reč*- 'to go': Sk. *rəč*-, Sh. *rač*-, Sk. *wəṛəč*-, Sh. *wəreč*- 'to remain'; Y, X *pə/ičetk*, Sh. *pöčetk* 'cooked' (from *pačaya*-, cf. Sh. *pöč*-; but cf. L. *peš*- 'to ripen' < *pašya*- < \**pačya*-).<sup>1</sup> Cf. regarding *sy*, § 72.

#### First Component a Voiced Stop (or Fricative).

56. As to the derivation of *ḡyd* 'daughter' from \**duxṭā* or *dugdā*, *gd* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

The derivation of *žārž*, etc. 'milk' < \**gžara-čī* is probable, but *gž* not certain. On the other hand we find *šuc*- 'to gnaw' (cf. Ishk. *šāw*-) corresponding to Prs. *jāwīdan*, etc. (< \**gž*-?).

<sup>1</sup> v. § 46.



- *xūyūn* Sh. 'husband's sister' (Yd. *xugēyeno*); *piðing*, *piðn*- 'flamed up' probably contain *n* < *γn*. *rūyn*, *rūjən* 'ghee, grease' is a lw., or has in any case got its vowel from Prs. or Ishk. No reliance can be placed upon the retention of *γ* in the place-name *Šiyinōn* 'Shughnan'. As to *ǣk* < *γn* + *k*, cf. § 61, and as to *γn* in past stems v. § 152.

The only certain instance of *gr* is *γ'rūng* 'heavy'.

gr

Ir. *d* (ð) is assimilated to a following *n* in *ne-in*- 'sat down' (*nezd-*); *rənn-*, *rən-* 'fled' (*rəd-*); *rasen-* 'broke' (*rased-*, v. *rəstəv-*); *zūbōn* 'burst' (*zūbed-*, v. s.v. *zūbūt-*).

57. Ancient *dr*- is preserved, or, more probably, *ðr* has been differentiated into *dr*. Thus: *d'rev*- 'to sew'; *drūp*- 'to scratch'; *drāw*- 'to reap', etc.

dr

It is possible that *-dr*- was transposed into *rd* in *wirdina* L. 'clear sky', cf. Skr. *vidhra*-, etc. Cf. also *vardezn*- 'to press down' < *\*abi-dranj*-?

Ir. *dve*-, through *ðv*-, became *b*-.<sup>1</sup> Thus *būi* 'two'; *bot* 'again'; *du bār* 'door'; *būn*- 'to winnow'; *bā* 'thick'; *bərīn* 'knee'(?). In postvocalic position *v*: *savand*- 'to throw away' (< *\*hača-dvean*-?), and *-əv* pers. suff. 2 pl. < *\*dwam*, *\*dwaī*.

As to *-dy*- in *mād/ð* 'waist', etc., cf. § 37.

dy

58. Ir. *bd* is possibly represented by *vd* in *d'revd* 'sewed'; *nadevd* *bd* 'affected' (v. Voc. s.vv. *d'rev*-, *nəðavn*-). The derivation of *vədek* 'path' is uncertain.

Ir. *bz* has become unvoiced (through analogy with other verbs) in *nadevs*-, *nadefs*- 'to affect', etc. V. Voc. s.v. *nəðavn*-, which furnishes an instance of ancient *bz*.

bz

Initial *br* results in *v(ə)r*:- *vərau* 'eyebrow'; *varīn*- 'to shear'; *br vares*- 'to fry'; *vərit* 'brother'. In postvocalic position we find metathesis in *sērv* Sh. 'hole'. Scarcely *mūr* 'cloud' < *\*amawr* < *\*ham-abra*-.  
•

<sup>1</sup> After the sonorization of *-ðve*-, cf. § 65.

*First Component a Surd Fricative.*

59. In spite of its preservation of intervocalic surd stops and of *š*, Wkh. follows the other Pamir languages in the voicing of the groups *ft* and *xt*.

Thus *γd* < *xt*: *nayd*, *nāyd* 'night'; *vāyd* 'night-mare'; *teyd* *xt* 'shrap'; *tayd*, etc. 'went'; *rəyd* 'went, moved' (*rəq̄*); "yoghut" Be. (*\*yoy̆d̆*?) 'groin'. Note also the lw. *coyd* Sh. 'when' < *\*co-waxt*. The etymology of *šayd* 'new' is unknown.

Secondary formations are the past stems: *tōēt* Sh. 'went'; *paed*, *pōšt* 'cooked'; *čukt* 'beat' (*čuk*).

Wkh. *vd* < *ft* (*bd*?) appears in a number of past stems. Thus: *ft* *čavd* 'picked' (*čip*); *paedvd* 'cooked' (*paciv*), and other causatives.<sup>1</sup> Secondary preterites are, e.g., *āft* 'wove' (*ūf*); *rožopt* 'slept' (*režup*); *θit* 'burnt' (*θāw*).

*hūb* 'seven' is irregular. A metathesis of *\*avd* into *\*adv* > (*h*)*ūb* is unlikely.

60. Ir. *xš* occurs in *šūp* 'night's halt'; *šāy* 'to kill', and possibly in *xš* *šafš*, *šāfš* 'hair'. *šād* 'six'; *šipk* 'rod' probably go back to forms in *xšw*. Cf. also *šui* 'moraine' (Skr. *kṣaya* 'decay'?).

*kšūy*, *kšōn* 'to hear' can have nothing to do with Av. *xšnā*, as suggested Air.Wb. s.v. It is possibly derived < *\*g(u)šaya*.

Intervocalic *xš(w)* appears as *š* or *š̌* in *yašk* L. 'taught', *yežk* Sh. 'learning' (< *yuxšaka*); *yaž* 'twig' (*\*yaxša*); *Wuž* 'Wakhan' (< *\*waxšu*); *yōšt* L. 'agreement' (< Av. *āxšti*); *višiv* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib*); *rešip* L. 'whip' (< *fra-xšwaipa*).

*rakš* 'grey, brown' is probably adapted from Prs. *raxš*.—*vrokš* Sh. 'male Ovis Poli' is of unknown origin; *drukš* 'bull' may go back to *\*drušk* < *\*druždk* < *\*dṛždaka* (v. Voc. s.v.). *yukš* 'male ibex' may have been influenced by the ending of these two names of male, horned animals, and go back through *\*yuks* to *\*yusk* < *\*ūsuka*. A derivation of *bakš* 'husband's brother' < *\*ham-baxša-ka*, or *\*ham-paxšaka* is very uncertain. *yakš* 'to boil' can hardly be derived from Av. *yaēš*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 149.



Ir. *xšn* was apparently simplified into *xn* after the change of *xšn* original *xn* into *ɣn*, if *ruɣn*, etc., 'white' and *roɣnīg*, *riɣniɣ* 'fire' are not early lw.s.

The only instance of *xs* is *šōxs*- 'to pass' (lw.?). But cf. Voc. s.v. *xs* *picev*.

61. Ir. *xm* is sonorized into *ɣm* as in other Pamir dialects: *taɣm*, *xm* *taɣm* 'grain'. *tuxm* is a lw.

Similarly *xn* > *ɣn* (*gn*) in the following past stems: *pamegn*- Sh. *xn* 'dressed' (*pūmec*); *rapagn*- Sh. 'lost the way' (*rapic*); *waregn*- Sh., *wəɣəɣn*- Sk. 'remained' (*wəɣəɣ*); *dōgən*, *dōɣn* 'milked' (*dlic*). Possibly also *vardeɣn*- Sh. 'pressed down' (*vardenz*-) and *šōgn*- Sh. 'filled into' (*šōnz*-).

In secondary contact with *k* we find *šk* (< \**ɣ(n)k*) in: *warešk*, *pamašk*, etc.

62. Ir. *xr* is changed into *kr* in *səkr* 'red'. Cf. the development of *xr* *θr* and *fr*. This change is probably connected with that of surd fricatives into stops in other positions.<sup>1</sup> Note also the retention of *vr*-, *ɣr*-.—*čerām* 'threshing-ground' (Yd. *xurom*) cannot go back to \**xrama*. Kl. *xərüθ*- 'to snore' may be an onomatopoeic word.

Ir. *xw* < *hw* has lost its labial element and results in *š*. Thus: *xw* *šū* 'sister'; *šil* Sh. 'perspiration'; *šān*- 'to speak'; *šūnen* 'own'; *šat* 'self'; *šūrs* (*xūrs* Sk.) 'father-in-law'; *šāš* (*xāš* Sk.) 'mother-in-law'; *rešup*- 'to sleep'; *wušən* 'blood' (< \**wahwani*-). *šām*- 'to descend' probably has ancient *x*, in spite of Khow. *xwam*-, *xam*- (Ir. lw.).

*xədōrg* 'water-mill' is a lw.;<sup>2</sup> *xəfs*- 'to fall asleep' is borrr. from Prs., and also *xūžg* 'sweet' may be of non-Wkh. origin.<sup>3</sup> Note *šilian* Sh.: *xariyōn* Y, Z, etc. 'nephew' (sister's son?).

The only possible example of \**xw* < *kw* is *ruk* 'forehead', if < \**hraxwa* = Prs. *ruḫ*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 82.

63. If *θin* 'hot' and *yinōt* 'dream' go back to *\*θafna-* and *\*hufna-*, *fn* has been completely assimilated, in contradistinction to *βn* (*bn*) (only recorded, however, in the present base *nedavn-*).

The prefix *fra-* has resulted in *ra/e-* in: *rəgūm* 'heifer' (*\*fragāmā*); *fr-regiš* 'beard' (*\*fra-gaiša-*); *rəyot* 'young she-goat' (*\*fra-gatā*); *rami-* 'to command' (*\*fra-māy-*); *ramuš-* 'to forget' (*\*fra-muš-*); *rapic-* 'to lose the way'; *rūr-* 'to stretch out', etc. (*\*fra-ar-*); *rəst-əv*, *rased-* 'to break' (*\*fra-sid-*); *rəšip* 'whip' (*\*fra-xšēaipa-*); *rəcup-* 'to sleep' (*\*fra-hwap-*); cf. also *rəšpuk* 'bobbin, shuttle'; *rəwār* 'day' (*\*fra-wahra*). — *fəryəmē* 'she-calf, 1 y. old' and *fril-* 'to crumble' are not true Wkh. forms.

On the analogy of *tr*, *kr* < *θr*, *xr* we might expect to find *pr* in originally stressed syllables. But the derivation of *puru-* 'to wash' < *\*praw-* is uncertain on account of Sar. *paro-* (Wkh. lw.?), and Sar. *parōd*, Or. *perōd*, etc. correspond to Wkh. *prūt* 'first, foremost', which has been compared by Geiger with Skr. *pravātā*, but which is more probably connected with Av. *paouraya-*, Old Prs. *paruviyata-*. *p<sup>2</sup>rič* 'worm' (cf. Sgl. *p<sup>2</sup>čuk*) has certainly nothing to do with Par. *ruč*, Kafiri waig. *pruč* 'flea' < *\*pručī*.

On the other hand *rūn* 'shelf' (*rōn* Sar.; cf. Sgl. *frūn* 'plank') seems to show that *fr-* was assimilated in all positions. I am unable to explain the relation between *v<sup>2</sup>rōk* 'to-morrow' and W.Yghn. *f<sup>2</sup>rōk*.

Intervocalic *-fr-* possibly results in *-rf-*. Cf. *yər<sup>2</sup>f*, *γ(š)erf* (= *γ-?*) *-fr-* L. 'fireplace' < Av. *gufra-* 'deep'?

Ir. *fšy* occurs in *teš* 'steam' < *\*tafšya-*.

64. Ir. *θr* results in *tr*: *trūi* 'three'; *potr* 'son'; *θitr* 'sickle'; *šitr* 'thread' *fšy θr* (*\*yaištra-*); *witrin-* 'to sky' (*\*wi-θrahna-*, or *\*wi-t<sup>2</sup>rhna-?*). The etymology of *dētər* Sk. 'memory' is unknown. *čatr* 'parasol' is borr. from IA, and the same is the case with *citr* 'spindle' (the Wkh. form corresponding to Yd.—Mj. *čēša*, etc., would be something like *\*cīš*).<sup>1</sup> Also *mutr* 'augury' and *trakē* 'bitter', *trāč* Sh. 'bad tasting' are probably IA. lw.s.—*tor* Sh. 'net' is of Prs. or Ishk. origin. It is, perhaps, possible to derive *tirič* L. 'dark' from *\*taθrya-či*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, § 70.



As to *yōtr* 'nest', v. s.v. *yoθ*. *Prā* 'thither' probably contains ancient *\*tarah*.

65. Ir. *θn* appears to have resulted in *t(n)* in *haret*, *arat* St. 'cubit', but *θn* this sound-change is phonetically improbable. Cf. *berin* 'knee' (< *\*dwariθna* < *\*dwariθra*??).

Intervocalic *θw* was sonorized into *θw* > *θv*, from which *b*:<sup>1</sup> *cābūr* *θw* 'four'; *cābrēm* 'four days hence'.

### First Component a Sibilant.

66. Ir. *sk* remains in *skid* 'skull-cap'; *sken* 'puppy'; *sək* (*sk-əm*) 'on, sk above'. Cf. also *skaf* 'to trip'; *skōrd* 'bridge', and *skurf* 'rough', which may contain ancient *\*sk*- or *\*us-k*.

As in other Ir. dialects the sandhi-form has prevailed in some cases: *škop* 'castrated (bull)'; *škurg* 'to seek'; *škāv* 'to catch a cold'; *škōrē* 'burning coal'; *škāndiv* 'to break'.

67. Ir. *st* remains. Thus: *sliy* 'to send'; *stau* 'to praise'; *stin* *st* 'post, pillar'; *sitār* 'star' (prob. lw.). The etymology of *stōrs* 'plough-share' is unknown. Postvocalic *st* occurs in: *pist* 'bark, skin'; *nāst* 'is not'; *yost* 'fowl-house' (*\*ā-stā*?); *vāst* 'bound'; *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*zirānd*).

Wkh. *šč* in *yašč* (*yarē*, *ya-iē*) 'bone', and *xašč* (*xaišč*, *xa-iē*) 'damp, wet' corresponds to e.g. Yd. *st* in *yastē*, *xusto* (Sgl. *xāst*).—*\*sti/y* was possibly palatalized into *\*s't'* > *šč*. Cf. also *žec* 'bread'; *mič* 'fist, double handful'; Yd.—Mj. *xcisto*, *mišč(a)*. *vašč* 'milk-pail' might be derived from *\*basti*.

68. Ir. *sp* appears in *spūndr* 'ploughshare'; *sprəy* 'flower'; *sprəi* 'to *sp* blossom'; *sperdān* 'flea'; *span* 'to fill up' (*\*us-parna*?). *sipask* 'rafter' is of unknown origin. Intervocalic *sp* occurs in *naspar* 'to thread down'; *yisp* 'shoulder' (of uncertain etymology).
69. Wkh., as well as Saka, distinguishes between ancient *sp* and *sr*. *sr*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 57.

This latter group results in *ś*.<sup>1</sup> We are here in the presence of an important and very ancient isoglott which connects Wkh. and Saka.

After early Ir. *\*ś*, or *\*ē* (< IE *k̑*) *u* was palatalized into *ū*, and this sound, in its turn, helped to preserve the palatal character of the preceding sibilant, with which it was assimilated.

Examples are: *śač* 'dog'; *śiś* 'louse'; *yaś* 'horse'; *yīśn* 'iron', and probably *pśin* Sh. 'patch' (cf. Yd. *paspōn*, etc.). Burushaski *śandi* 'cut crops lying on the ground' might possibly be a lw. from a lost Wkh. word connected with Saka *śsandaa* 'earth' (< *\*ścantakā*).<sup>2</sup>

70. Wkh. *wūč* 'very high' may go back to *usča*. But the same form *śč* is also found in Ishk.

Initial *str* is retained in *s'trei* 'female', cf. Or. *s'trēj*. But in *str* intervocalic position the group was simplified into *sr*, from which *š*. Thus: *wīš* 'straw' (< *\*wastra*). Cf. *yaš* 'mouth' < *\*gaštra*. *citr* 'spinning-wheel' with early dissimilation < *čā(s)tra*, or, probably, borr. from IA.<sup>3</sup>

71. Assimilation of *sr* > *š* is common to many Ir. languages. Wkh. *sr* examples are: *šən* 'horn'; *šin* 'anus'; *šūn* 'hip' (*\*srauni-čī* ?);<sup>4</sup> *yašk* 'tear'; *čāš* 'mother-in-law'; *šiš*, *šižen* 'near' (*\*srišna* 'clinging to'?). The etymology of *wəšiy* 'to fear': Orm. *γ<sup>wa</sup>šr* is uncertain. *širāw* Sh. 'to tell one's beads' (< *srāvaya*) must be a lw.

Note the metathesis of secondary *sr* in *čurs* 'father-in-law'. Cf. *pīrz* 'evening' (Voc. s.v.).

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into the surd group *sn̥*, from which *st* in *sn̥* *sītāč* 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. also *šn* > *št* in *pōšt* 'heel' (lw.), *yīšt* Be. 'iron', and *Langar Kisht* (Curzon) = *Kiś(i)n*. Internal *sn*, on the other hand, was sonorized into *zn* (*yāzn* 'inflated skin' < *\*ā-snā*), from which *zd* (*wuzdi* 'to wash' < *\*awa-snāya*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saka *śś* (= *ś*).

<sup>2</sup> V. Bailey, BSOS, VII, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 64.

<sup>4</sup> But why *ū* < *au*?

<sup>5</sup> Possibly a lw.



72. Assimilation of *sy* > *ś* has taken place in *diś* 'to know' (\**han-sy* *disya*- or \**han-diśśa*-?); *nāś* 'to be lost'; *wāśk* 'calf'. I heard *ś* in *kaś* 'boy': Sk., etc. *kāś* (Av. *kasyah*-), and in *regiś* 'beard': Sk., etc. *rāṣiś* (\**fra-gaisya*-); L. gives *ś* in *peḍemeś* 'to swell' (\**pati-dmasya*-?) and in *teś/ś* 'empty': Sk., Sh. *toś*. All sources have *ś* in *šin* 'black' (< *syāva*-?). I am unable to explain this interchange between *ś* and *ṣ*.

Cf., however, *maṣ* 'me' (if < \**masya*); *ṣo* 'my' (if < \**aś-ya*-), *zy* and *raṣ*, *raṣek* 'sitting dais'; *yōṣ* 'to bear' (< *ā-zaya*-??). V. § 55 regarding \**cy*.

Ir. *zg* possibly in *magṣ* Be. 'brain'.

Ir. *zd* is found in *nezd* 'to sit down'. *wāst* W 'fat' is an Ishk. *zd* word.

Ir. *zb* remains, through differentiation, in *zūbed* 'to burst' (v. s.v. *zb* *zūbūt*-) < \**uz-bid*-. But note *zūwāy* 'to roll up' < *uz-wāy*-, without change of the semivowel into a fricative. This may, however, be due to influence from the uncompounded verb. The word for 'tongue' does not go back to a form in \**zv* < *zue*-. The etymology of *piṣṭāni* 'morning meal' is unknown.

Ir. *zm* possibly in *rizom*, *riem* 'soot', cf. *reeg* 'saline efflorescence' *zm* (\**rizaka*-).

Ir. *zr* only in the compound *zōrend* 'to scrape' (< \**uz-rand*-). *zr*

73. Wkh. *sk* < *śk* in *wask* 'dry' is unexplained. *pāsk* 'dung' is a lw. *śk*

We find, however, also *st* < *śt* in *māst* 'fist',<sup>2</sup> and possibly in *śt* *pōst* 'parched grain', Shgh. *pišt*, Ishk. *put*, Par. *pišt* (but Prs. *pist*). Preterites of the type *nōst* 'lost' (*nis*- tr.) are secondary, and so is *wāst* 'was lost' (*nāś*- intr.). But *wāst* 'fell', *nēst* 'went out' and *wēst* '(the sun) set' (*wāz*-, *nīwiz*-, *wiz*-) have the appearance of being ancient forms. *oṣṭir*, etc. 'camel' is probably a lw. A third development of *śt* is into *t*: Thus (*h*)*āt* 'eight' (poss. an Ishk. lw.); *deṭk* 'brick' < *dištik* < *dīsti-ka*-, cf. the early Wkh. lw. in Shina *liṣṭik*). A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *zāk*.

<sup>2</sup> But *mič* Sh. 'double handful' (< *muṣṭyah* pl.), cf. § 67. Sh. gives both *mōst* and *mič* as corresponding to Sar. *mut*. Cf. Bur. *mūči*, *moṣi* 'plough-handle' from IA.

derivation of *būt* Be. 'clothes' from *\*ham-pušti-* is of course extremely uncertain.

I am unable to explain the diversity of the development of Ir. *št* in Wkh. It will be noticed that *məst*, *pöst* (and *wəsk* 'dry') have IE *s*, while *wāšt*, etc. contain an ancient palatal. It would, however, be unsafe to assume that Wkh. should have retained dental *s* in the groups *\*u/ist*, *\*u/isk*.<sup>1</sup>—*hāt* 'eight' might be an Ishk. lw. But Shina *lišfik* which can, for geographical reasons, scarcely have been borrowed from an early Ishk. form, shows that the change from *št* > *t* must have taken place also in Wkh. Cf. also *pert* 'animal's back' < *\*pršti-*.

74. Ir. *šp* is possibly contained in *wəšp* 'plough-pole', v. Voc. s.v. *sp*  
 As to *šn* v. above, § 71. *šm* is sonorized in *čažm* 'eye'; cf. *šəmak* *šn*, *šm*  
 'moon' (v. Voc. s.v.). I am unable to explain Sk. *tazm* 'thirsty'.  
 As to *šy* in *peš-* 'to ripen'; *pišew-* 'to return' cf. § 46.  
 We find Ir. *ž*, in *nežyar-* 'to swallow', *neždun* 'weeding'. *žg*, *žd*

#### First Component a Nasal.

75. Although Wkh. has retained ancient intervocalic tenues, we find that sonorization has taken place after a nasal. At any rate there is no certain instance of *nt* in the scanty material available to me.<sup>2</sup>  
 Examples of *nt* are: *dendik* 'tooth'; *mānd-* Y 'to rub' (*mant-?*); *nt*  
*žümānd-* 'to wring'; *wündr* 'field' (Av. *avantara-*); *tond* Be. 'thread'  
 (*\*tantu-*); *kənd* 'woman, wife' (Skt. *kāntā-?*). *wīnd* 'saw' is a secondary  
 formation. *židim* 'wheat' probably goes back to a form *\*γ(n)dīm*  
 < *\*γ(a)ntūm*. In *witriθt* 'shies' (*witrin-*) *θt* < *nt* is of secondary  
 origin.—Final *-nt* is reduced in the verbal ending 3 pl. *-ən*.  
 76. A possible example of *mp* is *būt-* 'to overthrow' (Sar. *imbat-*) < *mp*  
*\*ham-pataya-*. Cf. *būt* Be. 'clothes' < *\*ham-pušti-*(?) and *bakš*  
 'husband's brother' (< *\*ham-paxšaka-?*). *kəmpəl* 'blanket' is of IA  
 origin.

<sup>1</sup> As for *iš*, *uš*, cf. § 46. Note also *šk* > *šk*.

<sup>2</sup> *Antərə* L. 'sister-in-law' is of unknown origin.



No certain instance of *ŋk* occurs. Secondary *n + k* results in *ŋk* *ŋg* in the suffix *-ung*, etc. Cf. § 29.

It is possible that *giz-* 'to rise' goes back to *\*ŋgiz- < \*ŋkie- < \*han-xaiz-*.

The numeral *pānz*, *pānj* 'five' is probably a genuine Wkh. form. *nē* may also be contained in some verbs in *ŋj/z*: *vardenz-* 'to press down', *ženj-* 'to fill'. But cf. *nemenj-* L. 'to dance' (*\*ni-mančya-??*). Secondary *n + ě* results in *ŋj*, cf. § 79.

77. Examples of *ŋg*, *nd* and *ŋj* are: *yāngəl* 'finger'; *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *ŋg*, *nd*, *ŋj* *rānd-* 'to bind'; *škəndiv-* 'to break'; *ranj* Sh. 'fast, light'.

*vārand-* 'to abuse' is of unknown origin, and *rānd-* 'to give', *nūnd-* 'to plant', etc. may have a secondary nasal in the present base.

Initial *\*nd-* resulted in *d-*: *diš-* 'to know' *< \*handisya-*, cf. *ŋg* *> g*, and *mb/p* *> b*. Cf. *dəger* 'finger' *< \*n(d)ger* (§ 47). Note *tūngur* Sh. 'thunder' (v. s.v. *tandūr*) with dissimilation.

Ir. *mb* apparently was less resistant than *nd*, *ŋg*, and was assimilated *mb* into *m*. Thus: *vizam-* Sh. 'to rub into powder' (Sar. *vizāmb-*); *žām-* 'to descend' (Prs. *xambīdan*); cf. *pūtrām(b)-* Sh. 'to scare away, arrest'.

But in secondary initial position *mb-* may have resulted in *b-*, just as *mp-*, etc. There is, however, no certain example, *bāi* Sh. 'cave' (Ishk. *ambi*) might have original *mp*.

78. It is possible that *\*anθ* developed through *\*aθ* into *aθ > at*. *nθ* Cf. *ramət* 'chewing the cud' *< \*raumanθa-*, and *mutr* 'augury', which may, however, be a lw. But note *mānd-*, *žūmānd-*. The derivation of *yīžūn* 'bridle' from *\*ānzana-* is extremely doubtful. Cf. also § 42, about Khov. *auzetu*.

At any rate *n* appears to have been lost before a sibilant: *δus ns* 'wasp' (*< \*dansa-*); *pedemež-* 'to swell' (*\*pati-dmansya-*), and possibly also *was* 'roof-beam' *< \*wansa-*.

79. Ir. *nm* was dissimilated into *rm*: *čarm* 'watercourse' (*< \*čan-man-*); *nm* *pūtčərm* 'wooden trough' (*< \*pati-hwān-man-?*). Regarding *šūrm* 'dung', v. Voc. s.v.

In secondary contact we find *wōzōnd* and *wazōmd* from *wuzem*.  $m + d$  'to bring', etc.

As for  $m + k$ , c. v. §§ 29, 33, and cf. *somj* Be. 'hoof'.  $m + k, ċ$

*First Component a Liquid.*

80. Ir. *rk* is probably preserved in *kerk* 'fowl', and *yark* 'work'. In *rk* secondary contact we find *purk* 'mouse'; *würk* 'lamb', etc.

But note *pārg* 'ashes' (Sgl. *park*).

Ir. *rt* is retained in *řärt* Sh. 'to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves' *rt* (\**gart*-); *wert* 'to knead'; *wirt* 'mill-stone'; *đert* 'manure'; *tōrt* 'the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow' (cf. *tōtvärt* 'the year before last' < \**tyta*-); *turt* 'ford' (Khow. lw.?), and in the past stems *naspart* Sh. 'tread down'; *wasērt* 'cooled' (*wasēr*-); *mōrt* 'died' (*marī*-); *kōrt* 'did' (*cār*-). The etymology of *sanguart* L. 'beetle', and of *avart* 'span' is unknown.

In a number of past stems, most of which have exact counterparts in Sar., we find *rd*. Thus *wōdōrd* 'held' (*wīdōr*); *škōrd* 'sought', etc. Influence from Sar. is not excluded. But cf. also *derd* L. 'carved'; *wīrdān* L. 'mill-wheel' (lw.?).—*skōrd* 'bridge'; *nikerd* 'central part of a room'; *kard* Sh. 'crooked' (Sar. *čerd*) are of unknown origin. As for *pārd* 'last year' v. § 30.

*wolē* 'quail' prob. < \**woltē* < \**wartičī*, cf. Ishk. *wōrc*. Prs. *lexx-walē* must be a dialect form. We find a change of *rt* > *lt* also in *waltk* (*welk* L., etc.) 'kidney', cf. Sgl. *wolk*. Cf. the Saka development of *rt* > *l* before a consonant, and v. § 48.

*kəř* 'knife' is very strange, but might perhaps be an early adaptation of Ishk. \**kēr* (> *kīl*), with substitution of *ř* for *r*, a sound unknown to Wkh.

There is no example of ancient *rē*. *pōrčōd* 'girl' may go back to *rē* \**pari-čō*, v. Voc. s.v.—Cf. also *škōrē* 'coal'; *yōrē* 'part of floor'.

81. If *cār* Sh. 'kite' (Sar. *cāry*) is a correct and genuine form *y* has *ry* been dropped. In *sprəř* 'flower' (cf. Av. *sparəya*-) the *r* has been

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what sounds Bl.'s '*kurč*' is intended to express.



- transposed.—*merg* L., *marg* Sh. 'female Ovis Poli' and *mingas*, etc. 'sparrow' are probably lw.s.<sup>1</sup>

Ir. *rd* occurs in *wuserd* 'this year'; *sērdingī* 'belonging to this year'; *scord* 'tripe' (Av. *varōdva-* 'soft'); *petērd-* 'to spring from one seed'; and possibly in *spōrdān* 'flea' (v. Voc.). Regarding *d* for *ḍ* cf. § 37. *gerdān* 'neck' is a Prs. lw., and *vardenz-* 'to press down' probably goes back to a root in *d-*. Some of the words mentioned under *rt* may contain ancient *rd*.

Wkh. *d'rev-* 'to sew' goes back to *\*dṛb-*.

Wkh. *γaf* 'much' probably corresponds to Sogd. *γarf*, with loss of *r* in an accessory word. *skurf* Y 'rough' is of unknown origin. As to *γerf* 'fireplace' v. § 63.

82. Ir. *rs* remains unassimilated as in Yd.—Mj. Thus: *purs-* 'to ask'; *purs* 'rib'; *ḍirs* 'goat's hair'.

Also *rz* remains: *cārzy* 'awl'; *furz* 'birch'; *durz-* 'to seize'; *lamorz* 'sloping down of a field'; *mōrz* 'hungry'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *vōrz* 'long'; *vōrz* 'pillow'. Cf. also *ḡorz*, rhyming with and probably identical in meaning to Prs. *ḡarz* 'bustard'. From *\*hwarz/uka-* we should expect Wkh. *\*ḡurzg*,<sup>2</sup> and *xūḡg* 'sweet' is probably of Ishk. origin.—Note *mōrē* L. 'dew', and *yārs/z*, etc. 'juniper'.

But *rš* appears to have been assimilated. The examples are, *rš* however, not clear. Thus: *taš* (*tāx* Sh., *taxm* Sk.) 'thirsty'; *γəš* 'male' (lw.?). *wušeng* 'uncastrated bull' (*\*wyršanaka-*, but note *š*). *xaš-* 'to pull' is common to most Pamir dialects, and *ramuš-* 'to forget' may contain ancient *-uš*.<sup>3</sup>

The only example of *ršt* is *pert* L. 'back of an animal'. *purst* *ršt* 'asked' is a secondary formation, and *kōšt* Sh. 'cultivated' (*kūr-*) is probably influenced by Prs.

But *rēd* has been assimilated in *dežd* 'seized' (*durz-*). Cf. the treatment of *žd*.

83. Before an *m* Ir. *r* has been retained in *yurm* 'forearm'. But from *rm*, *rn*

<sup>1</sup> From Kafiri? V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62. Also Psht. distinguishes between *\*rš*, *\*ršt* > *š*, *š* and *\*rs*, *\*rst* > *št*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

*rn*, which has been assimilated into *n* in most neighbouring Ir. languages, we find *r* in *mur* 'apple' (Sar. *mdn*, etc.).<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *span* 'to fill up (of a river)' from *\*us-prna-* is very uncertain (note pret. *spst*). The retention of the *n* of the present suffix would, however, be possible, even if *rn* became *r(r)* in other positions. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. *pūn* 'palm of the hand' has Ir. *n*, not *rn*. *palē* 'leaf' possibly from *\*parē* < *\*parnačē*.

In secondary contact *r* + *n* appears to have resulted in *ndr* (< *\*nr*), if *sṣpūndr* 'ploughshare' is to be derived from *\*spārana-*.

### Assimilation.

84. Numerous cases of assimilation of various kinds have been brought to notice in the preceding paragraphs. Others will be mentioned in connection with the reduction of hard groups of consonants, which takes place before the *k-* suffix of perfect stems and before *t* in pres. 3 sg. Cf. also *wēlk* < *wāltk* 'kidney'; *ṣat* 'did' < *\*g(ə)ṣat*; *səmbōnak* 'pellet-bow' < *saṅbānak*.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

85. Dissimilation of nasals occurs in *lāmərz* L. 'slope of a field' (if < *\*ni-marza-*); *lamurzg* L. < *namurzg* Sh. 'rake', *san'dāl* 'anvil' < *sin'dōn*. Cf. also *gamān* Kl. 'one another' (*\*g(y)an-an?*), and *šiven* 'rope' < Khw. *šimenī*.

Loss of *r* through dissimilation is probably found in *tətvārt* 'the year before last' (< *\*tərt*), and possibly in *pərčōd*, *pūrčōd* 'girl', if from *\*parčar*, cf. Skr. *parīcarikā*.

Note also *dədiṣ-* 'to look at' < *\*dədiṣ-*. But *lədōw(ak)* Kl. 'to give' < *\*dəda-*?

A clear case of differentiation is the change of *ṭr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.<sup>2</sup> In *dr-* the differentiation has perhaps been preventive.

<sup>1</sup> But Saka *rr* < *rn*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *wold*, § 80.

<sup>3</sup> V. §§ 62, 64.—Ir. *\*pāni-* 'palm of the hand' < IA?



*Metathesis and Intversion.*

86. Examples of metathesis are: *tapk* L.; Be., etc. < *pātk* 'eyelashes'; *riyud* L. < *dāgor*, *dāyer* 'finger'.—*vəcēr* W. 'eyebrow' is merely a mispronounced form of Ishk. *vric*.

Intversion in groups of consonants occurs in: *žūrs* 'father-in-law'; *sprəy* 'flower'; *spūndr* 'plough-share' (< \**spārana*?), and possibly in *pīrz* 'evening' (< \**upa-azara*?). Regarding *drukš* 'bull', etc., cf. § 60.

*Vowels.*

87. For reasons briefly indicated Yd.—Mj. § 138 it is much more difficult to follow the development of Ir. vowels in a modern Pamir dialect than it is to give an outline of the changes of consonants and consonant groups.

The exact phonetical value of many ancient Ir. vowels is unknown, and as no older stage of these dialects is accessible to us, it is in most cases a hopeless task to trace, with any degree of certainty, the actions and counteractions exerted by accent, assimilation and other factors.

In the case of Wkh. we are also handicapped by the fact that no recorder of the language has been in a position to devote to this work sufficient time for arriving at absolutely certain results as regards the exact vocalization of a great number of words, or for determining the undoubtedly considerable individual latitude of pronunciation. Nor do we know much about the dialectical distribution of vowel variations.

And, last not least, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a word is genuine Wkh. or not. In the case of Wkh. the definition of the terms 'genuine' and 'borrowed' presents problems of more than usual complexity, and many loan-words have passed through some of the more recent Wkh. sound-changes.

All we can do is therefore to make an attempt to indicate a few main lines in the development of Wkh. vocalism. But in many cases we are restricted to give a mere statement of complex and bewildering facts.

*Ir. a.*

88. *Ir. a* remains as *a* (*ā*) in Wkh.:

a. Before an ancient group of consonants. Thus: *andag* 'slave'; *andav* 'fever'; *ṣaṣ* 'mouth'; *hāt* 'eight'; *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *kaṣ* 'boy'; *mānd-* 'to shampoo'; *nədavn-* 'to clasp'; *nayd* 'night'; *pānz* 'five'; *rand-* 'to give'; *rān]k* 'light'; *spray*, *sprəṣ* 'flower'; *kānd-* 'to mix'; *sārdingī* 'of this year'; *vāyd* 'night-mare'; *vānd-* *vāst* 'to bind'; *yāng(ə)l* 'finger'; *yark* 'work'; *yašē* 'bone'; *yāzn* 'mussuck'. In *maks* 'fly'; *pārd* 'last year'; *pārg* 'ashes' (but *purk* 'mouse'); *wān]* 'belly'; *zārt* 'yellow'; *žārī* 'milk' the group of consonants is of secondary origin.

b. After or before palatal consonants: *yašē* 'bone'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yaṣ* 'twig'; *yāngəl* 'finger'; *ṣār* 'stone'; *ṣat-* 'to arrive'; *ṣām-* 'to descend'; *ṣān-* 'to speak'; *ṣat* 'own'; *šāp-* 'to suck'; *šapt* (*ṣ-?*) 'wolf' (lw.); *cār-* 'to do' (< *č-?*); *tač-* 'to go'; *pāc-* 'to cook'; *nāš-* 'to be lost'.

c. After or before *ḍ* (*d*)? Thus: *ḍai* 'man'; *ḍas* 'ten'; *māḍ* 'waist'; *šāḍ* 'six'; *pāḍ* 'ligature'; *wāḍ* 'handle'. But *wāḍ*, *wāḍ*, etc. 'water-course'; *ḍus* 'mosquito' (< *\*a-*); *ṣūḍ* 'thief'.

Other, unexplained, examples of *a* are: *wār* 'male oorial'; *wās* 'roof-beam'; *wāz-* 'to fall'; *ṭpār* 'axe'; *bār* 'door'; *sār* 'head' (lw.?), and *yurm* 'forearm' (< *ar-* < *\*r-*); *ṣūz* 'firewood'; *wāšk* 'calf'; *čāṣm*, *čə-*, *čō-* 'eye'.

89. *Ir. a* results in *u* (or Sh. *ü*) not only in the neighbourhood of labials, but also in other positions, the nature of which I am not able to define.

Thus, e.g.: *būn-* (*bün-*): *bōnd* 'to winnow'; *kūt* 'roof'; *xūr* 'ass'; *wūr* 'lamb' (*wār* 'oorial'); *režup-*, *rīžūp-* 'to sleep'; *Wuž* 'Wakhan';



*xūf* 'foam'; *pūs* 'ram'; *pūr̥k* 'mouse'; *pūp* 'father'; *wunuk* 'willow'. In *hūb*, etc. 'seven' and in *mūr* 'apple' there may have taken place an early lengthening of *a* > *ā*.

I can only register the varying developments of *a* in *dendik*, *dūndūk*, etc. 'tooth'; *kend*, *kōnd* (< \**kānti*?) 'woman'; *rəd*, *rōd* 'to flee'; *icuz* 'I'; *pər̥cōd* 'maid'; *wōl̥c* 'quail'; *đor* L. 'valley'; *mōd* L. 'to curdle'. In many words the vowel appears to vary considerably in different villages, v. Voc. *passim*.

Unstressed *a* results in *ə* in: *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *t̥pār* 'axe'; *cəbūr* 'four'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *mə'dūr* 'noon'; *mə'lun̥g* 'middle'; *pezin*, *pizen* 'udder'; *səgin* 'dung'. But, with assimilation to the following vowel: *sigin* Sh. 'dung'; *kibit* 'pigeon'; *ȳidim* 'wheat'; *regiš* 'beard'; *pūtmūi* Sh. 'to mimic'.

Regarding loss of unstressed *a*, cf. § 104.

#### Ir. *ā*.

90. Ir. *ā* apparently resulted in early Wkh. *ū*. This stage of development is preserved before nasals. Thus: *ȳrūng* 'heavy'; *mūm* 'grand-mother'; *nūnd* 'to plant'; *nūng*, *nong* 'name'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'; *rəgūm* 'heifer'; *s̥pāndr* 'plough-share'; *wūndr* 'field'; *xūn* 'house'; *yūm̥* 'flour'; <sup>1</sup> *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl'; *špūn*, *špuun*, *špūn* Sh. 'shepherd'. Sh. gives *ū* also in *rūn* 'shelf'; *nađūn* 'scabbard' (= L. *nađūn* 'quiver'); cf. *neždun* L. 'weeding'.

Before or after a labial we find *ū* in: *ūf*, *icuf* 'to weave' (pret. *āft*, *wōft* with early shortening?); *būi* 'two'; *yupk* 'water'; *yūm* 'flour'; *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *ȳūv* 'cornbin'; *cəbūr* (Kl. *cəbūr*, etc.) 'four'; *pūz* 'breast'; *purs*, *pīrs* 'breast'; *wūr* 'rain'; *šūi* 'sister' (< \**xw*); *pūd*, *pūd*, etc. 'foot' (but v. Voc. s.v.); *pūy* 'to putrify'; *purz* 'evening' (v. Voc. s.v.).

But cf. also *zūy* 'fat'; *piūk* 'onion'; *yukš* 'male ibex'; *yūyone yor* 'anvil', if these words contain ancient *ā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.

91. A delabialization, which affects also lw.s with  $\bar{u}$ ,<sup>1</sup> has taken place in other positions. Thus: *sīr* 'cold'; *mādir* 'moon'; *ḍitr* 'sickle' (with secondary shortening before a group of consonants); *kīk*, *kīk* 'fountain'; *tīk* 'willow'; *sūtīy* 'to send'; *ḡīy* 'coire'; *vrit* Sk. (but *vrit* Y, *vrit* Kl., etc.) 'brother'; *ruy* L. 'to bay'; *ḍuri* L. 'stack'. Also before a labial: *ḡīu* 'cow'; *pəzīv* 'heart'; *ḡīu* Sk., *ḡīu* Y 'horn'; cf. *nīu* Y (= \**nīu*?) 'mill-race'.

Note *škūr(g)* 'to seek'; *tīḡ* Y 'to shave'; *tūḡ* L. 'to fashion with an axe', etc.

92. After initial *y* a palatalization into *i* has taken place.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *yīṣn* 'iron'; *ḡīrzn* 'millet'; *yīng* 'raw'; *yīḡūn* 'bridle' (< \**āxāna*??); *yīsp* 'shoulder' (< \**ā-spā*?).

Dubious cases are: *yōḡ* 'duck' (< \**āḍiḡ*?); *yāḡ* 'to pile up' (\**ā-dā*?); *yōḡst* 'fowl-house' (\**ā-stā*?); *yōḡst* 'agreement' (*āxṣti*?); *yōḡ*, etc. 'nest' (\**ā-hada-ḡra*?); *yōḡḡ* 'to bear' (\**ā-zaya*?).

In *sīi* Y 'hare' (\**sā* < \**saha*); *hūb*, etc. 'seven'; *wīḡ*, *ūḡ* 'grass', etc., *a* has probably been lengthened into *ā* at an early date.

In Prs. lw.s we frequently find  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{d}$  < *ā*, representing the local Tajiki pronunciation. Also *sāt* 'slate'; *tōr* 'neck', 'back of the head' must probably be lw.s.

#### Ir. *i*.

93. Ancient *i* is preserved in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound in *šīḡ* 'louse'; *dīḡ* 'to know'; *dedīḡ*, etc. 'to look'; *čīp* 'to pick'. Possibly, with lengthening, in *bērīn* 'knee' (v. Voc. s.v.).

The relaxation of the high-front articulation common to many E.Ir. languages appears in: *zem*, *zam* 'snow'; (*a*)*yem*, *yəm* 'this'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *teyd*, *layd* 'sharp'; *ḡetk* 'brick'; *bət* 'again'; *ḡet* 'given' (\**dita*). *rasēḡ*, *rasūd* Sh. 'to break, cut'.—*pōst* Sh. 'parched grain' may have 'ə' or a labialized vowel, cf. *pōv*, *pūv*, *pōv* 'to drink' (\**piḡa*), with *i* surrounded by labials.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *nīr* Sk. 'light'; *brīḡ* 'moustache'; *angīr* 'grape'; *pīl* 'money'; but *ambūr* 'tong'; *janūb* 'south' (prob. of more recent origin), and *ḡī* 'excrement' (ancient lw.).

<sup>2</sup> Except before a remaining labial. Cf. *yūmj*, *yupk* above.



In the originally unstressed prefixes *ni-*, *abi-*, *wi-* the development of *i* is apparently partly regulated by vowel-harmony. The result, however, varies a good deal according to the informant or recorder. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *nəbəs* (*nī*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'comb'; *nədav̄n-* (*nədəvs-*) 'to stick'; *naduun* 'quiver'; *nimil-* (*na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to hem'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *nesi-* 'to lie down'; *nəviš-* (*nī*<sup>o</sup>, *ne*<sup>o</sup>) 'to write'; *nezd-* (*nō*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to sit down', etc.; *viḍāw-* 'to ride'; *višiv-* 'to sweep'; *vizam-* 'to rub', etc.; *wəraf̄s-* (*wa*<sup>o</sup>) 'to stand'; *wəɾəč-* 'to remain'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'; *wəšiy-* 'to be afraid'; *witrin-* 'to shy', etc.

#### Ir. i.

94. Ir. *i* remains: *pitt-* 'drank'; *pitk* 'drunk'; *wis-* 'to set (about the sun)'; *wist* 'twenty'; *varin-* 'to shear'; *žik* 'Wakhi' (\**waxšika*?). *yīšək* 'plough-handle' probably has ancient *ai*.

#### Ir. u.

95. Also *u* shows a tendency to lose its specific articulation<sup>1</sup> and become a neutral, unrounded vowel, written *ə* (Y, Sk., and Kl.), *ɨ*, *ə*, etc. My not very reliable informants X and W pronounced *e* in several words. There is probably much variation according to dialect.

Examples from Y are: *ḍəyd* 'daughter'; *ḍögən-* 'milked' (*ḍic-*); *məst* 'fist'; *pətr* 'son'; *səkr* 'red'; *s'təč* 'daughter-in-law'; *wəsk* 'dry'; *kīš* (Sk. *ə*) 'vulva'. Cf. *təš* Sk. 'empty'; *rəč-* Sk. 'to flee'; *ət*, *et* Kl. 'and'. Cf. also the lw. *əmr* Sk. 'age'. The etymology of *ḍəyd* Y, etc. 'new' is unknown. In unstressed syllable *yāng(ə)l* 'finger'.

But *yA/εšk* L. (*yečək* Sh.) 'taught'; *sərv* Sh. 'hole'; *sic* 'needle' (with *i*-umlaut).

Sh. *sūm* 'hoof' (W *ə*); *angüšt* 'live coal'; *būč* 'he-goat' (Y *u*) are lw.s. Cf. also *kirpa* Sk. 'bed-clothes' and other examples of Prs. *u* > *ɨ*.

An early lengthening has probably taken place in *yinōt* 'dream' < \**hufnaḍā*.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 92, and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 149.

Ir. *ū*.

96. Ir. *ū* results in *i*: *dir* 'distant'; *dit* 'smoke'; *ḡidim* 'wheat'; *niv* 'now'; *pītk* 'rotten'; *stīn* 'post'; *vit* 'was'; *yir* 'sun'; *zīk* 'tongue' (\**hižūka*). Cf. *stīk* 'play' ∼ Khov. *isfuk*, etc.

*tu* 'thou' goes back to a form with ancient shortening of *ū* (later, however, than the change of *u* towards *ə*).

Regarding the development of *ū* in lw.s cf. § 91.

Ir. *r*.

97. Ir. *r* is represented by Y *ər*, *er*, Sk. *ər*, Sh. *ör*, etc., in *kərt* Sk., Kl. 'did'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y 'done'; *γəš* Y 'male'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y, X, *körk* Sh. 'fowl'; *mərt* Y, Sk., Kl., *mert* X, *mörtt* Sh. 'died' (*məri*- Sk.); *vərz* Y 'long'; possibly in *mərz* Y, Sk., *merz* X, *marz* Sh. 'hungry'. After *p*, *f* and *w* we find a rounded vowel in *purs*- Y, *pörs*- Kl., Sh., *pərs*- Sk. 'to ask'; *furz* Y, Sh. 'birch'; *wurzg* L. 'right'. Cf. also *dərt* L. 'manure'; *ḡirs* Y, Z, *dürs* Sh. 'goat's hair'; *sprəḡ* Y 'flower' (if < \**spṛga*). Also *wuserd* Y 'this year' may contain ancient *r* (v. Voc. s.v.).

But note *tört* 'the day before yesterday' (if < \**tṛta*, cf. *tətvārt*); *taž*, etc. 'thirsty'; *waltk*, etc. 'kidney'. The derivation of *dʷrukš* 'bull' < \**dṛḡdaka* is for several reasons very dubious, cf. *də/ežd* 'seized' (*durz*).

*purs*, etc. 'rib, breast' probably goes back to Av. *pərəsu*, not to \**pārsua*.

Ir. *ai*.

98. Ir. *ai* is monophthongized into *i*. Thus: *iū* 'one'; *win* 'to see'; *dis* 'wall'; *disiv* 'to show'; *mizg* 'urine'; *naydin* 'dawn'; *nesi*, *nəsi* 'to lie down' (< -i- or -aya-?); *liv* 'to slip' (IE. \**sleib*-, or \**sleub*-).

With shortening into *i*: *yič* 'ice'; *čil* 'perspiration' (lw.?) *lič* 'to lick'; *rešip* 'whip'(?).



Note *yət* Kl., (*ac*)*et*, etc. 'this', possibly with vowel influenced by *yəm*.

The development of *i* > *ö* (= *əʔ*) in *pös* Sh. 'white leopard' (Sar. pis, v. Voc. s.v.) is unparalleled. *mai* 'sheep' is a lw.

### Ir. au.

99. Ir. *au* developed through *ū* into *ī*. Thus: *ḍīc* 'to milk'; *ḍīy* 'thick milk'; *ṣīš* (*ṣīš* Sk.) 'ear'; *kīk* 'lynx, wild dog(?)'; *kībīt* 'pigeon'; *pīst* 'skin'; *rič* 'smoke-hole'; *rip* 'hair on the body' (*\*raupi-ʔ*); *rīz-* 'to rip up a seam' (Sar. *raoz-*); *skīd* 'skull-cap'; *šin* 'anus'. Cf. also *mīr-prič* 'ant', if < *\*maur* < *\*marci*.

*vūl* 'smell' is probably borrowed from Yd.—Mj., and also *rūyn* 'grease, ghee' and *šin* 'hip' may be lw.s.

In *ṭayum*, etc. 'seed' *au* has probably been shortened. If *ramet* 'chewing the cud' goes back to *\*raumada/i* a shortening may also have taken place in unstressed syllable.

I am unable to explain the *e* of *d'repē* 'broom'; *deš* L. (*ḍōš* Sh.) 'late' (< *daušā-ʔ*); *repk* 'refuse'; *pūmec-* 'to dress', and the *a* of *kap* Sh. 'hump'. *čker* 'partridge' is borrowed from IA.

### Umlaut and Vowel Harmony.

100. The palatalizing influence of a following *y* or *i* is less evident in Wkh. than in most other Ir. languages.

On the one hand we find an apparent palatalization of the vowel in *sprež-* 'to blossom' (*\*sprjya-*); *mūš-* 'to steal' (*\*mušya-*); *peš-* 'to ripen' (*\*pašya-*); *wasēr-* 'to become cold' (*\*awa-sārya-*); *nīs-* 'to lose' (*\*nasaya-*); *teš-* 'steam' (*\*tašya-*); *sic* 'needle' (*\*suči-*); *wužen* 'blood' (*\*wahwani-*); *haret* 'ell' (*\*araḍni-ʔ*); *kend* 'woman, wife' (*\*kānti-ʔ*); *būt* 'clothes' (*\*ham-pušti-*); *\*-en* fem. of the adj. suffix *-ung* (*\*-ānači*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In L. *prt* 'back' and *ḍerd* car. 'to carve wood' < *\*prāti*, *\*dṛti-*, *er* may be the regular outcome of *r* in the Hunza dialect of Wkh.

But, on the other hand, we find *mād* 'waist', and *wād* 'irrigation-channel', without any trace of umlaut. Note that both words have *d*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *nāš-* 'to be lost' < \**nasya-*, where the palatalizing force of *y* may, however, have been absorbed into *š*.

The only possible instances of *u*-umlaut are *purk* 'mouse' and *würk* 'lamb',<sup>2</sup> as compared with e.g. *parg* 'ashes'.

101. There is a marked tendency in Wkh. to assimilate unstressed vowels to following stressed ones. Cf., e.g., *rešup-* (*rišūp-* Sh.) 'to sleep', but pret. *rošopt*; *pütrüz-* Sh. 'to lean against', but pret. *pātrāz-*; *đaviy-* Sk. 'to steal', but pret. *đovoid*; *wīdər-* 'to hold', but pret. *wōdōrd*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

#### Final Vowels and Consonants.

102. All final consonants are lost, with the possible exception of *-d* in *šād* 'six'. Note the secondary loss of a final consonant in the personal suffix 3 pl. *-ən*, and in the dative suffix *-ər* (< \**arda-*). Cf. also *nəbəs* 'comb' < \**nipesn* (v. Voc. s.v.).

Final vowels remain only in original monosyllables, with the possible exception of *žə*, *žu* 'my', if < \**azyā*.

#### Stress and Contraction.

103. The principles of accentuation underlying the development in Wkh. appear to have been of the ordinary middle-Ir. type.

A long penultima was stressed. Thus: *cəbūr* 'four'; *yi'dīm* 'wheat' (\**gantūma-*); *ki'bīt* 'dove'; *nə'pūs* 'grandson'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *ēkər* 'partridge' (\**ē(i)kōr*, lw.); *bə'rīn* 'knee' (\**duarīθna-*?); *dūr* 'belly' (\**antāra-*?).

Before a short penultima the antepenultima, whether long or short, was stressed: *wīst* 'twenty'; *nūrīg* 'name'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *rīen* 'smoke-hole'; *yupk* 'water'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *wōšk* 'calf' (\**wasyaka*); *nezdəm* 'I sit down' (\**nīhazdami*); *zart* 'yellow'; *šapt* 'wolf' (lw.,

<sup>1</sup> Also in Saka *d* prevents umlaut of the preceding vowel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *wārg*, with *-g* < *-uka-*, and Yd.—Mj. *pary*, etc. (§ 175).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 93, about \**nī-*, \**abī-* and \**wī-*, and v. Geiger, § 60, 2.



< \*šapid); *s'pūndr* 'plough' (\**spārana*-); *pīt* 'he drinks' (\**pibatī*);  
*čīl* 'he goes' (\**čaut* < \**čyauati*), etc.

104. Before the accent a vowel is elided in: *čkər* 'partridge'; *ktič* 'hut';  
*čīk* 'Wakhi'; *kšūy* 'to hear' (\**gušaya*-?); *stran* 'carpet' (\**staranači*);  
*wir* 'single-handed (in a family)' (\**a-wira*-); *vi-dāuc* 'to ride' (*abi*);  
*wa-sēr* 'to become cold' (\**awa*); *pəwae* 'drift-wood' (\**upa-waza*);  
and cf. the words with initial *b*, *d*, *g* < *ham* + *p/b*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding  
the development of *pati* v. § 30.

There appears to be no trace in Wkh. of ancient accentuation  
of the fourth syllable from the end. Therefore we find, from *nəsi*-  
'to lie down', Sk. pret. *nəst-am* (\**ni-sita*-), but perf. *nə'sətk* (\**ni-sitaka*-).

The dialectical elision of a vowel in Sh. *rūžp*- (: Y *režup*-) 'to  
sleep'; *rəstəv*- Y (*rasedav*- Sh.) 'to cut'; *pīcev*- Y (*pīdisiv*- L.) 'to  
light a fire'; *čat* 'made' < \**g(ə)čat* (*goč*-); *cprēmər* (*cəbrēm*) 'three  
days hence' are probably of more recent origin than that which  
has taken place in the words mentioned above.

The infinitive suffix *-āk* is stressed (e.g. *cə'rak* 'to do', *d'yāk* 'to  
beat'), except after a nasal (*děng* 'to beat', *büng* 'to winnow', etc.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. § 76 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 107.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns.

#### *Stem-Formation.*

105. The very limited material which I was able to collect consists mainly of lists of words, and adds little to our knowledge of the morphology of Wkh. In all main points it confirms, however, the information given by Shaw and Klimchitskiy. Also Sköld's material is mainly of a lexicographical character, although it contains a number of valuable verbal paradigms.

In these circumstances I shall abstain from trying to give a complete survey of Wkh. morphology and its historical development.

106. The distinction between ancient stems in *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *n*, etc. has been completely obliterated. Along with this development Wkh. has also lost the category of grammatical gender. The ancient suffix *\*-ānāi*, corresponding to a masc. *\*-ānaka-* (> *-āng*, *-ūng*), still denotes a female being, e.g. in *indigun* Sh. 'female slave' (: *andag* 'male slave'), and *varen* 'pregnant', but it is without any grammatical significance. The same is the case with the words containing an ancient suffix *-ai*, e.g. *fəryamé* 'female calf'; *yōc* 'duck'; *antərē* 'sister-in-law'; *yūm* 'flour'; *šūn* 'hip', etc.<sup>1</sup>

107. The Ir. *ka-* suffix results in *-k* (*-g*) in a large number of words. Thus, e.g., *ḍetk* 'brick'; *purk* 'mouse'; *walik* 'kidney'; *yupk* 'water'; *yašk* 'tear'; *mizg* 'urine'; *wurzg* 'right'; *γ<sup>2</sup>rūng* 'heavy'; *yīng* 'raw'; *nūng* 'name'; *kik* 'spring'; *zik* 'tongue'. This suffix is no more productive, except in the formation of the pf.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 155.



But there is a productive, stressed suffix *-ak*, *-ək*, *-ik*, used largely in the formation of diminutives.<sup>1</sup> Thus *āt'šak* 'lightning'; *šaupar'ak* 'bat'; *badxa'arak* 'n. of a bird'; *bučak* 'small he-goat'; *ustō'dək* 'spider'; *ša'xək* 'hail'; *šendik* L. 'vine'; *š/šendik* L. 'gum'; *winek* 'marmot', etc. In some cases I have noted stress on the root-syllable, e.g. *dendik* (but Sk., etc. *dəndək*) 'tooth'; *fīak* 'shoulder-blade'. This suffix is partly of Prs. origin (many of the words in *-ak* are Prs. lw.s), but in some cases it may go back to an oblique case *\*.a'lahya*. Cf. the infinitives in *-ak*, but *-ng*.<sup>2</sup>

As for words in *γ* (*γarāy* 'collar'; *madāy'x* 'mare'; *ričay* 'fast'; *sudγ* 'smooth') v. § 29.

108. A suffix *-ī* is used to form abstract nouns in Sk. *γū-d-i* 'theft'; *šundr-ī* 'heat'; *šūr-ī* 'cold'. It may be of Prs. origin. Cf. Kl. *-ēy* (*šundr-ēy*, *šūr-ēy*) of unknown origin.

Of Prs. origin is also the adjective suffix *-ī* in *jigar-ī* 'brown'; *xōk-ī* 'grey', etc. But in *sērd-ing-ī*, *parō-ing-ī* 'belonging to this, to last year' at any rate the first part of the suffix is genuine (< *\*(a)inaka*). Cf. Kl. *sōl ī šaxəsk-in* 'belonging to last year'.

I have not come across the adjective suffix *-ēj*, or the suffix forming nomina agentis *-akūzg*<sup>3</sup> mentioned by Kl., p. 92.

### Noun Inflection.

#### The Article.

109. Wkh. has differentiated the indefinite article *ī* from the numeral *īu*.

#### Case and Number.

110. The only ancient Ir. case-forms preserved in nouns in Wkh. are the abl., instr., etc., sg. in *-en*, *-an*,<sup>4</sup> and the corresponding pl. form in *-v*.<sup>5</sup> These forms have been treated by Tedesco, ZII, IV, 154 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 104, 157.

<sup>3</sup> < *\*akzūg* < *\*aka-zāka* 'son of' > 'connected with'??

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 199.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 94. Acc. to Kl. the sg. suffix *-ən* is sometimes added to (2)v.

111. The accusative has usually the same form as the nominative (e.g. *īyam xalg yupk pīt* Y 'this man drinks water'; *īuz tar kitāb randəm* Y 'I give you a book'). But a form corresponding to Shaw's acc. in *-a* and Kl.'s in *-i* appears in *tu mārek kitābe dētāi* Y 'you gave me a book'; *rəxnīgi pīcewəm* Y 'I kindle the (or: a) fire'; *šunği škəndivəm* X 'I break the (or: a) stick'; *šə pətrei pūmecevəm* Y 'I dress my son'.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this form is uncertain, but it might be derived from *\*-ē < -ahya-*.
112. The dative ends in *-ar*, *-er*, *-or* sometimes with the addition of a particle *ke* (Kl., Hj. *-rək*, Sk. *-ək*, e.g. in *yurmək*, besides *yurmər*). This suffix may be derived from *\*-ard < \*ardai*, *\*ardam*.
- As for the prepositions *ce*, *pu*, *da*, etc., cf. § 132.
113. As stated by Shaw<sup>2</sup> "the noun in the genitive is merely placed before the governing noun without any sign." Thus, e.g., *šə yāš mād* Sk. 'the back of my horse'; *draxt pist* Sk. 'bark' (but *pist-i diraxt* X). Sometimes the Prs. construction is used by X in the tale,<sup>3</sup> e.g., *dast-i istež* 'the daughter-in-law's hand', etc.
- The *-e* which appears in *yeū tate noŋg* X 'his father's name' is scarcely an ancient oblique case suffix, but merely the euphonic vowel employed by X after a final consonant, e.g. in *nivde* 'he wept'; *i degde tūet* 'there was a daughter', etc. But note the Wkh. phrase *yāše yūrək* 'horse's grain' in Lorimer's Bur. Vocabulary.
- Kl., p. 95, mentions a predicative genitive in *-ən* (*yi dāyon tu yi pərnəc* 'a man had a churn'). Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 214.
114. The nom. pl. is formed by the addition of *-išt*, as stated by Shaw, e.g. in *xalgišt* Y 'people', or *-išt* Sk., Kl., e.g. *kəndišt* Sk. 'women'; *skidišt* 'caps'. This form is evidently borrowed from the Prs. collective-abstract in *-išt(t) < -išn*.

<sup>1</sup> *ayou 'pādsāra sa'lām gošt* X 'he saluted the king' may either contain a Prs. dative in *-ra*, or a form *a-salām*, with the prefixed acc. *a-* mentioned by Shaw.

<sup>2</sup> P. 12.

<sup>3</sup> And also by Kl.



## Composition.

115. Compounds of genuine Wkh. origin do not appear to be very numerous, and they conform to the ordinary Prs. types. Thus, e.g., *bəč-đəyd* 'female cousin (: uncle's daughter)'; *draxt-pīst* 'bark of a tree' (but cf. also § 113); *gidim-žēč* 'wheaten bread'; *yoři-yāngəl* 'thumb'; *hīb-ərīt* 'Charles' Wain (: The Seven Brothers); *đas-iu* 'eleven'; *naydin-yupk* 'dew'.

Ancient compounds are, e.g., *žasirz* 'wife's sister' (< \**hucasura-zā*); *noyordum* 'bear', and *sanguurt* 'beetle'.

As for ancient nominal and verbal compounds with *abi-*, *ā-*, *us-*, *fra-*, *ham-*, *nī-*, *niš-*, *pati-*, *pari-*, *wi-*, etc., v. Voc.

## Numerals.

116. 1. *iu* (i) Y, X, N, (*h*)i W; *yiu* Sk.  
 2. *būi* Y, X, N, W, Sk.  
 3. *trūi* Y, X, N, Sk.; *trūi* W.  
 4. *čbūr* Y, X, N, W; *čibūr*, *čir* Sk.  
 5. *pānz* Y, X; *p'an's* N; *pāns* W; *pānɟz* Sk.  
 6. *šād*, *šad* Y, X, N, Sk.; *šād* Y, W.  
 7. *hūb*, *hōb* Y; *hūb* X; *ūb* N; *hibđ* (l) W; *ūb*, *īb*, *ūb* Sk.  
 8. *hat* Y, *hāt* X, W, *at* N, *āt* Sk.  
 9. *nāu* Y; *nāu* X; *nau* N, *nāb* W, *nā.u* Sk.  
 10. *đas* Y, N, Sk.; *das* X, W.  
 11. *đas-iu* N, Sk.; *das-iu* X; *das-hi* W.  
 19. *das-nab* W.  
 20. *wist* Y; *bist* N, Sk.; *bist* W.  
 30. *sī* N; *trūđas* Sk.

The vigesimal system prevails as in other Pamir and Hindukush languages. Thus, e.g., Kl. *čabūr bist* '80' (but *bist* et *čabūr* '24'); *trūbist* Sk. '60', but *trūđas* '30'.

The numerals from 11—19 agree in their formation with the Shghn. group and with Khowar, not with Ishk.—Sgl. and Yd.—Mj.

*būi* has probably got its diphthong from *trūi* (< Av. *θrāyō*, with long *ā*?), cf. the adaptation of the numeral '3' to '2' in Kurdish.<sup>1</sup> Regarding *šād* v. § 46.

117. Ancient ordinals are apparently preserved in *bat*, *tōrt* and *cabrēm*, v. Voc. s.vv. Regarding modern ordinals in *-ūng*, v. Kl. p. 92. Note the distributive *īgōn īgōn* 'one each'.

### Pronouns.

#### Personal Pronouns.

##### 1st Prs. Sg.

	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>wuz</i> (= N)	<i>wuz</i>	<i>wuz</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>
Gen.	<i>žə</i> (= N)	<i>žn</i>	<i>žə</i>
Predic. Gen.		<i>žunan</i>	<i>žənən</i>
Dat.	<i>mar</i> , <i>mār-ek</i>	<i>mar</i> , <i>mar-k/g</i>	<i>mār-ək</i>
Agent		<i>wuz-um</i>	

##### 2nd Prs. Sg.

	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>tu</i> (= N)	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i> ( <i>tī</i> )	
Gen.	<i>tī</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>tə</i>
Predic. Gen.	<i>tīnen</i>	<i>tīnen</i> , <i>-ən</i>	<i>tīnən</i>
Dat.	<i>tar</i> , <i>tār-ek</i>	<i>tawar</i> (-ke)	<i>tār-ək</i>
Loc.			<i>tər-tan</i>

<sup>1</sup> Gārrūsī *sə*, with *ə* from *də*, acc. to communication from Barr.



	1st Prs. Pl.		
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sak</i> (= N)	<i>sak</i>	<i>sāk</i>
Gen.	<i>spa</i>	<i>ispa</i>	<i>spō</i>
Predic. Gen.		<i>ispacan</i>	
Dat.		<i>sakar</i>	<i>sākōk</i>

	2nd Prs. Pl.		
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sāis(t)</i>	<i>saš</i>	<i>sāyiš</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>sāv</i>	<i>sab</i>	
Predic. Gen.	<i>sāvan</i>	<i>sab/fan</i>	<i>sāv-ōk</i>
Dat.		<i>sabar</i>	

- W gave the purely Sgl. forms *aze* 'I'; *təfak* 'thee'; *tumux* 'you'.
119. For reasons unknown to us the system of Personal Pronouns in Wkh. has been much more thoroughly refashioned than those of most other Ir. languages. The stems *mana*, *ahma*- and (*yu*)*šma*-, which play such an important rôle elsewhere, have disappeared, and have been replaced by others of uncertain derivation. Any attempt to trace the origin of these forms must necessarily be hazardous.

- An archaism of Wkh. is the preservation of four different stems in the paradigms of the sg. (*wuz*, *ma*-, *maž*, *ēə*, and *tu*, *ta*-, *tan*, *tī*).
120. The acc. *maž* 'me', which according to Shaw is also used as the base for the loc., instr. and abl., and according to Kl. (*maž*) as an agent, may phonetically be derived from *\*mazya*.<sup>1</sup> This form would correspond to Skr. *mahyam* and lend support to the theory that *h* < *gh* is original in this word, Gathic *maibya* having got its *b* from *taibya*. Probably, at the time when the dative and the genitive were confounded in Ir., Wkh. *\*man* was supplanted by *maž*, while, on the other hand, *taw* prevailed upon *\*tav*. Thus, e.g., Kl.<sup>2</sup> *māž*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 72.

<sup>2</sup> P. 98.

*xatt-əi* 'I said' < \**mazyā hwaṭam*, but *tāy* . . . *ḍett-əi* 'thou gavest' < \**tawa dītam*.

121. The dat. *mār-ek* contains the base *mā*, after which has been formed *tā* in *tār-ek*.<sup>1</sup> Kl. gives *mā* and *tā* as separate obl. forms. X *tawar(ke)* is a secondary formation.

122. Gen. 2nd prs. sg. *tī*<sup>2</sup> may go back to enclitic \**tai*. But the corresponding 1st prs. form *šə*, *šu* (Kl. *šə*) appears to be derived from a possessive adjective \**azyā*, and it is possible that *tī* represents ancient \**tuya*. But no parallell formations are known from any other Indo-Ir. language, and the derivation here suggested remains quite uncertain.

The predic. gen. forms in *-nen*, *-nan*<sup>3</sup> remind us of Sgl. *mānen*, *tōnan*, Ishk. *mānō*, *tīnō*. But in these dialects the first *n* has been transferred to the 2nd prs. from *mān-*, while no such explanation is possible in Wkh. Most probably \**šū-n*, *tī-n* were formed with the same suffix as *ḍay-ən* mentioned above, and then the full suffix *-en* was added.<sup>4</sup> Kl. gives *taw-ən* besides the older form *tīn-ən*.

123. The pl. forms are still more difficult to explain.

As for the gen. 1st pl. *spā* (Sk. and Kl. *spō*) borrowing from Khow. has been suggested.<sup>5</sup> And, in spite of the objections which may on principle be raised against the assumption of borrowing of personal pronouns, it seems impossible to reject this explanation. *spā* would be the expected older form of modern Khow. *ispa* (< \**spā* < \**aspā* < *asmā*), which must originally have been an oblique form, and no Ir. derivation can be found for the Wkh. form.

It is, perhaps, also possible to take *sā(išt)* to be a lw. from ancient Khow. \**vsā* (from which \**bsa* > *bisa*, *pisa*).

But *sak* 'we' is not likely to be borrr. from Shina obl. *asu/o* (< \**asaka-š*).

X predic. gen. *ispacan* is confirmed by Kl. *spōcən*, but the origin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *tā*, which has been formed after the analogy of *mā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ishk. *nī*.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw has *xūt-an* 'mine'.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 113, and cf. p. 486, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> V. Shaw, p. 49, Tomaschek, *Centralas. Stud.*, 95 (< IA *swa-ŋ*), and Rep. Afgh. p. 79.



of *-c-* is unknown. A transfer from a lost form *\*ahmāča- > \*māc-* is not probable.

The 2nd pl. obl. and gen. *sāv* has been formed with the ordinary suffix *-av*. *sab* X may be a Hunza-Wkh. form, cf. *sabē* in a Wkh. sentence in a Bur. text.<sup>1</sup>

There are no enclitic possessive pronouns in Wkh. But *-am*, *-at* *-an*, *-av* are used to express the subject in the past tenses.<sup>2</sup>

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

124. The following forms occur in our material:

"THIS"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yem, iyem, iyam</i>	<i>yem, (h)a-yem</i>	
Acc.	<i>yimē</i> <sup>3</sup>		
Loc.	<i>(a-)dʳ-əm</i>		<i>dəʳ-əm</i>
Obl.		<i>a-yēman</i>	
Abl.		<i>c-eman</i>	<i>c-əm</i>
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>a-ʿyemiš</i>	

"THAT"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yau, a-yāu</i>	<i>yau, ye, a-yau</i>	<i>yau</i>
Gen.		<i>yau, yeū</i> (?)	
Loc.	<i>dʳ-a</i>		
Dat.		<i>yowar, yaɹwark</i>	<i>yāwək</i>
Obl.		<i>yōwan</i>	
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>yāweiš</i>	<i>yāweiš, ʰušt</i>

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, Bur. Langu., II, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 154.

<sup>3</sup> *yimē detem tārek* 'I gave thee this'.

125. These two pronouns go back to Ir. *ima-* and *awa-*, while Y *acet* 'from this'<sup>1</sup> contains a stem *\*ita-*, from Ir. *aita-*, influenced by *ima-*.

Kl. gives complete paradigms for all three pronouns *yəm*, *yət*, and *ya(u)*, cf. Yd.—Mj. § 208 *mo*, *yo*, *wo*. But while the stems *(y)əm*, *(y)ət* remain through all cases, *yan* forms an ablative *c-an-ən*,<sup>2</sup> (corresponding to *c-əm-(ən)*, *c-ət-(ən)*), and a locative *d-am*, *sk-a(m)* (corresponding to *d-əm*, *d-ət*, and *sk-əm*, *sk-ət*). These caseforms probably go back to Ir. *ana-* and *ahmi*.

A prefixed *(h)a-*, corresponding in use to Prs. *ham-* in *ham-in*, emphasises the demonstrative force of the pronouns.

When used as adjectives the demonstratives are usually uninflected.

V. Voc. s.vv.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

126. *kūi*, *kui* Y, X, Sk., *ko-i* Sh. 'who?', 'somebody'.—Probably < *kahya*.

*kūm* X, *kum* Sh. 'which?'.—Probably < *\*kāma-* cf. Paht. *kūm*.

*čis*, *či* X, *čiz* Y, Sk., *čiz* Sh. 'what?'.—Prs.—V. Voc.

*cūm* X, Sk., Sh. 'how much?', 'how many?', 'some'.—Cf. Kl. *tum* 'so much', etc.

*čizi* Y, X 'something'.—Prs.

*žat* X, Sk. 'self, own'.—From Av. *xʾatō*. *žūnen*, *-an* X 'own'.—Cf. *žunen*, etc.

*cerak* Y, *cerek* Sk. 'why?'; *cə-waxt* Sk. 'when?' contains an ancient interrogative *cə* < *čit*.

*yan* 'other'.—< *anya-*.

*yamān* Kl. 'one another' is possibly derived from *\*(y)anān* < *\*anya-anya*. Cf. § 85. *(h)alamān* L. id. < *\*anyam-anya-?*

<sup>1</sup> *wuz acet xūnen ništem* 'I went out of this house'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *cān* L. 'from there'.



*Use of the Cases and Prepositions.*

127. The subject of a transitive verb in a past tense is put in the nominative in my texts. Thus: *you nān ŷat* X 'his mother said'; *wuz ŷel-em yilkem* Y 'I have eaten bread'; *ayou nāgde nikā kerk* X 'he arranged the wedding at night'. But note *uz-um ŷinak* X 'I have said'. Acc. to Kl., p. 98, a pronominal subject is put in the obl. case in such phrases: *māṣ ŷattai* 'I said', etc.

128. Regarding the special accusative form of nouns v. § 111. The object, when a personal pronoun, is usually put in the acc.-obl. Thus: *tu ŷizir maṣ di?* Y 'why dost thou beat me?'; *sak sāv dinen* Y 'we beat you'; *sāiṣ ŷizir maṣ dief?* Y 'why do you beat me?'; *wuz tau* (or *tī?*) *diməm* X 'I beat thee'; *wuz sab dimim* X 'I beat you'.—*ŷizov sāyiṣ wīndov?* Sk. 'what (things) do you see?' is an example of the obl. pl. of an interrogative pronoun.

The "accusative" is used in a local or temporal sense in *yupk piōla kaṭum* X 'I pour water into the cup' (: *wuz yupk ar pīl kaṭem* Y); *ŷāu yūndəm xədōrg* Y 'I carry grain to the mill', and *wūd nāyd* Y 'to-night'.

129. Examples of the use of the dative are: *mark 'mālum 'ne vit* X 'it was not known to me'; *you nānar ŷat* X 'he said to his mother'; *yāwər nikā kerk* X 'he made a wedding for her'; *tu mar kītāb rand* Y 'give me a book'; *wuz tawar ī rūpiā rāndəm* X 'I give thee one rupee'; *wuz tar kitāb randəm* X 'I give thee a book'; *wuz sabar . . . rāndəm* X 'I give you'; *sakar igōn igōn rūpiā rande* X 'give us one rupee each'; *tu mārek kitābe ḍetāi* Y 'thou gavest me a book'; *yimē ḍetem tārek* Y 'I give this to thee'; *mārek . . . 'nə fort* Sk. 'I will not' (: 'it doesn't please me'). Note also: *tu ŷiz yarkər wəzd* X 'what work didst thou come out for?'; *uz kend ŷilgakar wəzdim* X 'I came out to seek a wife', and *ŷizir* 'why?', 'what for?'.

A personal object is put in the dat.—probably through the influence of Prs.—in *wuz targ dišum* X 'I know thee' (but *wuz aya xalg dišem* Y 'I know that man'); *tu ŷizir-ke marg dīng?* X 'why dost

thou beat me?' (but *tu cizir maž di* Y); *yašer* 'peden guž X 'saddle the horse' (but *yaš* 'peden gužt).

The dative denotes temporal or local relations in *purzer* X 'in the evening'; *tortet* X 'the day after to-morrow' (but *tört* Y); *šub'r halak* Sh. 'to pass the night'; *xonar rič* X 'go home'; *rešt xonar-ke* X 'he went home'; *i manziler-ke rešt* X 'he came to a halting-place'.

130. Examples of the genitive of pronouns are: *you nān* X 'his mother'; *yem šə xūn* Y 'this is my house'; *šu xonan ti xon lup* X 'thy house is bigger than my house'; *ispa xon lup* X 'our house is big'; *tə(?) nūng* Sk. 'thy name'.

The predicative genitive is used e.g. in: *hayem xon šūnan* X 'this house is mine'; *yan xon tinan* X 'that house is thine'; *tinan šis yark tu?* X 'hast thou any work?'; *ayem xon ispacan* X 'this house is ours'; *yem xūn sāvan* Y 'this house is yours'; *i deyd saban tūet* Y 'you had a daughter'; *yem xūn šə xūnen* Y 'this house is my own'.

131. The ablative, with or without *ce* 'from', is found in: (*ce*) *xōnen niešk* X 'he went out of the house'; *wuz ce xūnen ništen* Y 'I went out of the house'; *uz a'yem xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *wuz a'yēman rūpiā durzəm* X 'I take a rupee from this one'. In *šau ce wuš ništəm* Y 'yalla az kâ barâvourdām' *ce* is used without the abl. ending.

Note the comparative meaning in *šu xonan ti xon lup* X 'thy house is larger than mine', etc.

*az ayon jiniban* X 'for this sake, *az barâ-i ū*' is a semi-Prs. expression.

132. The instrumental, which acc. to Shaw is formed with *da* . . . *an*, appears in *pu čakween rəstəvəm* Y 'I cut with a knife'. Kl., p. 94, gives *xingārən* 'dagger' used as an instrumental, but cf. also *pə . . . ən* (p. 100).

On the other hand *da* denotes the locative in *'peden da dālān tū* X 'the saddle is on the veranda'; *da ami xon* 'in this house'



(semi-Prs.). Cf. the purely Prs. expression: *dar huzūr-i pādšā* X 'in the presence of the king'.

But *dr-* in *d'rām* 'in this, here', *dra* 'in that, there' appears to be genuine Wkh.

### Adverbs.

133. 1. Local: *dərəm* 'here'; *dra* 'there'; *tərəm* 'thither'; *tərət* Sk. 'there'; *kumjei* 'where?'; *ce-kūman* 'whence?', 'where?'; *dir* 'at a distance'; *šiš* (*šīšn*), *qarīb* 'near'; *wūč* 'up'; *baār*, *tar-viē* Sh. 'outside'; *tar sibās* Sh. 'behind'; *prūt* Sh. 'forward, first'.

2. Temporal: *niv* 'now'; *wūdg* 'to day'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *tört* 'the day after to-morrow, or before yesterday'; *cōbrēm* 'three days hence'; *wūserd*, *imsōl* 'this year' (cf. the adj. *sērdingi* 'belonging to this year', *pardingi* 'belonging to last year'); *tətvārt* 'the year before last'; *ar'sōl* 'yearly'; *ce-waxt* 'when?'; *awāl* 'formerly'; *bād* 'then'; *bət* 'further, again'; *ce'bas* 'again, then'; *subda'mik* 'in the morning'; *pūrzer* 'in the evening'; *waxtī* 'once'.

3. Modal, etc.: *yaf* 'very'; *čizir*, 'cerak' 'why?'; *cəm-jə'nīb* 'therefore'; *yō—yō*, *xō—xō* 'either—or'; *yān*, 'bale' 'yes'; *xūb* 'well'; *al batt* 'perhaps'; *ət* 'and'.

For particulars v. Voc. s.vv.

### The Verb.

#### Stems.

134. According to Shaw<sup>1</sup> "every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four *forms*, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are: The Infinitive form. The Present form. The Past form. The Perfect form."

To these four 'forms' must be added the 3rd sg. pres., wherever its stem differs from that of the 1st Sg.

<sup>1</sup> P. 14.

### The Verb Substantive.

135. The nominal construction is very common in Wkh. Thus, e.g.: *ha'yem xōn žunan* X 'this house is mine'; *uz ayem xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is bigger than mine'; *sak Waxi xalge* X 'we are Wakhis'; *sāišť kūi?* Y 'who are you?'; *yem xūn žə žūn(ən)* Y 'this house is my own'.

Among the few examples of the auxiliary noted by Sk. and myself are: *uuz-əm murz vitk* Sk. 'I have become hungry', and, in the present, *tu-t kūi?* Y 'who art thou?'; *sak-ən Xik-ən* Y 'we are Wakhis'.

*tei-* is used in: *sāk-ən tū* Sk. 'we were'; *saš kūi tūet* X 'who were(?) you', *čis xabar tēi?* X 'what is the matter?'. Note *tūet* X = *tū* 'he, she was' in the Tale.

Regarding *vit* and *woc-* v. Voc. s.vv.

### The Present Stem.

136. The only productive Present formation is the Causative in *-ev-*, *-əv-*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *pūmecev-* 'to dress somebody else' from *pūmec-*; *nezdəv-* 'to make to sit down' from *nezd-*. Wkh. *-v-* cannot go back to Ir. *-p-*, and the suffix must be of IA origin.<sup>2</sup>—*pšū-* Sh., causative of *pšin-*, *pšew-* 'to return' and *werxūv-* (from *werxar-* 'to flood') are irregular formations. Of *niv-* 'to extinguish' and some other causatives no simple forms are known.

137. A number of verbs have 1 sg. pres. in *-i(y)əm*, *-im*, and 3 sg. in *-it* (*-id*). Thus: Sk. *đəviyəm* (*đəvid*) 'I steal'; *kəmiəm* (*kimūt*) 'I will'; *mərim* (*mīrid*) 'I die'; *nəsim*, Y *nesiam* (*nīsīd*) 'I lie down'; *wəšim*, Y *wəšiyəm* (*wišīd*) 'I am afraid'; *wəzim*, Y *wəziəm* (*wi:zīt*, Y *wi:zīt*) 'I come'; Sh. *ramiam* (*rimit*) 'I command'; Kl. *pörviyəm* (*pērvit*) 'I attain'. These forms must go back to ancient presents in *-āya-*, *-iya-*: *\*dabaya-*, *\*kamaya-*, *\*mriya-*, *\*ni-saya-*, *\*wi-sriya-*(??), *\*uz-aya-*(??),

<sup>1</sup> Sk. *picwəm*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Yd.—Mj. § 229 and the corresponding Psht. and Par. forms.



\**fra-māya*, \**pari-apaya* (anc. lw. ?). Also Sk. *ṛyām* (*ṛīyd*) 'I copulate'; *jōyām* (*jōyd*) 'I read'; *sodūyd* 'it appears'; *sōṭiyām* (*sōṭīyd*) 'I send'; *sīyām* (*sīyd*) 'I rub'. Cf. also: Sh. *wuśūyam* 'I untie'; *pūtmūiam* 'I mimic'; *zūwāyam* 'I roll up'; *wūzdīam*, Y *wuzdiem* 'I wash'; *kšūiam*, Y *kšūyām* 'I hear' (< \**guśaya* ?), and, probably, Sk. *śāyām*, Y *šāyām* (*šīlt*<sup>3</sup>) 'I kill' belong to this group. Wkh. *-iy*, *-ūy*, *-ūy* goes back to \**-āya*, but the distribution between forms in *-āya* and *-aya* has apparently in some cases been troubled.

But cf. also *pūmec* 'to dress' and *nīs* 'to lose', with apparent loss of *-aya*.

138. Presents in *-ya* are preserved in *diš* 'to know'; *pōč* 'to cook' (intr.); *tōš* 'to empty out' (denom.); *nāš* 'to be lost'; *pōdmōš* 'to ferment' (if < \**pati-dmasya*); *tač* 'to go, move' (?); *muš* 'to conceal'; *ramuš* 'to forget', and *wasēr* 'to become cold'.

139. Ancient Presents in *-sa* are chiefly found in connection with *f*, *v*, e.g., *wōrāfs* 'to stand'; *gāfs* 'to run'; *nađefs* 'to stick' (Sh. *nadevs* 'to affect, stain'), etc. Cf. also *šaxs* 'to pass through'. In *purs* 'to ask' the suffix is of pre-Ir. date. The derivation of *kās* 'to thresh' < \**xad* + *sa* is uncertain.

140. Ancient Presents in *-nā* are: *varīn* 'to shear'; *pazdan* 'to recognize'; *witrīn* 'to sky', and, possibly, *pšin* (= *pšew*) 'to return'.

An infixed *-n* probably appears in *rānd* 'to give' (cf. also *pūrīnd* 'to sell', *vārand* 'to abuse?'); *yūd* 'to carry away'; *nūd* 'to plant'; *škənd(iv)* 'to break', and in some other verbs in *-nd*.

141. Remains of other Present formations are: *nezd* 'to sit down' (\**ni-hazda*); *pōv* 'to drink' (\**pība*); *car* 'to do' (Aor. *čara* ?). In *wōč* 'to become', and *čāw* 'to go' the Presents differ from the Past Stems (*vit*, *tāyd*<sup>4</sup>).

Irregular are *dim* (and *dē*) 'to beat'; *zūbūt* Sh., trans. of *zūbed*.

<sup>1</sup> But note Sh. *wūšām* 'I loose'.

<sup>2</sup> With inflexion influenced by *dē*, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> With secondary 3rd sg.

<sup>4</sup> Sh. has *čaw*: *tāyd* 'to go', but *tōč*: *tōčt* 'to move'. V. Voc. s.vv.

'to burst'. *piding* is probably the perf. of *\*pidin-* 'to flame up' (< *\*pati-dagna-?*), cf. *picēv-* Y, *pidisev-* L. 'to kindle a fire' (< *\*pati-daxsa-??*). V. Voc. s.vv.

## Present.

142.	Y	Y	Y	X	
	'I eat'	'I drink'	'I beat'	'I eat'	
1 Sg.	'yācum	pōvən	dīməm	'yācum	
2 »		pōvī	dī	'yāwi(-ā)	
3 »	yit	pīt		'yāwet	
1 Pl.	yācən	pōvən	dīnen	'yācən	
2 »	yācəv	pōvəv	dief	'yāwit	
3 »	yācən	pōvən		'yācən	
	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Kl.
	'I drink'	'I put'	'I die'	'I steal'	
1 Sg.	'pūvəm	kāṭəm	mərim	'dəviyəm	-əm
2 »	'pūvī	kāṭī		'dəviyi	—
3 »	'pīt	kārt	'mīrīd	'dəvid	-t, -d
1 Pl.	pūvən	kāṭən	mərin	də'riyən	-ən
2 »	'pūvəv	kārtəv(!)	məriv		-it, -əv
3 »	pūvən	kāṭən	(mərin?)		-ən

143. As mentioned above<sup>1</sup> the 2nd pl. ends in *-t* in Eastern Wakhan, but in *-v* in Western Wakhan. This latter form is probably borrowed from Ishk., as *-dəcəm* would not result in Wkh. *-v*.

Owing to early contractions the 3rd sg. presents some irregularities. The secondary contact between the final consonant of the root and the suffix results in various assimilations. Thus: *wōst* 'becomes' (*wōcəm*); *rašt* 'goes' (*račəm*); *wərəšt* 'remains' (*wərəčəm*); *witrišt* Sh. 'shies' (*witrinam*); *rasašt* Sh. 'breaks' (*rasedəm*); *kārt* 'puts' (*kāṭəm*); *wūzənd* 'brings' (*wūzəməm*). But *rapact* Sh. 'loses the way', *pāct* Sk. 'cooks'. Verbs ending in *nd* have no visible suffix. Thus: *vand* 'binds', *kānd* 'laughs', *nūnd* 'plants', with *-nd* < *\*nd-d*.

<sup>1</sup> § 16.



Quite irregular is the inflexion of *diməm* Y (v. above); *dēm*, 3 sg. *dēšt* Sk.; *dēməm*, 3 sg. *dəit*, 1, 3 pl. *dēnən* Kl.; *dehəm-əm*, *de*, *det*, *dehen-ən*, *dehen-əv*, *dehen-ən* Hj. This verb has to some extent influenced the inflexion of *wuzdi* 'to wash'. *təi* 'is' (1 sg. *təyəm* Sk.) is perhaps of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai*.

Regarding the 3rd sg. in *it* cf. above § 137. In a number of verbs, chiefly in *-āw-* and *-āy-*, the vocalism is changed into *-i-* in the 3rd sg.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g., *yit* 'eats' (*yāw-*); *čīt* 'goes' (*čāw-*); *drit* 'reaps' (*drāw-*); *θīt* 'burns' (*θāw-*); *šīt* 'kills' (*šāy-*). Note also *pīt* 'drinks' (\**pivt* < \**pibati*?).

The 1st pl. in *-n* agrees with some dialects of Sgl.—Ishk., etc.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases Sk. gives a compound form in the 3rd sg. Thus, e.g. *vūl cart* 'smells', but *vūləm* (abstract), *vūl-carəm* (concrete); *qēw cart* 'calls' (*qēwem*).

### Imperative.

144. The Imper. 2 sg. is identical with the Present Stem. Thus, e.g., Sk. *yīn* 'see'; *pāc* 'cook'; *təi* 'be'; *šān* 'say'; *xaš* 'pull'; *uərəč* 'remain', etc. V. Voc. passim.

### The Past Stem.

145. The formation of the Past Stem has been subject to numerous levelling innovations, and only a comparatively small number of verbs or root-types have preserved preterites which may go back direct to Old Ir. forms.

Thus we find \**-āta-* in *ramatt* Sh. 'commanded' (*rami-*), *statt* Sh., *stətt* Sk. 'sent' (*sətiy-*); \**-ata-* in *šāt(t)* 'said' (*šān-*), *sat* 'rose' (*san-*), *kott* 'drew a sword' (*kūn-*), *šāt(t)* 'arrived' (*šāt-*); \**-ita-* in *pīt(t)* 'drank' (*pōv-*), *varitt* 'shore' (*varīn-*), *šit*, *šitt* 'killed' (*šāy-*), *zwett* 'wound' (*zwāy-*), *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsi-*),<sup>3</sup> possibly also in *bott* 'over-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk., § 124, and 132.

<sup>3</sup> With syncope in a disyllabic stem.

threw' (*büt-*) from *\*ham-patita* (?), *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd-*) from *\*ni-hādita* (?); and in *ðet(t)* 'gave' (*rānd-*) from *\*dila-*; *\*-ūta-* in *vit*, *vit(t)* 'became', *yit*, *yēt* 'ate' (*yāu-*).

I always heard Y *-t* (e.g. *žat*, but X *žatt*). L. has *pit* and *pset* (Sh. *pitt*, *psett*). Sh. and Sk. in most cases have *tt*, but note Sh. *yit*, *parvet* (Z *pörvött*, but Kl. *pörvötai*), *vārāt* (Sk. *vāratt*), and Sk. *yēt*, *vit*, *ðet* (Sh. *yit*, *vitt*, *ðett*). Kl. regularly gives *pit*, *žat*, but *pittai*, *žattai*. Note, however, Kl. *žatōi*, *pšatōi*, *pōrōtōi*, *yitōi* (but *yittūy*).—The variation between *tt* and *t* does not appear to have any phonological significance and may partly be due to inexact observation, partly to difference of dialect. It is, perhaps, possible that *tt* originally belongs to stems of the type *nütt* < *\*nihādita-*, and has been generalized.

146. Ir. *\*-rta-* is represented by *kert* 'did' (*car-*) and *mōrt* 'died' (*māri-*); *\*-rīda-* by *dežd* 'held' (*durz-*); *-asta-* by *vāst* 'bound' (*vānd-*) and *xōrōst* Kl. 'snored' (*xōrūθ-*);<sup>1</sup> *\*-ašta-*, *-išta-* by *wāšt* 'fell' (*wāz-*), *nāšt* 'lost' (*nāš-*), *tāšt* 'shaved' (*tūš-*),<sup>2</sup> and *wišt* '(the sun) set' (*wīs-*).<sup>3</sup>

Ir. *\*-afta-*, *\*-ifta-* occur in *čavd* 'gathered' (*čip-*); *naðevd* 'stuck' (*naðefs-*); *\*-axta-* in *layd*, *rōyd* 'went' (*čāw-*, *rāč-*).<sup>4</sup>

Also *rasen-* 'broke' (*rasēd-*); *nein-* 'sat down'; *zūbōn* 'burst' (*zūbed-*); *wōrōyn* 'remained' (*wōrāč-*), and *žōgn* 'filled' (*žōnz-*) may be of Ir. origin and go back to forms in *\*-idna-*, *\*-izna-*, etc. Cf. Skr., *niṣaṇṇa-*, *bhinna-*, *bhagna-*,<sup>5</sup> etc.

147. Considered from the point of view of the modern Wkh. system the Past Stems may be arranged in the following groups:

### Regular Past Stems.

To this group belong verbs whose final consonant is not changed before the suffix *t*, *d*.

<sup>1</sup> If not a recent formation with *ðt* > *st*.

<sup>2</sup> More probably a secondary formations in *s* + *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 73.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. infin. *tukan*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. § 138, VI.



In some cases it seems doubtful whether an assimilative change is phonological or merely phonetical. It may be that *witriðt* (*witrin*), *mōðt* (*mōd*-), *wōzōnd* (*wuzem*-), *čald*- (*čalg*-), and *škurd* (*škürg*-) ought to be considered as regular forms. But it is of course impossible to try to solve this point without possessing more than a superficial knowledge of the language.

148. I. Regular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in a vowel: *ramatt* 'commanded' (*rami*-);<sup>1</sup> *kəmətt* 'agreed' (*kəmi*-); *tanet* 'folded sheep'; *neit* 'went out' (*nii*-); *parvet* 'attained' (*parve(y)*-), etc. (v. above).

From roots in *t*: *gōtt* 'found'; *ȳätt* 'arrived'; *zūbott* 'burst' (*zūbūt*-); *bott* 'overthrew' (*būt*-); *ȳortt* 'collected'. From roots in *ð*: *ȳāðt* 'piled up'; *žōðt* 'sowed'; *lodt* 'rammed in' (*lūd*-); *mōðt* 'curdled' (*\*mōð*-). Cf. *witriðt* 'shied' (*witrin*-).

From roots in *p*, *k*, *č*, *c*: *ročəpt* 'slept' (*rečəp*-); *dropt* 'scratched' (*drūp*-); *tapt* 'quaked'; *šilāpt* 'splashed'; *cəropt* Kl. 'pinched' (*cərip*-); *čukt* 'beat'; *čākt* 'dripped'; *wāqt* 'barked'; *tōēt* 'moved'; *čōēt* 'pinched'; *gāēt* 'tottered'; *pāet* (*paed*) 'cooked', etc.

From roots in *f*, *x*, *č*: *āft*, *wəft* 'plaited' (*ūf*-); *parwəft* 'netted' (*parwuf*-); *štrōft* 'sneezed'; *skāft* 'tripped'; *pačrəxt* 'arrested'; *ferxt* 'sneezed'. Note the secondary formation *wərxəxt* 'remained' (*wəry*-) L.; *sočt* 'smeared' (*suč*-); *gočt* 'did'; *đōčt* 'crushed' (*dič*-); *čəčt* 'killed', etc.

From roots in *s*, *š*: *kāst* 'threshed'; *nōst* 'lost' (*nis*-); *strāst* 'splashed'; *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsi*-); *gəfst* 'ran'; *nədfəst* 'stuck'; *wərfəst* 'stood'; *xəfst* 'felt sleepy'; *purst* 'asked'; *bārst* 'closed the eyes'; *šōxst* 'passed'; *dišt* 'knew'; *mōšt* 'concealed' (*müš*-); *nāšt* 'was lost'; *nicišt* 'wrote'; *pōdmōšt* 'fermented'; *tōšt* 'emptied'; *tāšt* 'cut' (*tiš*-); *xāšt* 'pulled'; *vərešt* 'fried'; *ȳākšt* 'boiled'.

From roots in *r*: *kert*, (secondary form: *cārt*) 'did' (*car*-); *mərt* 'died' (*məri*-); *wasərt* 'cooled'; *naspart* 'tread down'; *wərxərt* 'flooded'. Cf. also *kart* 'threw into' (*kaŋ*), with *tt* > *rt*.

<sup>1</sup> The Present Stem is only given wherever it differs in vocalism from the Past Stem.

149. II. Regular Past Stems in *d*. Most roots in voiced consonants and semivowels belong to this class. But the existence of preterites of the type *žōdt* and *mərt* shows that *d* is not a mere phonetic variant of *t*.

From roots in *i, y*: *səđōid* 'appeared' (*səđūy*-); *đovoid* 'stole' (*đoviy*-); *žōid* 'read' (*žōy*-); *wōzdōid* Sk. (but *wōzdošt* Y) 'washed' (*wīzdey*-, *wuzdi*-).

From roots in *u, w*: *nōwd* 'wept' (*nūw*-); *porōd* 'rinsed' (*puru*-); *stod* Sh. (*staudi*- L.) 'praised' (*sto*-, *sitao*-); *worōd* L. 'irrigated' (*woraw*-).

From roots in *v*: *līvd* 'slipped'; *tovd* 'twisted'; *višovd* 'swept' (*višov*-); *d'revd* 'sewed', and the numerous causatives of the type *rəstōvd* 'broke' (*rəstov*-); *picōvd* (but Sk. *picōied*) 'kindled a fire' (*picev*-, *picno*-); *disšovd* Sk. 'showed' (*disov*-, v. s.v. *disiv*-); *niovd* 'extinguished' (*niv*-), etc. Note *gəfsəvt* Sk. 'galloped'. With Sk. *picōied* cf. Sh. *višovied* 'swept' (*višovūo*-); *pšaud* 'turned' (*pšū*-). In these cases *w* is probably due to inexact notation.

From roots in *ȳ*: *deđiȳd* 'looked'; *degd* 'brought up'. Note *čāld* 'wished' (*čālg*-); *škūrd* 'sought' (*škūr*-).

From roots in *z, ž, j*: *rōzd* 'ripped up' (*riž*-); *rəwəzd* 'flew' (but *wāšt* from *wāz*-); *wōzd* 'came' (*wōzi*-); *nawāzd* 'sounded'; *gəzd* 'rose' (*gliz*-); *yāžd* 'bore'; *rīžd* 'felt pain'; *trānžd* 'tightened'. Note *pātrāz* Sh. 'leant' (*putrūz*-), with *-z* for *-zd*?

From roots in *r, l*: *wōđōrd* 'grasped' (*wōđər*-); *žīrd* 'turned round'; *nežyard* 'swallowed'; *šārd* 'slandered'; *škūrd* Sh. 'sought'; *yawərd* 'chose' (*yawer*-); *āld* 'stayed'; *frīld* 'crumbled'; *namīld* 'hemmed', etc. The Past stems in *rd* are of a more recent date than those in *rt*.

From roots in *n, m*: *bōnd* 'winnowed' (*būn*-); *wīnd* 'saw'; *pazdand* 'recognized'; *tond* 'kneaded' (*tun*-); *škōnd* 'quenched the thirst' (v. s.v. *škōndiv*-); *brāmd* 'babbled'; *patramd*, *potrombd* 'arrested' (*pūtrūm(b)*-); *vīzamd* 'rubbed'; *wīzəmd* Sk. 'brought'; *žāmd* 'descended'.



150. III. Irregular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in *n*: *šätt* 'said'; *varitt* 'shore'; *sat* 'rose'; *spat* 'filled (a river)'; *kott* 'drew a sword' (*kün*); *pšett* 'returned' (*pšin*).

From roots in *nd*: *yūt(t)* 'carried' (*yünd*); *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd*); *pürüt* 'sold' (*pürind*); *ratt* 'gave' (*ränd*); *vāratt* 'scolded'; *škött* 'broke'; *nižit* 'expelled' (*nižind*). As for the origin of this formation cf. § 145. But *väst* 'bound' (*vänd*); *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*ziränd*). Note *xərōst* Kl. (*xərūθ*).

From roots in *w*: *θi/et* 'burned' (*θāw*); *yī/et* 'ate' (*yāw*); *drətt* 'reaped' (*drāw*); *viðett* 'rode' (*viðāw*); *gött* 'covered' (*gaw*); *pšet* 'returned' (*pišew*); *čit* X 'went' (*čāw*). The origin of this type are participles in *-āta*, e.g. *\*yūta*, *\*druta*.

From *pōv* 'to drink': *pitt*.

From some roots in *z*: *wāšt* 'fell'; *nēšt* 'went out' (*nīwiz*). Cf. *wišt* '(the sun) set' (*wis*); *pōšt* 'cooked' (*pōč*); *kōšt* 'cultivated' (*kür*);<sup>1</sup> *wāšt* 'feared' (*wəšiy*); *dēšt* 'beat' (*dē*);<sup>2</sup> *wōzdošt* 'washed' (*wuzdi*).

151. IV. Irregular Past Stems in *d*.

From roots in *k, č*: *tāyd* 'went' (*čāw*, cf. inf. *tukan*); *rəyd* 'went' (*rəč*).

From roots in *p*: *šəvd* 'span' (*šüp*); *čəvd* 'picked' (*čip*). Cf. *nadevd* 'affected', etc. (*nadevs*, *nadevs*). But, acc. to Y, *nədafst* 'embraced' (*nədav*).

Quite irregular are: *šəvd* L. 'beat wool' (*šem*); *cəremd* 'pinched' (*cerev*);<sup>3</sup> *širənd* Sh. 'told beads' (*širāw*).

As for *dežd* 'seized' (*durz*), cf. § 82.

According to Sh. some roots in *nd* have Past Stems in *nd(d)i*: *kandī* (but Sk. *kānd*) 'laughed' (*kānd*); *šānddī* 'rubbed up'; *mānddī* 'shampooed'; *žūmānddī* 'wrung'. I am unable to explain the derivation of this form.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *staudi* L. 'praised' (*stau*).—*šāndid* Sh. 'compounded' (*šānd*) is influenced by Prs.

<sup>1</sup> Prs. *lw*.

<sup>2</sup> Kl. *dēm*: *dēt*.

<sup>3</sup> Kl. *cərup*: *cərept*.

<sup>4</sup> *-nddī* < *\*-ndid*?

152. V. Past Stems in *n*.

From roots in *ḍ*: *ne-in* 'sat down' (*nezd-*); *rənn* 'fled' (*rod-*); *rasen* 'broke' (*rased-*, v. s.v. *rəstəv*); *zūbən* 'burst' (*zūbed-*); *petərənə* 'sprung from one seed' (*petərd-*).

From roots in an ancient velar: *pamagn* 'dressed' (*pamec-*); *rapagn* 'lost the way' (*rapic-*); *ḍəg(ə)n* 'milked' (*ḍic-*); *wəwəyn* 'stayed' (*wəwəc-*); *ḡəgn* 'filled into' (*ḡönz-*); *varḍegn* 'pressed down' (*varḍenz-*); *žirəgn* 'hung from a peg' (*žirəv-*).<sup>2</sup> Cf. also s.v. *pidn* KL, 'caught fire' (*pidic-*), v. s.v. *piding*.

From some roots in *y*: *wašan* Sh. 'untied' (*wəšūy-*);<sup>3</sup> *pin* L. 'guarded' (*pūy-*); *kšən* 'heard' (*kšūy-*).<sup>4</sup>

Note Sh. (and KL) *čern* 'entered' (*čerm-*), but Sk. *čəramd* (*čəram-*).

## 153. VI. Suppletive Past Stems.

The Past Stems of *čaw-* 'to go'; *wōc-* 'to become'; *car-* 'to do'; *rand-* 'to give' are: *tāḡd*, *taḡd* Sk., Sh. (*rōḡd* KL); *vīt*; *kərt*; *det*. From the point of view of Wkh. also *ḡat*, *x(š)et* L. 'did' from *goḡ-* (cf. perf. (*g(o)ḡetk* Sk.)) is a suppletive formation. X gave the regular forms *ḡit* 'went', and *guḡt* besides *ḡat*; cf. also Sk. *ratt* 'gave', and Sh. *rātt*, KL. *rətt*, besides *dett*, *dətt*.

Note also *tū* 'was' (*tei-*).

## Preterite.

154. The material at my disposal is not sufficient for establishing a complete paradigm, but in the main the personal suffixes agree with those given by Sh. and KL.<sup>5</sup>

1st Sg. *det-em* Y 'I gave'; *roḡopt-am* Y 'I slept'; *tāḡdom* Sk. 'I went'; *tū(m)* Sk. 'I was'.

The transitive ending *\*mai*, and the intransitive *ahmi* have coalesced.

<sup>1</sup> From *wəwəyn* L. has formed a new present *wəwəy*, with Past Stem *wəwəcət*.

<sup>2</sup> Sh., but cf. also KL. *šəwəc-* (*šəwəcək* inf.); *šəwəcyn* 'to be stuck'.

<sup>3</sup> And *wašin-* 'loosed' (*wəš-*).

<sup>4</sup> As for variants of this verb, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>5</sup> KL: *-am*, *-et*, —, *-ən*, *-əv*, *-ən*.



In the Perfect I heard Y *-ən*, X *-in* in: *aletk-ən* 'I am standing'; *nietk-ən* 'I have gone out'; *wunetk-in* 'I have seen'; *wɛzdik-in* 'I have washed'; *nieng-in* 'I am sitting'. But Y *nieng-əm* 'I am sitting'; *yitk-em* 'I have eaten'; *wurufsatk-əm* 'I am standing'; X *vandetk-in* 'I have bound'.

The suffix is still detachable from the root. Thus Y: *wūz-um* *roʒopt-ei* 'I slept' (= *roʒopt-əm*); *yez-əm* *rəyd-ei* 'I went yesterday'; *yūmj-um* *goʒt-ei* 'I prepared flour'; *niv-um* *ne.in-ei* 'now I sat down'; Sk. *yark-ŋ* *krt-i* 'I worked'; *yurpk-əm* *dəxt-i* 'I poured out water'; *wuz-əm* *murz witk* 'I have become hungry' (cf. Y *mərz-əm* *vit-ei*).—No suffix occurs in Y *wuz i xālg ʃit-āi* 'I killed a man'.

The particle *-ei*, *-āi* probably originally belonged to the 3rd Sg. of trans. verbs (< \**hai*).

2nd Sg. I heard X *yitk-et* 'thou hast eaten', (or 'you have eaten?'), but also *tu det-āi* 'thou gavest'; X *nivdi* 'thou didst weep'; *tu wəzd* 'thou camest'; Sk. *tu-t na wəzdi* 'thou didst not come'; *tū(t)* 'thou wast'.

3rd Sg. Y *rəxniŋ ʔət-ei* 'the fire burned'; *roʒupt* 'he fell asleep'; *nədaʃst-ei* 'he embraced', etc., without any distinctive personal suffix.—Note X *tūet* 'he, she was'.

1st Pl. The only example available is Sk. *sək-ən tu* 'we were'.

2nd Pl. Sk. *ʕiz-əv sāyiʃ wiind-əv?* 'what have you seen?' But X *saʃ kūi tūet?* 'who are (were?) you?'.

3rd Pl. Acc. to Sk. *lāyḍ-i* means 'they went', but it appears to be a sg. form.

Note the extensive use of the Perfect for the Preterite in the tale told by X.

#### *The Perfect Stem.*

#### 155. The Perfect Stem is formed:

I. By adding *-k* (< \**-aka*) to the Past Stem. Before this *k* preceding groups of consonants are usually simplified. This formation is used with Past Stems in *t(t)*, *n*, *vd* (causatives excepted), with some roots in *z*, and a few other verbs.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'is'?

Thus: Sh., Sk. *pītk* 'drunk'; *vitk* 'been'; X, Kl. *yītk* 'eaten'; Kl. *đōtk* 'given'; Sk., Kl. *šītk* 'killed'; *yūtĭk* 'carried'; Sk. *drōtk* 'reaped'; Kl. *purūtĭk* 'sold'; *rattk* 'given'; Sh. *čōfk* 'picked'; *šōfk* 'spun'; *gōzg*, X *gezge* 'risen'; *wāšk*, Kl. *wašk* 'fallen'; *ražk*, Kl. *ražk* 'gone'; *dōzg*, X *dežg*, Kl. *dōžg* 'seized'; *niešk*, Y, X *niešk*, Kl. *nəyōšk* 'gone out'; *wazg*, X *wuzg*, Kl. *wōzg* 'come'; <sup>1</sup> *tažk* 'gone'; *kōšk* 'cultivated'; *kerk*, X *kerk*, Sk., Kl. *kərĭk* 'done'; Sk. *mərĭk* 'dead'; *tūtĭk* 'been'; Kl. *dərafk* 'sewn'; Sh. *žōtk*, Kl. *žōtk* 'done'. These forms have arisen from *\*gōzdg*, *\*wāštĭk*, *\*ražtĭk*, *\*kərĭtk*, *\*dəraftĭk*, etc.

From Past Stems in *n* we find: Kl. *kšōng*, X *kišing* 'heard'; Sh., Y, X *ni.eng*, Kl. *nəyāng* 'sat down'; Sh. *rōng* 'fled'; *raseng* 'broken'; Kl. *čorōng* 'entered'; *pōding*, X *piđing* 'lighted'; *škōng* 'broken' (Past Stem *škōn't*); Sh. *pamažk*, Kl. *pomažk* 'dressed'; Sh. *đōžk* 'milked' < *\*pamaž(n)k*, *\*dōž(n)k*; Kl. *žorāžk* 'hung'.

Sh. *witring* 'shied' has been formed from the Present Stem.

156. II. By adding the stressed suffix *-etk*, *-ōtk* to the Infinitive Stem. This is the more regular, "weak", formation, and in Sk.s dialect it has largely encroached upon the ancient group of "strong" Perfects. Thus, e.g., Sk. *šayōtk* 'killed', besides *šītk*; *yōwōtk* 'eaten'; *rattōtk* 'given'; *gizōtk* 'risen'; *wəzōtk* 'fallen'; *dūrēzōtk* 'seized'; *niwizōtk* 'gone out'; *dəwəzōtk* 'sewn'; *g(o)žetk* 'done'; *kəšənōtk* 'heard'. Besides *tūtĭk* Sk. gives *təyōtk* 'been', cf. Kl. *tūwōtk*. Sk. *rəždōtk* 'gone' and *wəwəžnōtk* 'remained' are based upon the Past Stem. I do not know whether X *čitōtk* 'gone' is a correct Wkh. form.

This form of the Perfect Stem is used with all causatives, and with a great number of other verbs. Thus, e.g., Sk. *škəndəwōtk* 'broken'; Sh. *gizūvetk* 'aroused'; Y *aletk*, *wurufsatk* 'standing'; *niētĭk* 'gone out'; X *wunetk* 'seen'; *vandetk* 'bound'; *kitetk*, Sh. *žatetk* 'arrived'; Sk. *čəžōtk* 'slaughtered'; *čəl'gōtk* 'sought for'; *žə'nōtk* 'said'; <sup>2</sup> *pə'cōtk* 'boiled'; Sh. *sūdūyetk* 'appeared' (but Sk. *sədōi'dōtk* from the Past Stem). With syncope: Sk. *rōtk* 'fled' (< *\*rədotk*).

<sup>1</sup> X *wəzget* < *\*wəzdek*?

<sup>2</sup> X *žī'nak*?



This formation goes back to *\*-itaka*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Sk. *kandatk* 'laughed': Psht. *xandəlai*.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the inflexion of the Perfect, v. § 154.

### Infinitive.

157. In the dialect described by Sk. the infinitive is always formed from the Present Stem by the addition of *-āk* (< *\*-āka*). An *ā* or *i* of the root is usually shortened into *ə*, *ü*. Thus, e.g., *gīzak* 'to rise'; *əndak* 'to bind' (*vand-*); *čəlgak* 'to ask for' (*čəlg-*); *θəwāk* 'to burn' (*θāw-*); *pəcāk* 'to cook' (*pāc-*); *dɾwak* (and *dərs'vak*?) 'to reap' (*drāw-*);<sup>3</sup> *rūčüpāk* 'to fall asleep' (*rūčüp-*); *yōwāk* (!) 'to eat' (*yāw-*), etc. Note *kšəyak* 'to hear', from the original Present Stem, besides *kšənak* (*kšən-*). With contraction *dəng* (and *dəyāk*) 'to beat', but *winak* 'to see'.

Also Kl. has *-āk* in most verbs.<sup>4</sup> But in Sh.'s dialect *-āk* is found only in a limited number of verbs. Among those are most stems in *nd* and *t*: *kandāk* 'to laugh'; *maṇḍāk* 'to shampoo'; *vandāk* 'to bind'; *varendāk* 'to abuse'; *yōndak* 'to take away'; *gotāk* 'to find'; *ṛatāk* 'to arrive'; *katāk* 'to pound'. But *šümāndan* 'to wring'; *būtan* 'to throw down'; *zūbüt-üv-n* (!) 'to burst'. Other examples are: *θauāk* 'to burn'; *cerāk*, *čāk* 'to do'; *šamāk* 'to descend'; *šašāk* 'to cut'; *čəlgāk* 'to desire'; *našāk* 'to be lost'; *šanāk* 'to say'; *hālāk* 'to stay'; *wəzduk* 'to wash'.

According to Sh. the majority of verbs in *-n* have contracted Infinitives in *-ng* (< *\*-aka*). Thus, *wing* 'to see'; *dīng* 'to beat' (from Pres. Stem *dēm-*); *varing* 'to shear'; *nižing* 'to expel'; *kūng* 'to draw a sword'; *pišing* 'to flame'; *pürün(g)* 'to sell'.

158. But by far the most common infinitive ending in Sh.'s list is *-(a)n*, which is absorbed into the final root-consonant in *pazdan* 'to know'; *witrin* 'to sky'. Thus, e.g., *trəñjan* 'to press'; *drəvn* 'to sew', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, Pamir Dial. § 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 238. But Yd. *xadī* 'laughed' < *\*-ita*, v. § 235.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dərs'vak* 'to sew'.

<sup>4</sup> For exceptions v. below.

After a Present Stem ending in a vowel the suffix is *-in*, e.g. *rame-in* 'to command'; *mara-in* 'to die'; *kšū-in* 'to hear'.

Irregular formations are: *drūn* 'to reap' (*drāw-*); *gīn* 'to cover' (*gaw-*); *vide-in* 'to ride' (*vidāw-*); *zirū-in* 'to turn in a lathe' (*zirānd-*); *wašuk-an* 'to fear' (*waši-*); *yītn* 'to eat' and *pītn* 'to drink' (*yāw-*, *pōv-*) are formed from the Past Base, cf. Kl. *yītn*, *pītn*, but Sk. *yōweak*, *pūvak*. *nūdn* 'to sit' is derived from *\*ni-hadana-* (*nezd-*). *radān* 'to give' scarcely goes back to *\*fra-dāna-* (v. Voc. s.v.). *hūmūin* 'to be' (*tei-*) and *tukn* 'to go' (*čau-*) are formed from special stems, but note Sk., Kl. *təyāk*, Kl. *čəwek* (*čāw-*).<sup>1</sup>

159. An Infinitive suffix in *-k* is common to many Ir. dialects, but *-n* < *\*-anai*, is peculiar to Wkh.<sup>2</sup> Kl., p. 92, mentions the infinitives *šətor-ər* '(in order) to kill', and *ləd-ōu* 'to give'. The first form is a dative of some verbal noun which may in itself originally be a dative. The second cannot, with Kl., be compared direct with the Shgh. form in *-t/dōu*, but it may also go back to a case-form of an ancient base in *-(t)u-*.<sup>3</sup>

Note the use of the Dative in *uz kend čilgakar wəzdīm X* 'I came to seek a wife'.<sup>4</sup>

### Interrogative Particle.

160. Wkh. possesses an interrogative particle *-a*, related to that found in the neighbouring languages.<sup>5</sup> For examples v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> But *račn*, *račak*, *tukn* from *rač*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques* p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Benveniste's derivation of the Shgh. infinitive from a *k*-suffix, is phonetically impossible.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kl. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj, § 258.



## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### X.

1. A'wal Sultân-i Mâmûd xî'nak 'pâdsâ 'tu'et. 2. Dar 'wâda-i Sultân Mâmûd 'yeû 'tate nong Subukta'gin tu. 3. 'Wâda-i 'yayôr<sup>1</sup> 'pâdsâ 'digar tû. 4. 'Waxtî (a'you) 'pâdsâ 'sail ni'eşk. 5. A'you 'pâdsâra sa'lâm guxt.<sup>2</sup> 6. 'Pâdsâ 'yawark pur'sân-um<sup>3</sup> kerk: "Sultân-i Mâmûd, tu 'ëis 'yarker wêzd?" 7. "Uz 'k'end çilgakar 'wêzdim." 8. Sultân-i Mâmûd 'xat ki: "Tinan 'ëis 'yark tu?" 9. "A'yem ju'wâb mark 'mâlum 'ne vit." 10. "Žūnen ju'wâb: 'Tinan i 'degde 'tūet.<sup>4</sup> Az a'you jî'niban 'wuz-um 'wêzget.<sup>5</sup> Ī 'deyd 'saban<sup>6</sup> 'tūet.

1. Once there was a king called Sultan Mahmud. 2. In Sultan Mahmud's time his father's name was Subuktagin. 3. In his(?) time there was another king. 4. Once (that) king went out for a walk. 5. He<sup>7</sup> salamed that king. 6. The king asked him: "Sultan Mahmud, what work have you come for?"<sup>8</sup> 7. (He answered:) "I have come to seek a wife." 8. Sultan Mahmud (went on and) said: "What is<sup>9</sup> your work?" 9. (The other king said?): "The answer to this<sup>10</sup> has not become known to me." 10. (Sultan Mahmud said): "My answer is: You have a daughter. I have arrived for her sake."<sup>11</sup> <You have a

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain case.

<sup>2</sup> Or *žat*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *-um* is unknown to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 135.

<sup>5</sup> For *\*wêzdek* (Perf.)?

<sup>6</sup> Note the pl.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud?

<sup>8</sup> *Barā i ĩ kār āmadī?*

<sup>9</sup> Literally "was" (*tū*).

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "this answer".

<sup>11</sup> *Ju'eāb-i mā : yak duxtar žumā hast. Az barā-i duxtar āmadam.*

11. 'Akram 'pâdsâ 'xât kê: Yem yark ce'bas reč, uz 'tawar-ke rux'sat 'guxum. 12. 'Xonar 'rič, ce'bas 'waze. 13. 'Yân, 'tark ce'bas 'kâ Yaz 'goxum. Yân 'waze.

14. Ce'bas 'yowan kâ Yaz rešt. 15. Sultân-i Mâmûd 'kâ Yaz dast-i xât de'xid,<sup>1</sup> joid<sup>2</sup>, bis'yâr 'niwde. 16. "Afsôs" xât <ki>, you 'nânar xât. 17. Nân a'yomen pur'sân-um kerk: "Či(s) sa'bab ke 'nivdi?" 18. "Ēi nân," xât kê: "Žu pi'zū 'tiwde." 19. You nân xât: "Yân, 'ne re'čā."

20. You mirâ'xūr 'tū. 21. 'Yowar 'xatt: "Yašer 'peden 'gux." 22. Ce 'xōnen mirâ'xūr ni'ešk. 23. 'Peden da dālân tū. 24. 'Dast-e xatt dežge, ni'ešk. 25. 'Yaš 'peden guxt, ce'bas 'rešt. 26. Sultân-i Mâmûdar xât. 27. Sultân-i Mâmûd 'kipči 'xōnen ni'ešk, sa'wâr vît. 28. Ī manziler ke rešt pâdsâ ke šingat. 29. Xalg pišiwâzar-ke

daughter>." 11. King Aqram<sup>2</sup> said: "Go back to<sup>3</sup> this work, I give you leave. 12. Go home, and come back. 13. Indeed, I shall send you a letter back (or: later). (Then) come, indeed."

14. A letter went back from him (to S. M.). 15. Sultan Mahmud seized it with his own hand, read it, and wept much. 16. "Alas," he said, to his mother he said (so).<sup>4</sup> 17. His mother asked him: "What is the reason that you were weeping?" 18. "O mother," he said, "my heart burned."<sup>5</sup> 19. His mother said: "Don't go, indeed."<sup>6</sup>

20. There was a horse-groom. 21. He<sup>7</sup> said to him: "Saddle a horse." 22. The groom went out of the house. 23. The saddle was in the veranda. 24. He seized it with his hands and went out. 25. He saddled the horse and went back. 26. He told Sultan Mahmud. 27. (The groom and) Sultan Mahmud both of them<sup>8</sup> went out of the house and mounted. 28. When they had gone one stage, the (other) king heard (about their departure). 29. People were sent<sup>9</sup> to the presence (of

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = *deid*.

<sup>2</sup> The other king.

<sup>3</sup> Or: "go after, follow"? Ī kâr pas buru.

<sup>4</sup> Ba mādār-i xud guft.

<sup>5</sup> For longing.

<sup>6</sup> Or: "do you not go?" na-mêrawy-a.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

<sup>8</sup> har-dū-s.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "went".—ādam pišincās-i S. M. raftan.



rešt. 30. 'Purjar Sul'tân-i Māmūd ki'tetk. 31. Mīmān'xāna-i 'pādsā xalg xa'bar bit. 32. Īu 'xalg dar huzūr-i 'pādsā rešt. 33. 'Pādsā pursān-um kerk: "Jū ma'rām, ēis 'xabar tēi?" 34. Ma'rām xatt ke: "Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'wezge." 35. "Xūb," xatt ke: "'Purzer 'yāwer 'yark 'guḡum." 36. 'Purjer 'yāwer ni'kā kerk. 37. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'gezge, dast-i 'pādsā 'bām kerk. 38. A'you 'nāgde ni'kā kerk. 39. 'Tafēi xuš'waxt bit. 40. Sub'damid 'pādsā 'yāwer rux'sat kerk. 41. Ce'būr 'yaš 'yōwer ta'wīl vīt.<sup>1</sup> 42. Sul'tân-i Māmūd ya(f) 'xoš bit. 43. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'pādsān du'ā dežge, rux'sat vīt. 44. Rešt 'xōnar ke. 45. 'Yōwə 'nān 'xōnan ni'ešk ba'ār. 46. Dast-i is'tex dežge. 'Mūbarak 'bōm kerk.<sup>2</sup>

S. M.). 30. Sultan Mahmud arrived in the evening. 31. In the king's guest-house people became aware of it. 32. One man went before the king. 33. The king asked him: "My servant, what is the matter?" 34. The servant answered: "Sultan Mahmud has arrived." 35. "Well," (the king) said, "to-night I shall arrange his affair."<sup>3</sup> 36. In the evening he made his wedding. 37. Sultan Mahmud rose, and kissed the king's hand. 38. That night he<sup>4</sup> arranged the wedding. 39. He<sup>5</sup> was very happy. 40. The next morning the king gave him leave. 41. Four horses became his stable. 42. Sultan Mahmud was very pleased. 43. Sultan Mahmud made a prayer for the king, and took leave. 44. He went home. 45. His mother came out of the house. 46. She seized her daughter-in-law's hand, and kissed it for good luck.

<sup>1</sup> Or *bit*.

<sup>2</sup> I am giving this tale, which was the only one which I was able to get hold of, as an example of the broken Wkh. of which X was certainly not the only speaker. Note his preference for the perfect.

<sup>3</sup> *Kār-i ūra mēkunim*.

<sup>4</sup> King Aqram.

<sup>5</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

## VOCABULARY

Abbreviations: As for Y, X, W, N, v. § 2.—Be(llew); Bi(ddulph); Cap(na); H(ayward); Hj(uler); Kl(imchitskiy); L(orimer); Ol(nfsen); Sh(aw); Sk(öld); St(ein); Z(arubin).

All words given by my informants are included, although a large number of those given by X, W and N are either doubtful, or evident l.w.s. They give, however, some impression of the lability of vocabulary in Wakhan. Verbal forms taken from Sk. are usually arranged in the following way: Pres. 1 sg., 3 sg; Imper. 2 sg.; Preter. 1 sg.; Infinitive; Perf.

### Vowels.

-a Y interrogative particle. — a'yen xōn safan-aʔ is this house yours? saš xēš yawit-aʔ do you eat bread? — Cf. Yd. -a, v. § 160.

ēi X, Ol. — ēi nān O, mother. — Pres.

i X izalet. — Pres. V. § 113.

iu Y, X, N, i Y, X, (h) W, (y) W Sk., etc. one, a(n). — wuz i xālḡ ḡāyem Y I kill a man. — Cf. Yd. yū. V. §§ 109, 116.

œ Y, in œ pū'd-kaf instep.

ab'lū °ā Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Pres.

abr X, N cloud. — Pres.

ab'rīšum Y, brī'šum X, ab'rēšim Sk., vrīšum Zar., varšum Sh. silk. — Pres., but borrr. at different periods.

abī-sā'noč X inflated skin for crossing a river, mussnuck. — \*Pres. Cf. Shgh.

zendc 'sanāč', Lentz zā'nōč سناچ, Taj. (Semenov) san(g)ōč. Y. yāzn.

acet Y from this.—wuz a° xūnen nieštem I went out of this house (here). Cf. § 125 sq.

(h)idwaxt Sk. never. — Ar.-Pres. °

a'do Sk. torn. — spō skidiš a° tū our caps are torn. —

(h)adab Sk. courtesy. — Ar.-Pres.

ādī Sk. justice. — Ar.-Pres.

ādīl Sk. just. — Ar.-Pres.

āf: āft- Y, wōf: wōft Z, to weave,

wuf: wōft Sh. to plait. — āfəm, āftəm.

— Cf. Yd. wāf, Sgl. īf.

af'sōs X alas. — Pres.

af'tob N sun. — Pres. V. yir.

igōn igōn X, īḡān īḡān Sh. one each. —

wuz sabar i° i° rūpiā rāndem I give



you one rupee each; *sakar* i° i°  
*rūpiā rande* give us one rupee each.  
*a'yet* X cow-house, *ayl* B court. —  
 Turk.-Prs.  
*ah'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.  
*u'qōb* X, a° Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.  
*aq'ed* Sk. sneezing. — Ar.-Prs.  
*āl-*: *āld* Sk. to wait; *a'letk* Y standing.  
 — *wūd nāyd adərəm ale'tkən* this  
 night I am staying here. — *'āləm*,  
*āld*, *āl*) *'āldəm*, *'lāk*, *'lōtk* Sk. —  
 Cf. Sgl. *al*.  
*al'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Ar.-Prs.  
*al'qūm* Y, Sh., *halq* X, *alq* Sk. throat,  
*halkūm* Be. gullet. — Ar.-Prs. *halq*,  
*hulqūm*.  
*'allō* Sk. O!  
*allō nōi* Sk. but.  
*ala'taš* 'cār- Sk. to mix. — Cf. Ishk. id.  
*almas'te* Sk. demon. — Cf. Ishk. *almas'ti*.  
*ala'sa* X, *a'la'šā* W, *ala(x)šā* St. chin,  
 jaw. — Cf. Sgl. *ala'še*.  
*a'ml* X, *homin* Bi. this. — *uuz dā a°*  
*xōn nieh'gīn* I am living in this  
 house. — Prs.  
*im* N snow. — Scarcely correct, cf. Khow.  
*him*. — V. *zem*.  
*am'bōy* Y, °āy W cowife. — Prs.  
*am'būr* Sk. tongs. — Prs.  
*a'mēd* Sk. hope. — Prs.  
*amēd'rōr* Sk. hopeful. — Prs.  
*'ammā* (or °ō?) Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.  
*'omy* Sk. life. — Ar.-Prs.  
*im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.  
*āln*, v. *yīšn*.  
*'alna* X mirror. — Prs.  
*andag* m., *indigunf* f. Sh. slave. — Cf.  
 Yd. *hade*, *ida*, (and Kharoshti *amtag'i*,  
 Burrow, BSOS, VII, 779?).  
*andak* X little, kam. — Prs.  
*andav* Sh. fever. — Cf. Yd. *idon*.

*in'sōf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*antōrē* L sister-in-law. — It is tempting  
 to derive this word from \**yantr* <  
 \**jenotr*, but the loss of *y-* would  
 be irregular. There are, however,  
 many phonetic irregularities to be  
 found in the development of the  
 various IE words denoting brother-  
 and sister-in-law.  
*aq'gūr* Y, X, N, B °īr Sk. grape. — Prs.  
*aq'gišt* N, °ūst Sk. live coal. — Prs.  
*angūta'ra* X finger-ring. — Prs.  
*ap'ēūn* X winnowing-fork, *kūēi*. — Cf.  
 Sgl. id.  
*ar* Y. In: *uuz yupk ar pīl kašem* I  
 pour water into the cup. Or *yupkar*,  
 with dative for acc.?  
*irya'h* Y, X felt rolls placed under the  
 saddle. — Cf. Or. *yuryā'lā* (Lentz).  
 — Turk.  
*ar'qā* Sk. back (between the shoulders).  
 — Turki.  
*a'raq* Y, N, X, W, Sk. perspiration. —  
 Ar.-Prs.  
*ō'rīnj* N elbow. — Prs.  
*a'rār* Y a tall tree with round leaves.  
*ō'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ar'sōl* Sk. yearly. — Prs.  
*'ar* 'xēl Sk. multicoloured. — Prs. 'of  
 every kind'.  
*ar'zan* X, °on N millet. — Prs.  
*ar'zōn* Sk. cheap. — Prs.  
*a'sōi* Y, °āi Sh. walking stick. — Ar.-Prs.  
*i'sōb* Y calculation. — i° *carem* I reckon.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*a'sad* X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.  
 "usdān" (= *uzdān*?) Olusen, Through  
 the Unknown Pamirs, p. 83, loop-  
 holed tower. < \**uzdāna*?  
*iskā'cusk* Y, X top of the shoulder,  
*bālā-i sāna*.

*ika'kut* X roof. — Cf. Yazgh. *s'kād*, Yd. *iščiy*, etc., Av. *uskāt* above + Wkh. *kūt* (q.v.).  
*a'sal* X, Sk., °*āl* N honey. — Ar.-Prs. *as'mān* Y, *as'mōn* X, *šs'mōn* Sk. sky.  
 — Prs.  
*ispa*, v. *sak*.  
*ustō'dok* Sk. spider. — Prs., cf. Yd. *ustada*.  
*istīn*, v. (f)st.  
*istīnd-* L to yawn. — Pres. *istīn-* < \**us(s)lanya-i*  
*ustuxōn* N bone. — Prs.  
*ōā* Sk. porridge. — Prs.  
*iskamba-i-pā* N, °*īkamba* W calf of the leg. — Prs., cf. Par. *īskam'bek-i-pāi*.  
*ōš'tūr* Y, *īštūr* X, *šitor* W, *šīr* Sk., *uštūr* Sh., *šōtūr* Z, etc. camel. — Prs., cf. Yd. *īškrō*.  
*uš'yōr* Sk. wise. — Prs.  
*ōt*, cf. Kl. and. — < *uta*.  
*āt'šak* Y, *āta'šī* X, *ōta'šēk* Sk. lightning. — Prs., cf. Shgh., etc. (Sk.).  
*ōt* Sk., *hōf* Sh. open. — Cf. Sgl. *hōf*.  
*ōt-kēr'kīn* Sk. honest.  
*a'vārt* Y, °*art* Sh., Gr. span. — Tomaschek compares Prs. *āward* 'collatio, con-gresses' (?).  
*a'wal* X formerly; *aw'wal* Sk. beginning. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ai'wōn* Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.  
*i'war* X husband's brother. — Badakhshi-Prs.  
*ō'zer* Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.  
*axla'xāna* X stable. — Prs.  
*a'yān* Y, *ayou* X, *ha-ya* Sh. that (emphatic). — Y *a'yān* *xūn* that very house; *wuz aya xalg dišem* I know that (very) man; X *az ayou jiniban* (v. s.v. *az*); *a'you pādšāra salām gušt* he saluted that king; *ayou nāgde*

*nikā kerk* he arranged for the wedding that very night. — Cf. *yan*. V. § 124 sq.

*iyam*, *iyem* Y, (*h*)*ayem* X this (very). — Y *iyam xalg yupk pīt* this man drinks water; *iyem xalg nū rōxup* this man fell asleep; X (*h*)*a'yem 'xōn 'īnan* this house is mine; *a'yem ju'wāb mālum ne vīt* this answer was not known to me; *ayem xalg* this man, these men; *uz ayem xōnan* I am from this house; *ayem(i) xōn* their house; *wuz a'yēman rū'pā 'dorzēm* I take a rupee from him; *nān a'yōmen pūrsān um kerk* his mother asked him. — Cf. *yem*. V. § 124 sq.

*a'yōs* Sk. autumn- or winter-wind.

*az* X from. Only in: *az ayou jiniban* for that reason. — Prs.

*a'ziz* Sk. friend. — Ar.-Prs.

*u'šāk* Y (E. Wkh.), *ū°* Be., *wa°* Sh. adze. — Cf. Khov. *wād*.

## B

*bā* Sk., *bah* Ol. kiss. — *tu māz cārī bā!* kiss me! — Cf. Yd. *boh*. V. *bām*.

*be* X, *bō* Sk. a hortative verbal particle. Russ. *бу*. — X *tu be wuzum* bring thou; *ayem xalg be šēd yawan* these people shall (?) eat bread; Sk. *'lōcōr yau bō 'wīrit* let him come; *wuz xō'yis 'cārēm kī 'yau bō 'wīrit* I want him to come; *tu bō 'šātōt rāz bū caxāna* (but *tu šātōt rāz caxāna*).

*bāi* Sh. cave. — Cf. *Zardūdi* 'Yellow cave' in Shingshal (Cockerill), *Iskh. ambi* (Gr.).

*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turkī.



*būi* Y, X, W, N, Sk. two. — Cf. § 116.

*būi* X smell. — Prs.

*bēb'dī* Sk. double edged sword. — Cf. Yd. *maxmudiyo*.

*'bibuk* X cuckoo. — Cf. Yd. *bubuka*, Kurd. (Soane) *pepūk*, *kepū*. V. *kipok*. Cf. Lorimer, Corr. ad Bur. Voc. 60 II.

*bāē* Y, Sk., *būē* Sk., *baē* Sh. paternal uncle.

*buē(ak)* Y, *būē* Sk., *buē* Z, Sh. he-goat. — Prs.

*bāē'āy'd* Sk. female cousin. — V. *bāē*.

*būē'kā* Y, *būē'kām* Sk. tail, *beckam* Sh. horse-tail.

*bād* Sk. then. — Ar-Prs.

*bēd* Y, X, W willow. — Prs.

*ba'dan* Sk. body. — Ar-Prs.

*bedr* X edible pine, *jilyōza*. — Cf. Prs. *bidda* n. of a tree??

*būi'dōq* Sk. widow, *bedok* Be widower. — *buidōq-am tōi* I am unmarried. — Cf. Ishk. *baidōq*, Rajui *būi'dok*.

*badza'rak* X n. of a bird. — Cf. Prs. *xār* starling?

*baf* Y, X, *b'af*, *bāf* Sk., *baf* Sh. good; *bā'fak* Sk. nice; *bā'fār* Sk. better.

*ba'fiky* Sk. wise. — Prs.

*bēfiris'ā* Sk. healthy and fat person. — Prs. id. 'without an angel (of death?)'!

*bēgu'nō* Sk. innocent. — Prs.

*bōy* Sk. garden. — Prs.

*bō'yē* Sk. cousin.

*ba'yat* X, W armpit. — Prs.

*bō'yot* Sk. a miser. — For *bōyot*, cf. Ar-Prs. *baxil?*

*bōyz cār-* Sk. to hate. — Ar-Prs.

*bāh'a'dab* Sk. courteous. — Ar-Prs.

*bēh'a'dab* Sk. discourteous. — Ar-Prs.

*ba'hōr* Sk. spring. — Prs.

*be'hīst* Sk. heaven. — Prs.

*bāj* Sk., Sh., Be, *baē* Hj. thick. — Cf. Sgl. *rozōk?*

*bō'ja* Sk. brother-in-law. — Cf. Kosh. (Sk.) id., Ishk., *bō'ja*, Mj. *bā'ja*.

*bū'qā* Sk. bull. — Turki.

*baku'la* Y, *baq'la* N, *boq'lā* Sk. horse-bean. — Ar-Prs.

*be-'k'and* Sk. widow (prob. 'widower').

*ba'kar* X n. of a bird, *bulbul-i ānci*. — Prs. *bagr* lapwing, *hud-hud*.

*ba'kōr* Sk. necessary. — *mārak b°* I need. — Prs.

*bakš* Y husband's brother. — V. § 60.

*bakš kōnd* Y husband's brother's wife.

*'bale* Sk. yes. — Prs.

*bāl* W wing. — Prs.

*bēl* Sk. spade. — Prs.

*bulbul* X bulbul, cuckoo. — Prs.

*bitfak* X n. of a bird, *bitfak*. — \*Prs.?

*bōlē'qā* Sk. hammer. — Prs.

*'bullt* X birch, *buruz*. — < Khaw. *buri?*

*br'land* Y, *bl°* Sk. high, tall. — Prs.

*bām*, *bām* X a kiss. — *b° kerk šbo* kissed. — V. *bā*.

*bām* X owl. — Prs.

*bumbō'riš* X thunder. — Khaw.

*bē'mōr* Sk. ill; *bēmō'ri* illness. — Prs.

*bōin'* X main beam of a roof, *tir-i kalān*. — Shina *bōi*.

*bōin'* X armet. — IA, cf. Kashm. *bōh'*, Sindhi *bāh'*, etc.

*būn* Y winnowing fork. Cf.:

*būn-ām*: *bōnd-ām* Y, *būn-*: *bōnd-* Sh. to winnow (and Sh. to throw away). — Cf. Yd. *b'būn*.

*band-i-dast* Y, X, Be., *°dest* W, *band* N wrist. — Prs.

*band-i-pūd* X instep, ankle. — Prs. + Ishk.

*baqā* X walking stick. — Khaw. *bōqā* round rafter?

*bap* Y, Sh., *bāp* Sk. female breast.  
*bar* W breast. — Prs.  
*ba'ār* X outside, *bīrān*. — *niešk baār*  
 she went out. — IA.  
*bār* Y, X, Sk., Sh., Z door. — Cf. Yd.  
*ḡvor*.  
*būr* X grey. — Prs.  
*būr* Sk. angry.  
*brōbar'nāḡd* Sk. midnight. — Prs. + Wkh.  
*barf* N snow. — Prs.  
*brām* Sh. to babble. — Cf. Saka *brrem*  
 to wail, cry? — But v. Bailey,  
 BSOS, IX 73.  
*bō'rin* Y, Sk., *bīrīnā*(?) X, *brīn* Sh., Hj.,  
*barīn* Be., *barīn*, *bīrīn* Bl. knee; *brīn*  
 Cap. 'jambe'. — \**dearīḡna*, with  
 dissim. < Av. *dearīḡra* leg??  
*bō'ron* X, N, Sk. rain. — Prs.  
*bō'rinj* Y, X, W, *bō'rānj* Sk. rice. — Prs.  
*bīrīs-cārum* X I cut, *mēburam*. — V.  
*rastac*.  
*bō'rit* Y, *bū'rut* X, W, *brut* N, *bri'ūt* Sk.  
 moustache. — Prs.  
*brutča'par* Sk. large moustaches.  
*bū'rxī't* Y, *bō'rēt* Sk., *bōret* Sh., *bōruḡ* St.  
 elbow. — < \**ham-byāti-?* Cf. Skr.  
*bhṛṣṣi* corner.  
*brūtiyārē* Y, \**ya(r)ē* X collarbone. —  
 Cf. *yārē*, *bū'rst*.  
*bispār* Sh., St. eagle. Unknown to Sk.'s  
 informant. — Cf. Khw. *bis'bār*.  
*bist* N, Sk., *bist* W twenty. — Prs. V. *icist*.  
*bās-icā'zi-m* Sk. to be able. — Cf. Prs.  
*bas āmadan*. V. *icā'zi*.  
*bisγār* X much. — Prs.  
*bāša* Y, W falcon. — Prs.  
*bot* Kl. further, again (*digar*, *bori digar*).  
 < \**deik(y)a-*. — Cf. § 117.  
*bit* X roof-board. — Khw.  
*būt* B clothes. — < \**ham-puš-ti-?* V.  
 § 73.

*būt*: *bott*, *bōtt* Sh. to throw down,  
 overthrow (a wall, etc.). — < \**ham*.  
*pataya*, cf. Sar. *imbat*. But v. *zūbūt*.  
*ba'ital* X mare. — Turki.  
*bēuca* Y, \**uēd* Sk., *bēuca-zan* Be. widow.  
 — Prs.  
*bo'wurē* X falcon. — Cf. Khw. *sayūrē/ē*,  
 and Shina *bayōš* hawk.  
*bēx* Y, X, W, Sk. root. — Prs.  
*baxš* cer. Sh., *bax sar-* Y to divide. —  
*bax sarom*. — Prs.  
*buz* Y female ibex; *bōz* W, *boz* X goat.  
 — Prs.  
*buz'mūi* X goat's hair. — Prs.

## C

*cā* from. V. § 131.  
*cō'būr* Y, X, W, N, *cī'būr* Sk., *sabūr* L  
 four. — Cf. Yd. *cštr*. V. § 116.  
*cō'brēm* Y, *cprēmār* L three days hence,  
*cebrimār* X the day after to-morrow,  
*ceberām* Cap. week(!). — < \**caō*  
*wavaima*. Cf. Yd. *pēūrma*.  
*ce'bas* X, *cibās* Sh. back, again, then;  
*cō'bās* Sk. back; *cō'bas* Kl. behind. —  
*cō* *reḡ* go back; *cō* *reḡt*; *cō* 'yowan  
*kāyaz reḡt* the letter went back to  
 him; *cō* *kāyaz goḡum*. — Cf. Yd.  
*ēpāē*, Ishk. *ēpost*. V. *sibās*.  
*ce'kūman* X. In: *saḡan dī'or cō* 'deh-i  
*šumā kudām ast*'. — Originally *ce*-  
*kūman* 'from which?'.  
*cum* X, *cūm* Sk., *cūmār* L how many?  
 — *saš cum naḡar icēzγ?* X 'šumā  
*čand naḡar āmadid?* 'cūm 'pāl tīnān  
 (tūi) Sk. how much money hast thou?  
 — Cf. § 126.  
*cēm-jō'nib* Sk. therefore. — Wkh.-Prs.  
*ce'nīs* X eyebrow(?). — V. *vāran*.  
*cān* L from there. Cf. § 126.



*car*: *kerk* X, *cār*: *kārt* Sk. to do. — Sk. *ga'rōr car* be silent; *ku'mak-cār* help! *'yark-ŋ* *'kŋti* I worked; *ir cō'raz-kārti* the sun has risen. Cf. *isāb*, *bā(m)*, *dirau*, *gān*, *kanda*, *le*, *nikā*, *nivilla*, *pursān*, *taxsim*, *xarid car*; *cārām*, *cart*, *cār!* *'kārtām*, *cō'rak*, *kōrk* Sk. — < \**cāra*- (cf. Av. aor. *cōrāf*): *kŋta*- V. *gož*.

*cār* Sh. kite. — Cf. § 81.

*cur'cun* X the end of a tail.

*'cerak* Y, *cō'rek*, *ō'ek* Sk. why? — *sāiš cō' xōc yārov* Y why do you eat bread? *'cōrka tut na-'wēzdi* Sk. why didst thou not come? — Cf. § 133.

*cōrūp*: *cōrūpt* Kl. to pinch, *ce'rre*: *cōremd* L to pinch, tweak, string.

*cō'raz* Sk. spark. — Cf. s.v. *fr*. — Cf. Yd. *cō'roz*.

*cārzy* Sk., *ō'zn* Z, *ō'z* Sh.awl. — Cf. Shgh. *cōfj*, Sar *cārz*. < \**qel-g(h)o*-, cf. WP, II, 435?

*cō'waxt* Sk., *cōyd* L, Sh. when? — Wkh. + Ar.-Prs.

*cātr* L, *cātr* Sh. spindle. — Prob. a lw. from IA., cf. Skr. *cātra*-. Cf. Mj. *cāta*, Psht. *cājai*.

## Č (Č)

*čəbaət* W heel(?).

*čiča* Y, *čičč* X, Sk. chicken. — Prs.

*čičgās* Y (also Grammophone) collar-bone.

*čey* Y, *čeg* X, *čōč* Sk., *čōč* Sh., St., *čiy* Be. kid.

*čūč* Sk. multicoloured. — Properly a Shgh. form, cf. Yd. *kaš*; Sgl. *čōč*.

*čāyeli* X crow, *karyā*. — Khov. *čāyli* chough.

*čāku* Y, X, *'čā* W knife. — *pu čākūcen roštrōm* I cut with a knife. — Prs.

*čāk*: *čākt* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Sar. *čāk*.

Sgl. *čuk*, Khov. *čok* to beat.

*'čakka* Y temples. — Taj.-Prs.

*čōr* Y, Sk., *čōkr* X, *čōr* Sh. partridge.

— IA., cf. Hind. *čōr*, etc.

*čau'li* Y, X small falcon.

*čālg* Y, X, Sk.: *čāld* Sk. to search for, ask for — *čālgam* Y; *wuz čī:č čālgam*;

*uz kēd čālgakar wēdīm* X I went

out to search for a wife; Sk. *čālgom*,

*čālgd*, *čālg!* *čāldam*, *čālgak*, *čālgak*.

*'čilim xāš* Sk. to smoke. — Prs.

*čī'nār* W chenar. — Prs.

*čang* Y, X claw. — Prs.

*čap* Y, X, Sk. left (hand). — Prs.

*čip-am*: *čārd-am* Y, *čip-un* X to pick, gather; *čāp* Sh. to gather (one by one), but *čup* to cut, mince. — Cf. Yd. *čūv*.

*čōp* Y, X small hawk.

*čpān* Sk. cloak. — Turk.-Prs.

*črptš* L young goat. — Prs.

*čēr* X rope fastening the plough-pole to the yoke.

*čēr'mā* Sk., *čērm* L, *čārm* Sh. canal, small water-course. — < \**čarman*—

< \**čanman*? But Av. *kan* never has č.

*čē'rām* Y, *čō* Sk., *čērām* L threshing ground; *čērām* Sh. reaped corn, heaped up for threshing. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.

*čērm*: *čērāmd* Sk., *čērm*: *čērm*, *čērām*, Sh. to enter. — *'čērāmām*, *čērāmt*

*čērām!* *čērāmdām*, etc. — \**ati-ram*?

*čēr'māyt* X, N, *čār* W walnut. — Prs.

*čār'pāya* Y bed. — Prs.

*čō'rīr* Sk., *čō* Sh. thornbush.

*čār'vī* Y, *čō* X fat (noun). — Prs.

*čār'x* Y, X, *čār'x* Sh. spinning wheel. — Prs.

*čār'xa* X avalanche of stones. — *čō*

*wēzīt*. — \*Prs., cf. Yd. *čār'xo*.

časma X hot spring, časmā Sk. spring.

— Prs.

člā'long Sk. ankle-knuckle.

čať X, N, člā Sk., čať Sh., čat L horned cattle. — čať dic Sk. milk the cow.

— Cf. Sar. čat.

čuť car. Sk. to tear asunder, čot L to be torn. — IA. Cf. Sgl. čəf.

čocki X chair. — Prs. < IA.

čaw-um: čit-em X, čaw: tāyd Sk., čaw: rōyd Kl., čaw: tayd Sh. to go, walk, raftan; čaw-um Sh. to remove. — čitelk X pret. ptc.; Sk. čāvi thou walkest, tāydam I went, tāyāl they went; Sh. čit he goes; tukan inf., tačk pret. ptc. — < \*čyaw: \*taxta, cf. s.v. rōč, tač.

ču'wān Y, W, Sk.; ču'wān (not °wā) Sk.,

ču'wān X (= lshk.), ču'wān Sh. apricot.

— Cf. Sgl. ču'wāf.

čōč: čōčt Sk. to kill, slaughter; čōč Sh. to skin. — Cf. Sar. kēg: kačt to skin. Relation with Prs. kuštan is not clear. — Possibly < \*kuš + \*čauš. Cf. Yazgh. kuč hide, skin.

čiz Y, X, Sk., čis X what? čī xabar čī X 'čī xabar ast?' tīnan čis yark tu? X what work hast thou to do? tu čis yarkor wəzd? X what didst thou come for? čī[s] sabab ke nīvdi X why didst thou weep? tī nūng čiz? Sk. what is thy name? čizəv 'sūyis 'wīndəv? Sk. what did you see? tu čizir saker dīg X why dost thou beat us? tu čizir mač di Y. — Prs. čiz, cf. Sgl. čiz. V. § 126.

čiz Y, X something. — Prs.

čāčm Y, 'čəf'm X, čəf'm N, (čəm W), čəm Sk., čəf'm Sh., čəf'm Kl., čəm Be., čəm St., kīzm Bī. eye. — čəfuma yupk X tear (āb-i-dīda). — Cf. Yd. čam.

## D

da X in, on. — 'peden da dā'lān tu the saddle is on the veranda; wuz da amī xōn niengta I am living in this house. — Bad.-Prs.

da'f W female breast. — Prs. dāya?

dē-: dēxt Sk. to beat, hammer (a nail):

dī-: dīxt Sh., dīst N to strike. — Sk. dēm, dēst, dē! dēxtum, dō'yāk (dēgg), dētk; Sh. dī(a)m, dīxt, — dīxtam, dīn (dīgg), dīetk; Sk. mač sīri dētk I caught a cold; sīri dēst; yupk-əm dēxt-i I poured out water; X tu dīg(?) N mač dēsti arak I am sweating. — Cf. Sgl. deh-, and v. s.v. dēm.

duā X prayer. — Ar.-Prs.

dedī-: dedīyd Sk., did-: didīyd Kl. to look at; didig Sh. to look (after). — Sk. 'dedīyam, °īyd, °īy, °īydam, °īyak, °īyotk; čiz dedīyev? what do you see? 'mārk 'tər-tau 'nəfort dedīyāk I hate thee (I will not look at thee). — Cf. Av. diday- to look at?

deg-: degd Sh. to bring up.

dīg Y, dēg X kettle. — Prs.

dīg'dān, v. dīldung.

'dager Y (°gēr Gramm.), dō'gor N, dā'yər Sk., riyud, rišd L, dī'ör Sh., digger Bl., hindiger Cap. finger-nail. — Khov. (lw.) dō'yur. < \*ng- < \*nā- < \*n(a)- xar-? Cf. § 47. Cf. Sgl. narxək, Sar. našaur < \*naxör.

digar X other, another. — Prs.

doqdoq Sk. trotting. — Cf. Sgl. doq²doq.

dil N heart. — Prs.

dil'dung Y, X, dīldong Sk., Sh. (dīg'dān W) fireplace. Corrupted from Prs. dēgdān, cf. Sar. dīldung a kind of fuel.



- do'lon* X veranda. — Prs.  
*dī'ler* Sk. courageous. — Prs.  
*dilōcār*, °ca'ri Sk. courage(ous). — Prs.  
*dām* Sk. back (of human beings). — Cf. Ishk. *dam*.  
*dā'ma* Y, 'dama X, *damā* Sh. wind;  
*dāmā* Sk. east wind. — Prs.  
*dīm* Y, X, *dēm* Kl., *dehām* Hj. to beat.  
 — Y *wuz tau dīmām* (1 sg.), *tu čizir maš dī?* (2 sg.), *sak sāv dīnen* (1 pl.), *saiš čizir maš dief?* (2 pl.); Kl. pres. *dēmām*, —, *doiť*, *dēnām*, —, *dēnām*; Hj. *dehāmām*, *de*, *det*, *dehāmām*, *dehāmām*, *dehāmām*. Apparently *dīm*, *dehām* (v. s.v. *dē*) for some unknown reason was enlarged with a second personal ending into *dēmām*, likewise *dēm* into *dēnām* (2 pl. \**dēm-av* for \**dēv-av*). V. § 141.  
*dāmb* X, *dāmb* W tail. — Prs.  
*dā'mād* Y, Sh., *du'mād* X, N, *dū'mod* Sk. son-in-law. — Prs.  
*damfāje* X yawn. — d° *guzum*. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *damfātek*.  
*dendik* Y, °uk Cap., LSI, 'dinduk X, *dān'dak* N, °uk Z, *dūn'duk* Sk., Sh., °uk St. tooth. — Cf. Yaghn. *dīndak'*, Sgl. *dānd*.  
*dəng vitān* Sk. to beat each other, to fight. — *dēng wōcām*, etc. — Cf. *dē*.  
*dra* Y there. Cf. § 124.  
*dar* X in (in *dar haicā*, *dar huzār-i pādā*). — Prs.  
*dā'rē* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.  
*dirau* X reaping. — d° *carām*. — Prs.  
*dī'or* Y, X, *diār* Sh. village. — Prs.  
*dūr* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. belly, *dor* B abdomen (ward stomach). — Cf. Sar. *daur*. Sgl. *dēr*.  
*dārē* Sh., L thread of hemp or hair. — < \**darzē*?

- dērf* X hair of the pubes.  
*drī'gā* Y veranda, *dālān*; "dargha" Ol. men's room. — Prs.  
*dārūy* Sk. lie. — Prs.  
*dārūgū'yl* Sk. liar. — Prs.  
*dārūkš* X, 'drukuš X, *dāruck* W, *drukš* N, Sk., Sh., etc. bull. — < \**društš* < \**dřidaka*, cf. Wan. Psht. *lěda??* But cf. *dālg*, *dēlg*, s.v. *durz*. Cf. § 60.  
*dārām*, *adārām* Y, *dārām* Sk., (ha)dram Sh. here. — *wād nāyd adārām aletkām* to night I am staying here; *dārām wō'zāi* come here Y; *šai d° tū* Sk. the man is here. — Cf. § 124.  
*drūp*: *dropt* Sh., *dārūp*: *dāropt* Kl. to scratch. — Cf. Serb. *drāpati* to scratch, tear, etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 801).  
*dārepē* Y, *drīpē* X, *drāpīē* B broom. — \**repē* (cf. Yaghn. *rōpē* from *raup-*) + *drūp*?  
*drōst* Sh., *drīst* L sleeve.  
*dī'rūt* X rough. — Prs.  
*dārev*: *dārevd* Y, *dārēv*: *dārēvd* Sk., *drīp*(?) X, *drōv*: *drāvd* Sh. to sew. — Cf. Par. *andarf*, Shgh. *incāv*, Kurd. *dirun*, etc.  
*drāw*: *dratt* Sk., : *drett* Sh. to reap. — *drāwām*, *drīt*, *drāw*! *drāttām*, *dīracak* (*dārō'vak*), *drāt*. — Cf. Prs. *durūdām*, Shgh. *cāw*.  
*dāraxt* Y, W, *da'raxt* X, Sh., *draxt* Sk. tree. — Prs.  
*draxt* 'pīst Sk. bark of a tree.  
*dār'yō* Y, *dār'yā* X, Sk. river. — Prs.  
*daryā-lab* X bank of a river. — Prs.  
*durz*: *dezd* Y, *durzīm*: pf. *dēzg* X, *dūrz*: *dāzd* Sk. to take, seize. — X *wuz a'yēman rū'pā durzām* I take a rupee from them; *dast-i iste'z dēzge* she (has) seized his daughter-in-law's hand; *dēzgem*, *de'zide*; Sk. *dūrzām*, *dūrzd*, *dūrz*, 'dāzdām, *dūr'zak*, *dūr-*

*zatk*, pf. *dōg*. — \**han-dyz*, Av. *darəz*, cf. Par. *derz*. Cf. § 155.  
*das-nab* W nineteen.  
*dast* Y, X, N, *dāst* Sk., Sh. arm, hand, armlet Y. — Prs.  
*dāst* Sk. friend. — *dāst-tūram* I love; *d° dōrdum*. — Prs.  
*dīs* Y, X, *dīs*: *dīst* Sk., Sh. to know, learn. — *wuz aya xalg dīēm* Y I know this man; *wuz targ dīsum* X. < \**han-diya*. cf. Yd. *dīs*, Av. *han-daēs* to instruct, teach.  
*dōs-man* Sk. enemy. — Prs.  
*dašt* X open space, steppe; *dāst* Sk. valley. — Prs.  
*dut* (Cockerill) rope-bridge. — *Dut-i-dur*.  
*dēter* Sk. memory, yād.  
*dōf'ki* (*wušk*) X call, one year old.  
*dī'wōl* X, *dē°* Sk. wall. — Prs.  
*dūzd* Sk. thief. — Prs.  
*dū'zax* Sk. hell. — Prs.

## Δ

*ḍāi* Y, Sk. husband; *ḍāi*, *ḍa'yak* Sk., *dāi* W man; X youth (*xūb juwān*); *ḍāi* Sh. vīr, hero. — Cf. Saka *daha* (v. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 81).  
*ḍu-i* L, *dūj* Kl. stack; *da'i* N heap of corn. — Cf. Skr. *dhāya* layer, stratum, Psht. *dalai* 'stack of corn'.  
*ḍic*: *ḍōgōn* Y, *dic* X, *ḍic*: *ḍōgn* Sh. to milk. — *ṽñu ḍicēm* Y; *caṭ dic* X. — Cf. Yd. *lūč*.  
*ḍeck* Sk., Sh. a skin used as a bag, mussuck. — Cf. Yd. *laxēto*.  
*ḍiy* Y, N, *ḍig* X, *ḍiṽ* Sk. thick milk, *dūy*. — Cf. Prs. *dōy* (cf. Prs. *pu-lūy* milking).  
*ḍyḍ* Y, N, *degde* X, *diṽd* W, *ḍyḍ* Sk., *ḍyḍ* Sh. "zāghit" Be., "thught" \*Bl., "dghogit, dzogit" Cap. daughter. —

*finen i degde tūet* X you had a daughter; *i dēyḍ saban tūet* W you had a daughter. — Cf. Yd. *luydo*.  
*ḍūng* Sh. springe, snare. — Cf. Mj. *lōmago*.  
*ḍōng* Kl. seed. *dōnā*, *tuxm*. — < \**dānaka*.  
*ḍir* Y, X, Sh. far, distant. — Cf. Yd. *lūro*.  
*ḍōr* L valley. — Cf. Prs. *darra*.  
\**ḍūr*-, cf. s.v. *dūst*.  
*ḍard* Sh., *ḍerd* L parti-coloured. Cf. Skr. *dadrū* leprosy, etc.  
*ḍerd cōr* L to carve wood. — Cf. Prs. *darridan*, etc.  
*ḍirs* Y, Z, *ḍirs* L, *ḍurs* Sh. goat's hair. — Cf. Yd. *lirs*, Sar. *ḍors*.  
*ḍort* L, *ḍart* Z, Be. manure, dust-heap. — Cf. Yd. *p'akedri* (and, e.g., O. Engl. *tord dung*).  
*ḍas* Y, N, Sk., Sh., etc., *das* X, W, *las*(l) H ten. — Cf. Yd. *los*.  
*ḍis* Y, L dough.  
*ḍus* Y, *ḍos* Sh. wasp. — Cf. Skr. *damśā* a stinging insect, Kalasha *dac* mosquito; Phl. *dasta* (Nyberg, JA, 1929, 272).  
*ḍas-tu* N, Sk. *das-tu* X, *das-ti* W eleven.  
*ḍisr* Y, *disr*: *disrēd* Sk., *visr*-(l) Sh. to show. — Av. *dašs*.  
*ḍeṣ* L, *ḍōṣ* Sh. late. — Cf. Sgl. *dōš*.  
*ḍit* Y, Sk., Sh., *dit* X, *dūt* N, *dūd* W smoke. — Cf. Yd. *lūi*.  
*ḍetk* L brick. — \**ḍištik* (from which Shina lw. *liṣṭik*) < \**ḍiṣṭi-ka*. Cf. §§ 12, 73.  
*ḍitr* Y, *diṭur* X, *ḍetr* N, \**ḍatr* ("zutr") Be. sickle. — Cf. Yd. *Pru'vus*.  
*ḍviy*: *ḍovoid* Sk., *ḍuvi*: *ḍovoid* Sh. to steal. — Pres.: *ḍviyōm*, *ḍviyṭ*, *ḍvid*, *ḍviyan*, pret. *ḍovoidēm*; *ḍviyak*, *ḍvi'atk*. Cf. Oss. *davēn* to steal, Av. *dab* to deceive; Yd. *lō*. V. *naḍvrs*.  
*ḍiṣ*: *ḍōṣt* Y to crush, *mēṣakam*; *ḍūṣ*: *ḍōṣt* Sh. to powder, macerate. —



Cf. *deſen* grindstone. — Cf. Skr. *duṣaya-?*  
*Mr*: L wall. — Cf. Av. *daēza-*, Yd. *liza*.

## F

*fī* X spade. — Sgl.  
*foi* W much, many. — *foi xān*. — Sgl.  
*fauj* Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.  
*'flak* Y, *°ek* X, *°ak* N, *fī* W blade, shoulder; *fayak* B scapula. — Cf. Sgl. *fī'uk*.  
*fikr* Sk. thought. — *f² car* to think. — Ar.-Prs.  
*fuk* Y, Sk., Sh., St., *vuk* N, *fūg* Hj. snake. — Cf. Sgl. *woz*.  
*falen* Sh. egg, L dove(?).  
*for* Sk. In *mārək* . . . *no fort* I don't want to. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *beſāru*.  
*for'zāmē* Y female calf, one year old, *fur'zāmē* X id., two y. old. — Cf. Sgl. *forzām*, Yd. *frayingo*.  
*fril*: *frild* Sh., *fril* L. to crumble. — Ishk. form with *fr* and *l* < 4. cf. Sar. *war-farzig*: *war-frašt*.  
*frax* Sk. a long way. — Prs. *farāx* wide.  
*ferx* Sh. to sneeze, snort. — Sar. id., cf. Khw. *frīžē* to sniff.  
*frāzbiz* Y, *faražbiz* Sh. sieve. — But *frāzbiz xāžəm* Y I winnow(?). — Cf. Yd. *frāzbil*, etc.  
*furz* Y, Sh. birch. — Cf. Yd. *zeriryo*.  
*fas* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.  
*faut* Sk. death. — Ar.-Prs.

## G

*gi* Y, Z, *gū* X, W *gī* Sh., *gih* Be. excrement. — Prs.; with adaptation in Y, etc.

*gē car* Sk. to grow. — Cf. Sgl. *gū kən*.  
*gač* Sh. to totter, waver. — Cf. Sar. *wakod*, Yd. *yašt*.  
*gaſe*: *gaſt* Y, *geps*, *gips* X, *gaſe*: *gaſt* Sk. to run, *mīgurēzam*; *gōſe*: *gōſt* Sh. to gallop (intr.?), *gaſsər*: *gaſsət* Sk. to gallop (cans.). — *gaſsək* Sk. gallop. — Cf. Sogd. *γβs* to advance. But *g* points to \**han-kīg*.  
*guhrū* W guts, Ishk. *žangək*. — \*Prs.  
*gōl* Sk. flower. — Prs.  
*gīl* X clay. — Prs.  
*gūl* Sk. dumb. — Cf. Sgl. *goł*.  
*glac* Sk., *gilic* B deep; *gilec* Sh. a pit.  
*gilimbōf* X spider. — \*Prs.  
*gulambri* Sk. black-pocks (чёрная оспа). — \*Prs.  
*gīlās* X, *°ās* W cherry. — Prs.  
*gān car* X to winnow. — Khw. *gān* 'wind'.  
*gap* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*gār* X, in *gār kaſum* I throw.  
*gūr* Sk. tomb. — *gūr car* to bury. — Prs.  
*'gurda* X, N kidney. — Prs.  
*gōrj* Sh. hinge, door-socket. — Cf. Sar. *garj*.  
*ger'dān* Y, *gar'dān* Sh., *gar'dān* X, Be., *gr²*, *gr'dān* Sk. neck. — Prs.  
*garm* Sk. hot; *garml* Sk. heat. — Prs.  
*gas'pand* N sheep. — Prs.  
*'gūša* X corner. — Prs.  
*gušt* Y, Sk., Sh., *gūšt* X, *gūšt* N meat. — Prs. (N adapted to Wkh.).  
*gūš'wōr* X earring. — Prs.  
*gōt*: *gōt* Y, *gut* X to find, obtain; *gōt*: *gōtt* Sk. to find. — *gōtəm* Y 'mēyābam, yāflam'; pret. pte. *kītelk* X; *gōtəm*, *gōtt*, *gōt*, *gōttəm*, *gō'tak* *gō'tok* Sk.  
*gaw*: *gōlt* Sh. to cover, close.

*gawust* Be. flat. — Cf. Skr. *gabhasti*-arm, hand??

*goṣ-* Y, X, *gūṣ-*: *guṣt*, *ṣat* X; *gōṣ-*: *ṣōtk* Sh. to do. — X *yaṣēr peden gūṣ* saddle the horse; *yaṣ peden guṣt* he saddles the horse; *salām guṣt, ṣat*; *yūmjum goṣtei* I have ground the flour; Sk. *ṣāk*, *g(o)ṣetk*; Lor. *ṣṣeto* had done, *ṣṣetk* having done. — *goṣ-* from 3 sg. *goṣt* = Shgh. *kiṣt*, Sar. *kaṣt* < \**kuṣati*?

*gūpōk* Y, *ṣyak* N hip, anus. Cf. *guhrū*. *giz-* X, *ṣgōzd-* Y, *giz-*: *gōzd* Sk., *giz-*: *gōzd*, *gōzg* Sh. to rise. — *gēze* X he rose; *gizum*, *gizd*, *giz*, *ṣgōzdam*, *gizak*, *gizōtk* Sk. — < \**han-zaiz-*, or cf. Oss. *ān-qizān*, *ān-ṣezun* to yeast?

*gōz* Sk. meadow. — Prs. *gāz*, cf. Shgh. *ṣṣz-zōr*. *gōz'dim* Y, *gāz'dum* X, W, Sk. scorpion. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *gāz'ōmb*.

# Ġ, Ĩ

*ṣiū* Y, *ṣi* W, *gī'ū* X, *yū* N (Ishk.), *yir* Sk., *ṣū* L, *ṣiū* Zar., *yū* Sh., *yū* St. cow. — \**gāuca-*, cf. Sgl. *uṣūl*.

*ṣūbār* Y, *yū'bār* X dustcloud, duststorm. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣūḍ* Sk., *yūḍ* Sh., Sk. thief. — Cf. Yd. *yāl*.

*ṣū'di* Sk., *yū'di* Sh. theft. — *ṣ* car. Sk. to steal.

*ṣū'dim* Y, *gī'dim* X, *gā'dim* N, *gī'dim* W, *ṣū'dim* Sk., *yidim* Sh., *ṣṣdim* Zar., *ṣadim* Be., *ṣṣdēm* Kl. wheat. — < \**gandiona-*, cf. Yd. *yādum*.

*ṣidim-ṣeḥ* X wheaten bread.

*ṣaf* X, Sh., *yāṣ* Sk. very. — *ṣaf xōṣ bit* X he became very glad, *ṣā-tqā* Sk. very much. — Cf. *ṣafēi*.

*ṣa'fāi* X much.

*ṣiṣ* L place for putting pots beside and below fireplace.

*ṣafēi*, *ṣāpāl* X much, very; *ṣafē* (*baṣtār*) Sk. still (better). — *zim ṣāpāl dēt* much snow fell; *ṣafēi xūṣaxt bit* he became very happy. — Conn. with Sogd. *ṣarf* much?

*ṣāl* X sit down, *biṣān* (?)

*ṣālbāl* Y, *yil'bāl* X, *ṣāl* Sk. sieve. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣalla* X grain. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣō'lem* Sk. servant. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣām* Sk. sorrow. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣumānēk* Y serotum. — Cf. Yd. *yumino* anus.

*ṣa'nf* W hair, *yēno* goat's hair. — Prob. lw. from Ishk., cf. s.v. *ye'nok*.

*ṣon'dāl* N scorpion; "randāl" Hj. spider. — Cf. Shgh. *ṣan'dāl* spider.

*ṣār* Y, Sk., *yār* Sh., *gār* X stone, rock. — *lup gār* rock; *ṣār kaṣum* Y I throw a stone. — Cf. Yd. *ṣar*.

*ṣēr* Y, *ṣēr* X, *ṣēr* Sk., *ṣōr* Sh. wool. — Possibly with *ṣ* < *se* < Av. *varəna-*? Cf. § 50.

*ṣir-*: *ṣīrd-* Y, *ṣir-*: *ṣīrd-* Sh., Zar. to turn round (Sh. also to cross a pass). — Cf. Sar. *ṣirs-*: *ṣīrd-*.

\**ṣor* (Cockerill) ravine, *kurum*. — "Ghor jerab".

*yūr* N, Sk. (E.Wkh.) penis; X, *yār* W scrotum. — *ṣur-gāu tuṣ* Sh. buck-goat. — Cf. Sar. *yūr*, Sgl. *ṣōr* penis.

*ṣa'rib* Y, *ṣ* X poor. — Ar.-Prs.

*ṣōṣb* L yak's wool. — Cf. *ṣēr*.

*ṣa'rāy* Sh., *ṣarāy* St., \**ṣīrāk* B collar of a garment. — Cf. Sgl. s.v. *ṣō'rāk*.

*ṣ'rūng* Y, *ṣ'rūng* X heavy. — Cf. Sogd. *ṣrān*, Khaw. (lw.) *ṣrānu* pregnant.

*ṣō'rā* Sk. bad. — Prs. *yurra* new moon?



- ṣurt*: *ṣortt* Sh. to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves. — < \**gart* to roll.  
*ṣaṣ* Y, *gāṣ* X, *yaṣ* N, St., *ṣāṣ* W, *ṣāṣ* Sk., Sh. mouth. — Cf. Yazgh. *ṣaṣ* < \**gaṣtra*, cf. EVP. s.v. *ṣāṣ* tooth (< \**gaṣtra*, not \**gastra*).  
*ṣaṣ* Y, *ṣaxt* W, *ṣaṣ*, *ṣaṣ* Sk., *ṣaṣ* Sh. male. — *ṣaṣ*-*pīrk*, *pīṣ*, *yaṣ* Sk. — With *ṣ* < *se*, cf. § 50? Or ancient lw. from *guṣa*?  
*ṣaṣ*-*k'e'la* Y, *ṣaṣ*-*ka'la* Sk., *ṣaṣ*-*kala* Sh. ram. — V. *k'a'la*.  
*ṣaṣi-gāngol* Y, *ṣaṣi yangl* Sh. thumb. — Cf. Prs. *nar-angust*.  
*ṣiṣ* Y, *giṣ* X, *ṣiṣ* N, *ṣiṣ* Sk., *ṣiṣ* Zar., *ṣiṣ* Sh. ear. — Cf. Yd. *ṣū*.  
*ṣiṣt* N meat. — V. *guṣt*.  
*ṣat* Y, *ṣāt*: *ṣātt* Sh., *ṣat*: *ṣat* Kl. to arrive. — *'gatarum*, *kī'tetkem* X *'mērasam* (?), *rasidam*, *kī'tetk* (Sh. *ṣatetk*) he has arrived. — From *gata*? But cf. s.v. *got*.  
*ṣūv* Sk. hollow where grain is stored, *ṣūv* Be. cornbin, store-room for food. — Cf. Sgl. *ṣūv*.  
*ṣūy*: *ṣūid* Sk. to copulate. — *ṣūygam*, *ṣūid*, *ṣūil*, *ṣūidam*, *ṣūiyak*, *ṣūiyatk* Sk. Cf. Prs. *gāidan*, etc.  
*ṣūz* Y, Sk., Zar., *gūz* X firewood, bramble, *pūṣ*. — Cf. *ṣūz-eor* Sh. a fuel-fetcher. — Cf. Sgl. *yōz*.  
*ṣūrf*, *ṣūrf* L fireplace. — Prob. with *ṣ* = *ṣ* as also in other words in L's material. — Cf. *ṣiṣ*? < Av. *guṣra*-deep?

## H

- hūb* (*hūb* Gramophone) Y, *hūb* X, *ūb* N, *hūb* (!) W, *ūb*, *ūb* Sk., *hūb* St., Zar., *hūb* Sh., etc. seven. — Cf. Yd. *ordō*.

*hūb-e-ṣūf* Sk. Charles' Wain (: the Seven Brothers).

*halq* X, v. *al-qūm*.

(h) *alamān* L one another. — < \**anyam-anyah*? But cf. *yamān* Kl. id. V. § 128.

*hūmū* Sh. to be. — *hūmiam* I may be. — Cf. Saka *hāmā*; Sogd. *māt* was Gauthiot, JA, 1916, p. 254.

*hanjūi* L pit for storing butter.

*ḥaret* X span, *arat* St. cubit. < \**araḥni*?

*heṣt* X ploughpole. V. *waṣp*.

*hat* Y, Zar., Kl., Be., *hāt* X, W, Sh., *at* N, *āt* Sk., *hāf* St. eight. — Cf. Yd. *aṣō*.

*ha'wā* X, *awā* Y, *ā* Sk. air. — Ar. Prs.

*hu'zūr* X presence, majesty. — Ar.-Prs.

## J (cf. Ž)

*jīdā* Y separate. — *j*<sup>o</sup> *carem*. — Prs.

*jīgār* Y, Sk., Sh., *ar* X, N, W liver. — Prs.

*jīgā'ri* X, Sk. brown, *ri* Be. green. — Prs.

*jao'fl* Sk. pieces [of felt?] placed under the saddle.

*jōn* Sk. soul. — Prs.

*juāna* X male calf, two years old. — Cf. Sgl. *juaē'ē*.

*ja'nūb* Sk. south. — Ar.-Prs.

*jī'nīb* X cause, reason. — *az ayou jīnībān* for that reason. *'cam jō'nīb* Sk. therefore. — Ar.-Prs.

*jagg* Sk. war. — *j*<sup>o</sup> *viti* there was a war. Ar.-Prs.

*'jagāl* X forest. — Prs.

*jōn'wār* Sk. female mountain goat. — Prs.

*jī'rāb* Y, *je*<sup>o</sup> X stockings. — Prs.

*jur'yāt* W sour milk. — Turk.-Prs.

*je'rie* Y mud(?).

*jir'ex* X, *jir'ox* Zar., *žerāš* Sh. knot. — Prob. borr. from Sar. *žereš*. Cf. Yd. *ju'reš*.

*jūš* Sk. waterfall (in the Panj). — Prs. *jūš* boiling, ebullion.

*ju'wāb* X answer. — Ar.-Prs.

*ju'wān* Y, *°ān* X, *je'wēn* Sk. young. — Prs. Cf. *ju'āna*.

*jōy*: *jōyd* Sk., *:jōidē* X, *jō-in* Sh. to read. — *ya'wāš nō'mōz* 'jōid Sk. they read their prayers. — Cf. NTS., VII. 116 sq.

## K, Q

*ke* X to, for (postposition with the dat.). — *rešt xōnar ke* he went to the house; *čis sabab ke niedi?* for what reason didst thou weep? *xalg piš-i-wāzar ke rešt* 'ādam *piš-i-wāz-i ū raftan*; *i manziler ke rešt* 'he came to a manzil'. Cf. Hj. (p. 19) dative in *-ək* (= *-r-ək*); Sk. *ē* 'yurm-ək (or *yurm-ər*) for my arm. — Cf. § 112.

*ki* X that (conj.). — Prs.

*kū* X, W, Sk. hill. — Prs.

*kūi* Y, X, Sk. somebody, who? — *tu-t kūi?* Y, *tu* 'kūi? X who art thou? *saš kūi tūet?* X who are you? *kūi šayum* X I kill somebody. — Av. *kahyā*. § 126.

*kū'būn* Sk., *kubūn* Sh., *ko°* Hj. dish, wooden bowl, cup; *kobun* Olufsen flat wooden dish, *kubūn* L wooden bowl. < \**kumbōn* < \**xumbāna*-f

*qāb* Sk. tomb. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'būt* X, W blue. — Prs.

*ki'būt* Y, Sk., *°it* X, Sh, *kipūt* I, *kōbūt* Z pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *kovlo*.

'*kūček* X puppy. — Prs.

*qā'dā* Sk. parents-in-law.

*qā'dam* Sk. pace, step. — Ar.-Prs.

*kōd'nōk* Sk. linen. — V. *kōnāi*.

*kōdne* Sk. pumpkin. — Prs.

*kaf* Y foam, scum. — Prs.

*kifē* Be., *kifē* Kl., *kipēi* X, *har kifē* Sh. both; *kifēk* Be. like. —

*kaf-i-dast* Y, X, *kaf* W, N palm of the hand. — Ar.-Prs.

*kāfš* Sk. shoe. — Prs.

*kaig* X flea. — Prs.

*kāyaz* X letter. — *tark k° gošum* I write a letter to thee; *k° dast-i-šat dešide* he got the letter in hand. — Prs.

*kik* Sh. wild dog; *kik* L lynx.

*kik* Y, *kok* X, *kōk* Z, Hj., *ikūk* (!) Sh. a spring; *kik* Sk. hot spring. — < \**xāka*-. Cf. Sar. *kauk* (borr. from Wkh.), Yd. *xūyo*. V. § 42.

*kōk* Sk., Hj. eyelid (E.Wkh.).

'*qakul* X n. of a bird, *qakul*.

*kāka'son* Sk. the Milky Way. — Prs.

*k'ala* X ram, *k(ə)llā* Sk. sheep (m. and f.), *kalā* Sh., etc. sheep. — Cf. Khaw. 'kešt

*keš* L to itch.

*kalr'bən* Y, *kalbun* St., *kal'pipr* N, *kal* L, *kal* Sh., "khāl" Be., "kull" Bl. armpit. — *kal* would seem to be a Sgl. form of *kaš*, but cf. Prs. (dial.?) *kalk* 'side under the armpit', which may, however, belong to the Sgl. group (cf. "Prs." *γāl* 'ear'). Cf. Sgl. *kaš-viš* (< Prs. *kaš*?), Šemerzod *k'asbūn*.

*qala'ml* Sk. lined. — Ar.-Prs.

*kalmury* X eagle, kite(?), *kalmury* Sk.

kite (bald-headed eagle?). Cf. Khaw.

*kalmury*; Prs. *kalmury* vulture (v. Yd.) s.v. *war-yifin*.

*kalan'jōy* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *kal* bald.



*kuḷp* X lock. — Ar.-Prs.

*kə'ltōq* Y, *ka'reḷ* (?) W, *kalitok* Sh. wind-pipe; *kabitok* Be. larynx (for \**kalitok*?).

*kə'vdr* Sk. mussuck. — Cf. Shgh. *kālyōr* (Lentz).

*ke'fi* Y yoke-peg. — Khow. *kāri*.

*kam* Y, X little. — Prs. — But *kanō* I. inferior wife < Khow. *kuma*.

*'komi* : *kōmtt* Sk. to will; *kami* : *kamat* Sh. to agree, consent. — *'kōmām*, *kimit*, *kōmttām*, *kōmī'yak*, *kō'mōk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *kōmay*.

*kā'mī* W back. — Cf. Sgl. *ka'māk*.

*qim* Y, *kūm* Sh. owl. — Cf. Sar. *kūm*.

*kōm*, *k'om* Y, X, *k'ōm* N, *kām* W, *khom* Be. palate. — Prs.

*kūm* which? — *ce kūman* from whom? — Cf. § 126.

*'kumjei* Sk. where? — V. *kūm*.

*kai'moq* X cream. — T.-Prs.

*ku'mak cār!* Sk. help! — Prs.

*qim'mat* Sk. price. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'mōn* X bow. — Prs.

*ka'mān-i-Rus'tam* Y, *ka'mān*° X, *ka'mōn-i-Rus'tam* Sk. rainbow. — Prs.

*kampal* I. blanket. — Ancient lw. from IA.

*kampī'rak* Sk. thunder, Cf. Sk. *Mater.*, 138.

*kə'nāi* X cotton; *kinei* Sh. bleached coarse cotton cloth; *knōi* Hj. linen. — Cf. *kōdnōk*.

*kūn* W anna. — Prs.

*kūn* : *kott* (*kū'nak*) Sk., *kūn* : *kott* Sh. to draw a sword; *kun* : *kott* I. to dig out, root out. — Av. *kan*.

*kōna* Y, X old (not new). — Prs.

*kī'nā* Sk. hate. — *k° car*. — Prs.

*kānd* Y, *kand* X, *kānd* : *kānd* Sk., *kand* : *kāndī* Sh. to laugh. — *kāndām*, *kānd*, *kānd!*, *kāndām*, (2 eg. *kāndī*), *kān'dak*, *kān'dak* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xo'd*.

*kanda* X laughter. — *k° carēm*. — Adapted from Prs. *xanda*.

*kund* Y, X, *kund* W, *k'und* Sk. married woman, wife. — *ut k'und tēlgakar wērdim* X I have come to look for a wife; *bāf kōndīs* Sk. the women are good. — Acc. to Gelger (Gr.Ir.Ph.) = Skt. *kāntā*.

*kīnd* Y, *kund* X blunt. — Prs.

*ka'nek* X mosquito.

*qā'nūn* Sk. law. — Ar.-Prs.

*kap* Sb. camel's hump. — Sar. *kēp*, Or. *kūp*, cf. Yd. *kvrfo*.

*kapē* Y, Sk., Sh., *kapēa* X spoon. — Prs. *kafē*.

*'kipti*, v. *kifē*.

*'kipok* Y cuckoo. — Cf. (Ar.) Prs. *kabbūk*, *kapūk*.

*kar* Y, X, *kār* Sk. deaf. — Prs.

*qār* Sk. anger. — *'wuz-əm 'kār cārēm* I become angry; *'yāwūt 'kār-ḡ kyfi*, *'pdsix-ḡ tēydi* they got angry and left us. — Ar.-Prs.

*kūr* Y, X, Sk. blind. — Prs.

*qa'rīb* Y, X near. — Ar.-Prs.

*kar'bās* Sk. lizard. — Prs.? Cf. Yd. *'karbasa*, *karēc'yaī* Y kite. — Cf. Shgh. *karēi'yāi*, etc. Turk.

*kard* Sh. crooked. — Sar. *ērd*.

*kar'yā* Y, *qār'yā* Sk. crow. — Turk.-Prs.

*kerk* Y, X, *kirk* N, *kark* Sk., *körk* Sh. fowl, hen. — Cf. Yd. *krrio*.

*kēr'kon* X elbow. — Khow. *kur'kuḡ*.

*ka'urum* (Cockerill) ravine.

*'kūrən* Y, *'kūrun* X plough. — Prob. 'ploughing', cf. *kūr* Sh. to cultivate, Sgl. *kīrūg* plough, etc.

*'kūrpa* Y bedding. — Prs.

*kā'pa'cā* Y mattress. — Prs.

*qa'rōr* Sk. silence. — *q° car* be silent. — Ar.-Prs.

*k'rust* W bark of a tree; *k'rust*, *krust* Sk., *karast* Sh. fur-robe. — Cf. Sgl. *korost*, Yd. *karāst*.

*k'roš* Y, *ka'roš* N pea, *patek*; *k'roš(ə)* Sk. pea, bean. — Cf. Sgl. *karāš*.

*q'rit* Sk. cheese (= *tušp*). — T.-Prs.

*kir'šepē* Y, *kišipē* X, *karjōpē* Sh., *kori*° Z magpie, *gulbeq*. — Cf. Yd. *kyuqo*.

*kās*: *kāst* (*kə'sak*) Sk., *kar*: *kast* L to thresh; *k'sak vand*. Y to thresh (but said to follow *fraxbīs zaš*, and to precede *būn*). — Prs. *kustan* to pound, *kusta* 'rice that has been separated from the husk by pounding, but not cleared from the chaff' have u, and are doubtful words.

*kasa-e-sar* W top of the head. — Prs. *kāsa-i-sar*.

*kūš* Y, *kū* W, *kūš* X, *kūš* N, *kūš* (*kəš*) Sk., *kūš* B vulva, vagina. — Cf. Sgl. *kūš*.

*kādā* Y, °*ād* Sk., *k'šot* X, *kādā* Sh. broad, wide. Prs., cf. Shgh. *kešād*, etc.

*kuā'kor* X male oorial. — Cf. Sgl. *kəš'kār*.

*kit'gā* Sk. field. — Prs.

*kaš* Y, *kāš* Sk., *kaš* LSI, *kaš* L boy, young man; *zāmān-kaš* B. — Av. *kasyah* smaller, cf. Psht. *kašai* only son.

*kšūy*: *kšōn* Y, *ki'šig*(?) *kšing* X, *k'šōn*: *k'šōng* Sk., *k'šūy*, *k'šōn*: *k'šōng* L, *kšūy*: *kšōn* Kl., *kšōn*: *kšōng* Hj, *kšūi*: *kšōn* Sh. to hear. — *nir ti zik kšūyom* Y now I hear thy word; *tī zik wuz ki'šigum*; *ke'šingāt* X 'kindred'; *k'šōnəm*, *k'šōnt*, *k'šūy!*, *k'šōngom*, *kšō'yak* (*kšō'nak*), *kšō'natk* Sk. — \**uš-kyn* > \**škōn* > *kšōn* (cf. Bal. *uškun*); \**sruy* > \**šay*,

contaminated with *kšōn* into *kšay*? Or, more prob., < \**gušaya*-? *kšōn* as a pres. stem is secondary, cf. Sk. inf. *kšō'yak*, besides *kšōnak*.

*kūt* Y, Sk., Z roof; *kut* X ceiling. — Cf. Sh. *kat-ōit* soot? — < \**kāta*, cf. Av. *kata*, etc.? V. *iskakut*.

*ki'tāb* Y book. — Ar.-Prs.

*ktic* Sk. hut, *ktic* Kl. hut on summer-pasture. — Cf. Ishk. *krīc*.

*kūtk* L chaff.

*kaš*: *kart* Y, X, *kāt*: *kārt* Sh. to throw, spread, pour into, *andāxtan*; *kāš*: *kārt* Sk. to lay, put. — *wuz yupk ar pīl kašem* Y, *yupk piōla kašum* X I pour water into the cup; *šār kašem* Y I throw a stone; *kāšom*, *kārt*, *kāš!* *kārtom*, *kə'jak*, *kə'jatk* Sk.

*gaš* Y mucus, *kaš* Be. snout (*lišp* mucus).

*kəš* Y, Sk., *kaš* X, *kōt* Sh. short. — Cf. Sgl. *kəš*.

*qōt* Sk. the Polar Star. — Ar.-Prs.

*ku'fol* W dagger. — IA.

*qēw* Sk. to call. — *qēwom*, *qēw!*, *qēw cart*, *qēwom*, *qēw!* *qēw kartom*, etc. — Cf. Sgl. *qēw*.

*ku'wend* L sheep tick. — Cf. Psht. *kūnai* (EVP, s.v. *kōq*)?

*qōx* Sk., *kox* Sh. cough. — Cf. Shgh.

*kēw*, Or. *kux*, Prs. *kux* *kux*.

*kūšt* Sk. every, Sh. all, whole. — °*tək* Sk. all. — *kūšt ēz* everything. — < \**k'iti* the world (cf. Av. *karš-rar*); cf. semantically Yd. *la'hānd* much < Prs. *jahān*?

*qā'z* Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.

*qōz* Sk. goose. — T.-Prs.

*kūza* X pitcher. — Prs.

*kəš* Y, *keš* X, *kəš*, *kōz* Sk., *kōz* Z, Sh., *kiš* L, 'kurcj' Bi. knife. — Cf. Yd. *kəro*. V. § 80.



## L

*lab* W, *lap* N, *low* X lip. — Prs. V. *lafé*.

*lūd-*: *lōūt* Sh. to ram in.

*la-cer-* X to leave, *lēc-* Sk. to allow, *la-car-* Sh. to let go. — *lēcər* *yau* *bē* *wizit* let him come Sk. — Cf. Yd. *la(k)-*.

*lafé* Y, Sk., Sh. lip. — Prs. V. *lab*.

*lo'yar* X bad. — Ar.-Prs. *lāyar*.

*la'jōm* Sk. bit of a horse. — Prs.

*lūq* Sk. rag.

*laməz* L. sloping down of a field. — \**ni-marza*.

*lānd* W tooth. — Mj., cf. Yd. *lad*. V. *'dendik*.

*lōndək* Sk. cheese (*trəpər* *ne* *cuertana*).

*lang* Sk. lame. — Prs.

*ling* Y, *ling* X, *lugg* Sk. calf of the leg (Sk. also of a goat). — Prs.

*lunf* Sk. cheek. — Prs.

*lup* Y, X, Sh., *lūp* Sk. big, large. — *ispa xōn lap* Y our house is big; *zu xōnan ti xōn lup* X thy house is bigger than mine; *lup yāggf* Sk. (*hip y<sup>o</sup>* in Sk. *Materialien*, p. 141 is due to a misreading) thumb. — Cf. Tajiki *lum(b)* (*Trudy Tadž. Bazy*, III, 55)?

*lipča* X milk pail; cf. *lupt* Olufsen flat earthenware jug for milk and water?

*lāst* W band. — Cf. Mj.-Yd. *last*.

*'lāša* X lean. — Prs.

*līp* B *mucūs*. — IA.

Ir.-: *lud* Y, Sh. to slip. — Cf. IE. \*(s)*leib-* (*Walde-Pok*, II, p. 391)? Or \**slēub-*? But Or. *širf* slippery < \**srifra-*, Psht. *šwai* < \**srifaka-*, with Ir. *s-?* *lu'wārē* Y, *lō'wōrē* Sk., *leiwārē* Sh., etc. *sand*.

*lēw* Sk., *lūw* Sh. demon. — Cf. Sgl. *lēw* from \*Mj.?

*liž-* Y, *liž-*: *ližetk-* X, *liž-*: *ližt* Sh. to lick. — Genuine, or from Prs. *lēs-*: *lišt*? But cf. Sgl. *lēs-*.

*lazja* X trembling. — *l<sup>o</sup> gošt* trembles. — Cf. Shgh. *la'ja*, from Prs. *larza*. *lox* Y udder.

## M

*mai* Y, X, W, *māi* Sh., *māy* B sheep; *mai* X, *māi* Sk., *kūr-māi* L. female oorial. — Cf. Yd. *māo*.

*mə* Sk., *māi* Hj. don't. — *'mə-pers*, *pers-māi* don't ask. — Av. *mā*.

*mō'l* Y, N, *mō'l* X, *māhe* W, *mā'i* Sk. fish. — Prs.

*mūi* X hair on the body. — Prs.

*mij* Sk., *mūi*, *mūi* L. month. — Cf. Prs. *māh*, etc.

*'mābarak* X salutation, gratulation. — Ar.-Prs.

*mič* Sh. (double) handful. — Cf. Sar. *mut*. V. § 73.

*māček* Y, *māč-lāč* Bc. she-dog; *mōl* L. female. — Cf. Yd. *macio*.

*mād* Y, X, *mađ* W, Sh., *māđ* L, Zar. (back of the) waist, back; *mād* Sk. back (of an animal). — *žə yās 'mād* *'zāxp-vitk* Sk. the back of my horse was wounded. — Cf. Sgl. *mēđ*. V. § 100.

*'māda* N female. — Prs.

*mai'dōn* X plain. — T.-Prs.

*mā'dūr* Y, Sk., *mādūr* L, *mādūr* Sh., *mōđər* Z noon. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. *māđər*. — Av. *mai'dya-* + *ayara* (cf. *frayara* fore-noon).

*mā'dāž* Y, *mā'dāž* Sk., *māđāž* Sh. mare. — From Phl.(?) \**mādag*.

(\*mōδ-): mōδt (mōδetk) L to curdle (milk).  
— 3 sg. mōδt. — Cf. Bal. *madag*, etc., Sar. *mād* buttermilk (Be.).  
*mūg* Hj. stupid, *muq* Sh. blunt. (Unknown to Sk.'s informant). — Cf. Yd. *mīkə*.  
*mōy* W cloud. — Prs.  
*may'rib* Sk. west. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mayz* Y, X, N, W marrow. — Prs. — *magz* Be. 'brain' may be genuine (cf. Be. *sirk*, Sh. *serk* marrow).  
*may'zi* Y, X, N, *may'zek* W arm above the elbow. — Cf. Sgl. *asta-mayzek*, Yd. *mīfistē*.  
*mī'jāš* X eyelashes. — Ar.-Prs.  
*māk'* Sk. neck. — Cf. Shgh. id.  
*mōk* Sk. hen. — Cf. Sgl. *mākək*.  
*'mukuduk* Y, *'muydok* X, *'mōk'dək* W, *'mukjok* N, *mukt* Sk., Sh., *mōkt* L, *mōxt* Be. frog. — Cf. Ishk. *mukuduk*, Sgl. *moydok*, Yazgh. *ma'gūd*.  
*maks* Y, X, Sk., L, Sh., etc. fly. — Cf. Yd. *moyuso*.  
*maka* L ripple.  
*mūlā* Sk. donkey-saddle.  
*mūl* X stirring-pin. — Cf. Yd. *mūl*.  
*'mālum* X known. *mark m' ne vīt it* was not known to me. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mā'lum'dör* Sk. honest. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mula'im* X soft. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mō'lung* Sk., *malung* L, *malung* Sh. middle, waist. — Cf. Yd. *malanē*.  
*məlungg-yāic* Sk. shinbone; *malungg-yāic* Sh. thigh; "*malūngerch*" Be. arm. — Cf. *yāšē*.  
*mō'teq* Y, *mī'tiq* X, *mī'teq* Sk. gun. — Turk.  
*mō'lax* Y, *mī'* Sh. grasshopper. — Prs.  
*mūm* Y, Sk., Z, *mum* Sh. grandmother. — Cf. Yd. *'māmo*.  
*mīmān'xāna* X guest-house. — Prs.

*mō'nō car-* Sk. to resemble. — Prs. *mān* resembling.  
*mānd* Y, *mānq* X, *mand* L, *mānd* (*manḍāk*) Sh. to rub, shampoo. — Cf. Yd. *magv*, Sgl. *mānq*. V. *mandith*.  
*'mōnda* X tired. — Prs.  
*mīndē'lic* Y butterfly(?), bird(?); *men-dēlic* L swallow.  
*mandith* Be. leather. — Perf. of *mānd*. ("rubbed, tanned"?).  
*'manja* X bed. — IA, cf. Yd. *mānjo*.  
*mīq'gas* Y, Sk., St., *iq'gas* X, *wīq'gās* Sh. sparrow. — Genuine (v. § 47), or from Kati *mō'gece*, *mī'ə'gece*?  
*mīq'qōr* Y, *ōār* W, *ōl* X beak. — Ar.-Prs.  
*man'zīl* X a day's journey, halting-place. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mō'qū* W apple. — Prob. Sgl. *mēf*. V. *mur*.  
*mōy* W male oorial.  
*māra* L store-room on a roof.  
*mār* L knuckle, joint. — Cf. Skr. *mar-man*?  
*'māri*: *mārt* Sk., *mert* X, *māri*: *mōrtt* Sh. to die. — *mārt* Y dead. — *'mārim*, *'māri*, *'mārid*, *'mārin*, *'mārite*; *mārtəm*, *māri'yāk*, *mārtk*; *mārt(k)* death Sk. — < \**māriya*, cf. Yd. *mār*.  
*mōr* X, *mār* W snake. — Prs.  
*mūr* Y, *mūr* X, N, Be., *mūr* Sk., *mūr* Sh. apple. — Cf. Yd. *dmuno*.  
*mūr* Y, Sk., Sh., Z, *mōr* Be. cloud. — < \**ham-abra*?  
*mūr* X locust(?). — Cf. Sgl. *mūr* centipede.  
*'mēra'bōn* Sk. friend. — Prs.  
*mūrca* X, W ant. — Prs.  
*'mārdik* W pupil of the eye. — Cf. Sgl. *čām-mārdikōg*.  
*mār'dīna* Y, *ma'* Y man. — \*Prs., cf. Shgh. *mardīna*.



- mery* L female ibex; *marg* Sh. fem. Ovis Poli; Be. wild goat. — Av. *mār̥ya-*; cf. Kafiri *m'og*, *mraŋ*, etc. fem. ibex.
- margilam* Sh. goat's down. — Cf. Yd. *muryu'lum*.
- mā'rik* Y, *ma*<sup>o</sup> Sh., B, *mrik'* Sk. sweet cream. — Cf. Shgh. *marēb*, Sar. *marēb*, prob. < Ar.-Prs. *marawicab* (v. Shgh. Voc., s.v., and Lentz s.v.), but the Wkb. form is difficult to explain.
- ma'rām* X servant. — *jū ma'rām* my servant. — Ar.-Prs. *mahrām* friend.
- mīr-p'rič* Y, *'mīr-prič* Sk., Sh. ant. — *mīr*- prob. < \**marwi*- (cf. Yd. *mār'yo*), but associated with Ar.-Prs. (*a*)*mīr*, e.g. in Shgh. *mīr-mōčūn* (Sk.) 'Ratten-könig'.
- marš* Hj. hip. Denied by Sk.
- mī'rōs* Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs.
- mīrā'xūr* X stable-boy. — Prs.
- marz* Y, *merz* X, *morz* Sh., *marz* Sh. hungry. — *marz-em eltei* Y I have become hungry; *merz-em* X; *'wuz-em murz vitk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. Voc. s.v. *mažjānj* 'hungry' (Old Engl. *mure* gnawing hunger, etc.).
- mōrč* L dew. — < \**morgh-s*, cf. Russ. *morox* 'drizzle' etc. (v. W.-P. s.v. *meregh*).
- mis* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. nose; Sh. also: point, formerly. — Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. *mis*.
- mis* Sk. brass. — Prs.
- mas-dig* Y brass-pot. — Prs.
- mūi-sa'fēd* X old (not young). — Prs.
- maska* Y, X, Be. (*ruŋn* Sh.) butter. — Prs.
- mau'sim* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.
- mōst* Y, Sk., *mušt* X, *mušt* N, *mut* W, *mōst* Sh., Z, etc. fist. — *mušt* Prs., *mut* Sgl., reg. *mušt* (with *st* < *št*,

- v. § 73) cf. Yd. *mišc*, Kurd. *mušt*, etc. — V. *mušt*.
- māl* Y, *mā'šū* W ankle (*barikband* Be.). — Cf. *mašūn* Sh. leg below knee (Sar. *mišūnlang*).
- mūs* X mouse. — Prs.
- mūš-*: *mōšt* Sk. to conceal; *mōš*- L to conceal, steal(?). — < \**mušya-*, cf. Skr. *muṣ-*.
- mēšak* Y female oorial. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *mēš i kiškōr*.
- mēšen* L along with.
- maš'riq* Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs.
- mušt* X fist, plough-handle (*gūšek*). — Prs. V. *mōst*.
- mō'teb* X moon. — Prs.
- mutr* Sh. augury, omen. — Genuine, < *mādra-*, cf. Psht. *marai* charm?
- me'wē* Sk. fruit. — Prs.
- mīx* Y, X, *mēx* Sk. nail. — Prs.
- ma'yno* X starling(?). — Hind. *mainā?*
- mī'yōn* X waist. — Prs.
- maza* X taste. — Prs.
- miz* X table. — Prs.
- mizg* Y, Sk., *mizg*<sup>o</sup> X, *mizk* Be. urine. — *mizg* car. Sk. to make water. — Cf. Yd. *miz-*.
- mu'žik* X bail. — Cf. Sgl. *mu'žik*.

## N

- nāu* Y, *nāu* X, Sk., *nau* N, Sh., *nāb*(?) W, *nāo* Sh. nine. — Cf. Yd. *nau*.
- ne* X, *nə* Sk. not. — *mālum ne vit* it was not known; *ne rečā 'na mērawca'* X; *nə-nə* Sk. neither—nor. — Av. *na*.
- nōi* Sk. no.
- 'nū* Y, *niūw* Sh., *nāi* X mill-race. — X from Prs. Cf. Yd. *naico'yo*.
- nō'band* Y young calf; *nāband* Sh. yearling bull calf. — Cf. Sgh. *nōbānd*, Or.

*nōband*, etc. Original meaning 'newly bound' (newborn calves are allowed to move about). Cf. Or. *navzōd*, etc. yearling female calf (: 'just having born, or going to bear').

*na'bas* Y, *ni'pes* X, *na'pisan* L, *napōsan* Sh., etc. comb. — Cf. Oss. *sār-vasān*, etc.; Yd. *nuvās*. The derivation of Prs. *fasan*, *sar-fāhan* is doubtful.

*na'bōt* Sk. plant. — Ar.-Prs.

*nūck* Sk., Sh. beak. — Cf. Sar. *nūsk*, Khaw. lw. *našk*.

*na'dūn* L. quiver; *na'dūn* Sh. scabbard. — Cf. Skr. *nīdhāna* place for depositing anything, receptacle; Prs. *nīhān* hidden.

*nādan*: *nādafst* Y to embrace, clasp, *mēcāspam*; Sh. *nādevs*: *nādevd* to affect, stain, profit, *nādefs*: *nādavd* to be compressed, dented, *nādefs*: *nādefst* to stick together; *nādev* L to stick to. — Two pres. formations, one in *-n*, and one in *-s*. — Cf. Shgh. *nīdemb* to stick (trans.); v. Yd. *naīlō*.

*nāf* Y, N, Sk., *nāf* X, *nāf* W navel. — Prs.

*na'far* X person. — cum *n° 'cand nafar'*. — Ar.-Prs.

*nāyē* Y, *nāyē* X, N, Sh., *nāyē* Sk., Kl. night. — *wūd nāyē* Y to-night; *nāgde nīkā kerk* X. — Av. *naxtar* (cf. Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, 303).

*nāy'dīn* Y, *°īn(ak)* Sh. dawn. — < \**nax-tuina*.

*nāyē'gupk* Sk. dew.

*no'jōrdum* Y, *nā°* Sh., *na°* St. *noy'dām* Sk. bear. — It is tempting to compare this noa-name with Yaghn. *rūbf-dum* horse (: broom-tail, v. Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 125); Or. *fu'tum*, Shgh. *litum* hare (< \**xšita-duma*

with lopped tail, cf. Bal. *ēay* to shear, rub away). — But *no'jōr* (\**no'jōrt*?) Cf. also Prs. *dum-burrida* bear.

*nī'kā* X marriage, wedding. — Ar.-Prs. *naql car* Sk. to tell. — Ar.-Prs.

*nēk'ra* Y, *°nēk'ra* X, *nēq'rā* Sk. silver. — Prs.

*nan'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.

*nālčrk* W reed. — \*Prs.

*no'lād* Y jar, kūza.

*nam* X wet. — Prs.

*nām* Sk. half. — *°iz-nām 'omf vit bār'bōd* half my life was spoiled. — Prs.

*no'mok* Y, *°ok* Sk., *na'mak* X salt. — Prs.

*nī'mil* L, *na'mil* Sh. to hem. < \**lamin* < \**dāmanaya* ??

*nemenj* L to dance.

*nīm'rūz* X noon. — Prs.

*namurz* Sh., *lamorz* L bush-harrow, rake. — Cf. Av. *nī-marz* to sweep down; Sar. *namūzg*, Kashan dial. Gaz *nimer'zūn* rake.

*no'mōz* Sk. prayer. — Prs.

*nān* Y, X, Sk., *nān* W, Sh. mother. — *zū nān*; *you nānar žat*: *ēi nān* X he said to his mother: oh, mother. — Cf. Yd. *nino*.

*nūnd*: *nūtt* Sk. to plant. — Cf. Isbk.

*nēnd* < \**nī-hāndaya*, Sar. *nālenōdn* < \**nī-šāndaya* (v. Tedesco, BSL, 24, 200).

*nong* X, *nūng* Sk., *nung* Sh. name. — < \**nāmaka*, cf. Sgl. *nīm*.

*no'pūs* Y, *°us* X, *napūs* Sh. grandchild. — Early lw.? Cf. Yd. *nowoso*. V. *nəvəs*.

*nar* X, N male. — Prs.

*ne'rau* L rainbow.

*nīr* Sk. light (adj. and noun). — Ar.-Prs.



*nar<sup>2</sup>m* X soft, crushed. — *n<sup>o</sup>* *goṛum*  
I thresh. — *Prs.*  
*nar-tūy* N he-goat.  
*nesi-(am)* Y, *nesi-(m)* X, 'nəsi-: 'nəst- Sk.,  
nəsi-: nəs- Sh. to lie down. —  
'nəsim, 'nəst, 'nəsi, 'nəstum, nəs'i'yaḱ,  
nə'sətk Sk. — *Av.* *sāy-* to lie down,  
cf. *Skt.* *niś'tha-* night.  
*nis-* nəs- Sk., nīs-: nās- Sh. to lose;  
nās-: nās- Sh. to be lost. — *Av.*  
\*nasaya-, nasya-.  
*naspar-* Sh. to tread down. — \**ni-spar-*,  
cf. *Sar.* *naṣpar-*: naṣpug-; *Av.* *spar-*  
to tread, spurn; *Prs.* *naspār* place  
where grapes are pressed.  
*niṣen* X showing. — *n<sup>o</sup>* *randəm* I show.  
— *Prs.*  
*nās'pāti* W pear. — *Prs.*  
*niširm* Y, *rum* X the shady side of a  
valley. — *Cf.* *Sgl.* *nišorm*.  
*nā'tuān* Sk. poor. — *Prs.*  
*nev-* Y, 'niw-: niw-; *nīd* X, 'niw-: nīw-  
Sk., niw-: nāw- Sh. to weep; *nov-*  
L to soak. — *cis* *sabab ke nīd?* X  
why didn't thou weep? *bisyār nīwde*  
X he wept much; *nīwəm, nīw-; nīw-*,  
*nīwədm, nū'wāk, nū'wətk* Sk. — *Cf.*  
*Shgh.* *nav-* (or *naw-*) to weep, *Yd.*  
*nov-*.  
*nīv* Y, Sh., *anīb* X now. — *nīv ti zik kīyem*  
now I hear thy word; *tyem xalg*  
*nīv rəṣṣpt* this man fell asleep now.  
— *Av.* *nū*, with secondary fricative?  
*nīv-* nīw- Y, nīw-: nīw- Sh. to  
extinguish (a fire). — *rxnigi* nīw-  
— *Cf.* *nīw-*: nīw- Sh. to go out (fire),  
*nīwən* Y I have gone out. *nīv* <  
\*nī- + caus. -v-. *Cf.* *Yd.* *nīw-*.  
*nīwər* L herd's bread. — \**nībhāra-*  
provision, cf. *Av.* *nībhāra* store-  
room?

*nəwəs* W grandson. — *Prs.* V. *nə'pūs*.  
*nəwīs-* Y, nī'wīs-: nīwīt- Sk., nīwīs- Sh.,  
nīwīs- Z, nīwītā car- X to write. —  
*Prs.*  
*nī'wəq* Sk. breeze arising when the sun  
warms up the water.  
*nə'wəst* Sk. it can't be done. *Cf.*  
*wəc-*.  
'nīwiz-: nīst- Sk., nīw-: nīst- Sh.,  
: nī'wīt; nīw-tem Y; *pt.* *nīw'ik* Y,  
X to go out (Sh. also 'to go, come  
up'); cf. *nawiz-* Sh. to mount?  
— *wuz cex ānan nīw-tem* Y I  
went out of the house; *nīw'ik* Y  
'barāmad'; *pādsā sail nīw'ik* X the  
king went out for a walk; (*ce*) *xənən*  
*nīw'ik* X he went out of the house;  
*lau ce wuṣ nīw-tem* Y I took(?) the  
grain away from the straw; *nīwizəm*,  
'nīwiz, nīwiz / wuz-əm nīw'it (= nīw-tem),  
nīw'izak, nīw'izətk Sk. — *Cf.* *Sgl.*  
*nīw-*, *Yd.* *nī-*.  
*nuz* W female(?). — *Prob.* due to some  
misunderstanding.  
*nax'čir* Y, X, Sk., Sh. fox. — *Prs.*  
(with specialized meaning in *Wkh.*).  
*no'xūn* X nail. — *Prs.*  
*nīkind-*: nīwīt Sh., nīw-: nīwīt- Kl. to  
expel, bring out; *nīkind-* L. to ex-  
tract.  
*nezd-* ne-in- Y, nezd- X, nāz-: ne-in-  
(inf. *nūdn*) Sh., nōzd-: nōyn- Z to sit  
down. — *nī'cəgəm* Y I have sat  
down; *wuz dā awl xən nīngin* X  
I(?) am living in this house; *wuz*  
*lawar nezd xānum* X I tell thee to  
sit down. — \**nīhazd-*: \**nīhaḱna-*  
(inf. \**nīhaḱana-*).  
*nezdər-*: 'nezdərd Sk. (reg.) to place,  
put; to sit(?); *nūdn-* Sh. to cause  
to sit down.

*nežyar*: *nežyard* Sk. to swallow. — \**niž-gar*.

*nažaxt* Sh. ill-advised. — Cf. Sar. *nāyūxt*.  
*neždun* L weeding. — < \**niž-dhāna*,  
 but Paht. *lalūn* < \**ni*°?

## P

*pāi* Y, Sk., Sh. curds, *māst*. — Cf. Yd. *poya*.

*pāi* Sh. paddle, shovel. — Genuine Wkh. form of *fī* (q.v.), cf. Yd. *fiyo*, Par. *phī*. — Burush. *būi* (< \**pūi*) 'shovel, blade' is bor. from early Wkh. (cf. Lorimer, Bur. Gramm., § 10).

*pu* Y with. — *pu cākucen rəstəwəm* I eat with a knife. — Av. *paiti*.

*pac*: *paed* Y, *pāc*: *pāct* (*pə'cak*) Sk., *pōc*: *pōst* Sh. to cook; *pacūr*: *pacovd* Sh. to cook (caus.); *pī'cēs guž* X to cook. — *pōc* < *pačaya*. — V. *pə'četk*, *pəš*.

*pec* Sh. countenance. — Cf. Shgh. *pīc*, Sar. *pec* face, but not Sogd. *p'z*.

*piec*: *picovd* Y, *picōv*: *picōved* Sk., *piev*: *pievōd* Kl. to kindle a fire. — *rəxniği picēcəm* Y. — < \**pič'ic-ev*. — Cf. *pičisr* L to light a fire < \**pati + dag + s* ? Cf. Saka *pa(m)dis*. V. *pičing*.

*pēca* Y, W lock, curl. — Prs.

*pə'četk* Y, *pī*° X, *pō*° Sh. cooked. V. *pac*.

*pačraz*: *pačrazt* L, Sh. to arrest. — < \**pati-raxs*??

*pūd* Y, *p'ūd* X, *pūd* N, St., *pūd* Sk., *puwōd* L, *pūš* Sh., *pōš* Z, *poda* Bl., \**pūš* Be, *pu,et* H foot. — Cf. Yd. *palo*.

*pādšā* X king. — Prs.

*pōš* L ligature on bow; *pōš* Sh. foot-track. — Both words prob. < Av.

*paša*, cf. Yd. *pol*. But cf. Sar. *peš* foot and foot-track.

*pešmēš* L to swell, *pōšmōš* Sh. to ferment, foam, rise (as dough). — < \**pati-dmasaya*, cf. Av. *dādmānya* 'blowing oneself up', etc.; Brahui lw. *paddam* swelling.

*pōšp* Y, *peden* X, *pōp* Sk., *pōšn* Sh., etc. saddle — '*yašer p*° *guž* saddle the horse; *p*° *da dālān tu* the saddle is on the veranda X. — Cf. Shgh., etc. *bidān*. Tomasebek (p. 805) compares Skr. *api-dhāna*, from which form we should expect Wkh. \**pōšin*. \**api(d)hāna*, on the other hand, is not a probable form. V. Yd. *palan*.

*pičing* Y, X, Sh., *pičic*: *pičn* Kl. to flame up; *pičing* L flame. — Cf. *pīdi* L to burn up. — *rəxniği pičing* Y 'āteš dar girift'; *rəx'nī pičingem* X I light(?) a fire. — Cf. Sgl. *pōšin*; Parth. *pdyn* to ignite (Henning, BSOS. IX, 86). Possibly *pičn* < \**pati-dagna*, and *pičic* a secondary formation?

*pə'yār* Sk. crop (of a bird).

*piūk* L onion. — Cf. Yd. *piγ*.

*pōk car* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.

*pa'k'ūt* Sk. cap. — Cf. Yd. *pa'koγo*.

*pa'lū* W eyelash. — Cf. Yd. *pēlek*. V. *patk*.

*pīl* Y, Sh., *pīl* Be, *pīola* X wooden cup. — Prs. (*pīl* early lw., cf. Yd. *pīloγo*).

*pīl* Sk. money. — Prs.

*palē* Y, X, Sh., *palē* Sk., *parē* Be. leaf; X also feather; *palē* Sk. forest; *parē* Hj. garden. — Poss. two different words; reg. *palē* leaf v. § 83.

*pū'lōd pū*° Sk. steel. — *p*° *xīgār*. — Prs.

*paluk* W thumb. — Cf. Lat. *pollex*??

*pīlek-mīlek* X, *pīlpīlak* Sh. butterfly. — Cf. Khov. *puīmužuk*.



- palan* L to fall.  
*pa'lāng* Y, X, W, N, *plāng* Sk. leopard.  
 — *Prs.*  
*p[ō]g[ō]st* Sk., *pulangst* Sh. finger-ring.  
 — *Cf.* Yd. *parguščē*.  
*pa'lās* Y, *pālesk* X, *palās* Sh. rug. —  
*Prs.*, *cf.* Bur. *pales*, Khow. *pālsk*, etc.  
*pāla'wān* Sk. hunter. — *Prs.*  
*pāmece* Y, *pō°* X, *pamec*: *pamegn* Sh.  
 to dress. — *Cf.* Sgl. *pānec*.  
*pāmecece* Y, *pameciv* Sh. to dress some-  
 body else.  
*pa'nū* W butter. — *Cf.* *Prs.* *pānū* cream-  
 cheese.  
*p'ū(?)n* Y, *pūn* Sk., Sh., *phūn* Be. palm  
 of the hand. — *Cf.* Yd. *pino*.  
*pa'nir* Sk. cheese. — *Prs.*  
*pānz* Y, X, *pāns* W, *pānā* N, *pānj* Sk.,  
*pānz* Sh., *panj* Z āve.  
*pān'dak* Sk. unripe apricot. — *IA.*, *cf.*  
*Lhd.* *piñā* ripe dates.  
*pūp* Y, Sk., Sh., Z grandfather. — *Cf.*  
 Yd. *pap*.  
*pīpīr* X bedding, *pīpēr* Sk., *pīp* Sh.,  
 St. bed. — *Cf.* *Prs.* *pōb* tapestry,  
 carpeting, *ambūb* cushion, mat? *pīpīr*  
 original dat. (= loc.)? — But note  
 also Sar. *bābēr* bed.  
*parr* Y, W, *pār* Sk., *par* Sh., *pūr* (!) Be.  
 feather (Sk. also wing). — *Prs.*  
*pur* X full. — *Prs.*  
*puru*: *porōd* Sh. to rinse (a cup, clothes).  
 — *Cf.* Sar. *paro*. Not < Av. *frav*,  
 but possibly < \**pari-fraw*?  
*pāric* Y, *pāric* X, *pāric* Sh. worm. — *Cf.*  
 Sgl. *pācuk*.  
*pār'ēd* Y, Sk., *pārēd* Sh., *pārēd* Burnes,  
*pār'ēdsk* Kl. girl, maid (acc. to Sk.  
 older than *ōzīd*). — Dissim. < \**parēar*,  
*cf.* Skr. *parīcarikā* maid?  
*pārd* Y, Sk., *parde* X, *pard* Sh. last

- year (X also day before yesterday?).  
 — < *parut*, *cf.* Par. *parūsar*.  
*pardāng* X, *pardāng* Sh. belonging to  
 last year.  
*pārg* Y, Sk., Sh., *parg* X, St., *p'ārg* N  
 ashes. — *Cf.* Sgl. *park*.  
*perg* X necklace; *pōrg* Sk. small ring  
 (worn on a cord); "pyrk" Olufsen  
 stringed kernels of apricots? —  
 \**parika*, *cf.* Skr. *parikara*-belt, *Prs.*  
*pargar* collar of precious stones?  
*prigūn* Sh. horse-clothing. — *Cf.* Sar.  
*pariocin*. — *Cf.* *gaw*?  
*pargōš* Sh. to be entangled. — < \**pari*-  
*guš* < *guz* + *s?* *Cf.* EYP. s.v. *yēš*.  
*parāk* N rib. — *Ishk*.  
*purk* Y, *pūrk* N, *pārk* W (= Sgl.) *pūrk*  
 Sk., *pūrk* Sh. mouse. — *Cf.* Yd.  
*parj*, Sgl. *pōrk*.  
*parkōl* Sh. to dig, excavate. — *Cf.* *Prs.*  
*kōldan* to dig.  
*pīrkīt* L to stir.  
*pōrmayūng* Kl. belt, izorband. — Wkh.  
 + *Prs.*  
*permār* L to wither, fade. — \**pari-mrya*,  
*cf.* *Prs.* *pižmurdan*.  
*pī'rān* X shirt. — *Prs.*  
*pār'nac* Kl. churn, *deg-i dūykañ*. —  
 \**pari-nī-ēl*?  
*pa'rinda* Y, X, Sh., *ōdā* Sk. bird. —  
*p° dar hawē wīzīt* X. — *Prs.*  
*pārind*: *pārūt* Y, *pārind*: *pārīt* Sk.  
 (reg.), *pārānd*: *pārāt* Sh., *frindav* (!)  
 X to sell. — \**parā-rand*? *Cf.* Yd.  
*pōlār*. V. *rand*.  
*purs* Y, *pārs* Sk., *pārs* Sh. rib; *p'ārs* X  
 breast. — *Cf.* Yd. *pōrsayē*.  
*pōrs*: *pōrst* Y, *pōrs*: *pōrst* Sk. (reg.),  
*pōrs*: *pōrst* Sh. to ask. — *Cf.* Yd. *pōrs*.  
*pōrsāf* L wedge. — \**pari-saifa*, *cf.* Skr.  
*śep(h)a*, Lat. *cippus*?

*pur'sān* X question. — *p°* *goṣum* I ask;

*'pādśā p°-um kerk.* — *Prs.*

*porw'gāl* Sk. wrist.

*pōrś-* Sh. to sneeze. — *Cf. Sar. pūrś-*

*prūt* Sk. foreward; *prūt* Sh. first (adv.). —

< \**parā-tah.* *Cf. Or. perōd,* etc. forepart.

*pert* L back of an animal. — *Av. paršti-*

*Cf. s.v. pšt.*

*parvōy*: *parvet* Sh., *pōrvōy*: *pōrvōtt*

Z to attain, strike, touch. — *'no-*

*par'icō* Sk. don't touch. — *Lw., if* <

*pari-āp.* *Cf. Yd. p°ra-*

*paricōf*: *paricōft* Sh. to net, plait. — *V. ūf.*

*par'icōna* W moth. — *Prs.*

*paricās* L rafter (smaller than *icas*).

*pūr* Sk., *pūr* Sh. evening; *'purzr,* °*jar*

X (dat.) this evening, *bīgā.* — *p°*

*yōwōr yark guṣum* this evening I

shall tell him his work. — \**pār*

< \**pār* < *upa-azara* (*cf. Av. upa-*

*naxtar*). Scarcely \**purz* < \**purr-*

*azar* < \**pna-azar*.

*pirīp-* L to twist. — *Cf. Sgl. yev.*

*pūs* Sk., *pos* Sh. ram (E.Wkh.), Sh. a

fat sheep. — *Av. pasu-*

*pōs* Sh. white leopard, ounce. — *Cf.*

*Sar. pīs* id.; *Prs. pīs* white, leprosy,

*Av. paśsa-* (Tomaschek, p. 762).

*pī'sōn* X whet-stone. — *Prs.*

*past* X, *pāst* Sk. low. — *Prs.*

*pīst* Y, N, Sk., *pist* X, Sh., *posk* W

(= *Ishk.*) skin, hide, Y also bark. —

*pīst* Sk. back of an animal (for \**pīrt*,

*cf. s.v. pīrt*). — *pīst-i diraxt* X =

*duyg-pīst* Sh., *draxt pīst* Sh. — *Cf.*

*Sgl. pāsk.*

*pōst* Sh. parched grain. — *Cf. Yd. pūšē,*

*pōśa* W, N mosquito. — *Prs.*

*pēśāu* W urine. — *Prs.*

*pīs* Y, Sk., *pūs* X, W, *pīs* N, Sh., \**Be.*

*pēś* Z cat. — *Cf. Yd. pīsko.*

*pēśu* L pear. — *Bur.?*

*pēś'bār* N breast. — *Ishk.* < *Prs.*

*pošk* Y, *pušk* X, B dung of sheep. —

*Prs.*

*pašm* N, *pām* W wool. — *Prs., and*

*Ishk.*

*p'šai-mōn,* *p'š°* Sk. regretful. — *Prs.*

*pī'sōna* X, *pe'šant* W forehead. — *Prs.*

*pīš-i-pā* X instep. — *Prs. (toe).*

*pušta* X slope, hillside. — *Prs.*

*pīšw-*: *pšet-* L, *pšin-*, *pšēw-*: *pšet-* Sh.,

*pšēw-*: *pšt* Kl. to return, turn back;

*pšū-*: *pšand-* Sh. trans. — *Shaw* (p. 53)

compares *Av. apaša* backwards.

*pīšēāz* X in: *zalg pīšēāzar ke rešt*

*'ādam pīšēāz-i Sultān Mahmūd*

*raftan*'. — *Prs.?*

*pīšz'mān* Sk. kitten. — *V. pīš.*

*pēš-* L to ripen. — < \**pačya-* *V. pac-*

*pōš'na* Y, *pōš°* X, N, *pōš'nd* Sk., *pōšt* L,

*pōšt* Sh. heel; *pāst* Sh. sole. — *Prs.*

*pīt* Tomaschek pine. — From what

source? *Tom.* compares *Skr. pīta-*

*dāru-*

*pītau* Y, X the sunny side of a valley.

— *Prs.* *Cf. Yd. pītou.*

*pātk* Y, N, *pātak* St., *tapk* L, *tapk* Be.,

*tappuk* Bi. eyelash; *patk'* Sk. eyelid.

— *Cf. Sgl. 'pātik.* *V. tapk.*

*pa'tek* X pea, *patek.* — *Prs.* *Cf. Yd.*

*pateko.*

*pītk* Sk., *pītk* Sh., Z rotten. — *pītki*

*wōcōm* Sk. — *Cf. Yd. pīto.*

*pa'tlūn* Sk. trousers. — *Ind.* < *Eagl.*

*pūtmūi*: *pūtmoid* Sh. to mimic. — *Cf.*

*Skr. prati-mā-*

*pō'tun* L repair. < \**pati-dāna-*?

*patari* X rafter. — *Cf. Yd. patarē.*

*patr* Y, Sk., *pāt'r* X, *patr* N, *pō'r* W,

*petr* L, *pōtr* Sh., Z son. *Cf. Yd.*

*pūr.*



- petarō*: *paternā* L. to spring from one seed (of several stalks). — \**pati-tydya* to be split.
- pūtrām(b)*: *patramā*, *potrombā* to scare away, to arrest. — Cf. Skr. *prati-lambha* passion, rage, violent abuse; *prati-labh* to get abused?
- pūtrūz*: *pātrāz* Sh. to lean against. — Cf. Sar. *padrāz*. Geiger < Av. \**paiti-raz*.
- pū'vār* Sk., °*var* Sh. small mussuck (kid skin). — \**pitu bara* food-bearer?
- pūtādm* Sh., *pūtarim* B wooden trough. — \**pati-xwānman*-, cf. Prs. *xwān* tray?
- paṭ*<sup>1</sup> X worm, *kirm*. — Or = *paṭ*<sup>2</sup>? (*kirm* misheard for *kīr*)?
- paṭ*<sup>3</sup> Y, X, W, *pāṭ* Sk (W.Wkh.) penis.
- peṭ* Sh. round, *put* Sh. circular. — Cf. Sar. *peṭ*, *puṭ*.
- pfak* Sk, bread, small cake. — Cf. *peṭ*?
- pfōn* L, *pōū* Sh., *pī'stu* Be. mosquito.
- pōv* Y, *pōb* X, *pūv*: *pīt* Sk., *pev/d*: *pīt* L, *pōv*: *pīt* Sh. to drink. — *pōvəm*, *pōv*, *tyam xalg yupk pīt*, *sak yupk pōvan*, *sāis pōvəv*, *xalgišt yupk pōvan* Y; *'pūvəm*, *'pūv*, *pīt*, *'pūvən*, *'pūvəv*, *pūv*, *'pūttəm*, *pū'vāk*, *pūtk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *pōv*.
- pōvaz* L driftwood. < \**upa-waza*?
- pax'tū* Sk. cotton. — Prs.
- piṭ* Sh. bie-tings. — Cf. Skr. *piyūṣa*.
- pūṭ* Y, *pūṭ* L cattle-shed.
- pūy*: *pūn* L to guard, watch over. — Av. *pā*.
- pī'yaṭ* Y poplar. — Cf. *yaṭ*?
- pī'yōs* Sk. onion. — Prs.
- pāz* Sh. an armful.
- p'āz* Y, *pāz* Sk. (E.Wkh.), *pāz* Sh. breast. — Cf. Sar. *puz*, *poz*, Khov. lw. *pāz*, Yd. *fāz*. Perhaps also Oss. *fāz* podex,

- Zaza pīze* belly, Skr. *pājasya* flanks; *pakṣa*.
- paṣdan* Sh. to recognize. — Cf. Sgl. *pōzin*.
- 'pezin* X, *pīzən* L adder. — < \**paya-zana*-, cf. Skr. *paya-dha*.
- pā'zōv* Y (*pū'zōv* Gramm.), *pī'zōv* X, *pu'zū* W, *pā'zōv* N, *pā'zōv* Sk., *pū'zōv* Sh. heart. — *pā'zōv'lang* Sk. depressed. — Cf. Sgl. *ōv'zui*? — A purely phonetic reconstruction \**apa-zābha* gives no possible etymology.
- pai'zār* Y shoe. — Prs.
- pizvāni* L, Sh. morning-meal.

## R

- rū-i* Y on, in. — In the Prs. expression: *parinda rū-i avā rōṣt* the bird flies in the air. — Prs.
- rūi* Y, X, Sk., *rū* N cheek. — Prs.
- rō'bā* N fox. — Prs.
- ricy* Y, *'ricin* X, *rich* Sh. smoke-hole. — Cf. Yd. *rūṣen*.
- rucepe* L, *ricops* Be. cousin.
- reṣy* L, *riṣay* Sh. a fast. — Early lw., cf. Prs. *rōza*.
- rāṣ*: *rāṣd* Y, *reṣ*: *rōṣt*(?) X, *rōd*: *rāṣd* Sk., *rāṣ*: *rāṣd* Kl., *raṣ*: *ragd* Sh. to go, move. — *rōṣt* 'mērāwad'; *yez am rāydei* 'raftam' Y; *yem yark cēbas reṣ* 'I kār pas buru'; *xōnar riṣ* go home; *ne reṣā* 'na mērāwya'; *kāyaz reṣt* the letter went off, *raft*; *cēbas reṣt*; *dar huzār-i pādāā reṣt* X; *rōṣəm*, *rōṣt*, *rōṣən*, (*rōṣənəv*), *rōṣl* 'rōydam (*fāṣdam*), *rō'cak*, *rāy'dok* Sk. — Cf. *worōṣ*?
- rō'cōm* Sk. travel(?), is prob. pres. 1 sg., cf. *rō'cūpəm* 'sleep'(!).
- rōd*: *rōnn* Sk., *rōd*: *rōn* Sh. to flee. —

- rādām*, *rett*, *rād* *rānni*, *ro'dak*, *rātk*.  
— Cf. Yd. *lūr*-, Yazgh. *rað*-; Prs. *rah*-.  
*rāda* N, X guts. — Prs.  
*rāg* Sk. vein, tendon. — *rāg-i* nazm  
pulse. — Prs.  
*rēg* X sand. — Prs.  
*rāgūm* Sk., *rayūm* Sh. heifer, yearling  
cow-calf. — < \**fragāma*-. Cf. Yd.  
*frayōmček*.  
*regiṣ* Y, *rī'giṣ* X, *re*<sup>o</sup> N, *rə'yāš* Sk.,  
*reyiṣ* Sh. beard. — Cf. Khw. (lw.  
from Wkh.) *rr'giṣ*. — Sk. compares  
Prs. *faryiṣ* hairs hanging down (*sar-*  
*furoṣ*) from below (*az zēr-i*) a fur-  
coat, a dirty garment with torn hem  
(Asadi, with quotation from Labībi)  
< \**fra-gaisya*-, cf. Av. *gaēsa*-.  
*rūṣ* Y, *rūy*<sup>n</sup> X, *rūyān* Sk., *ruyn* Sh.  
(*rēyn* W fr. Ishk.) clarified butter,  
*roḡūn* Sh. fat, grease. — Cf. Yd.  
*rūyān*.  
*rōyēt*, *rōy-d* L young she-goat. — < \**fra-*  
*gātā*? Cf. *rāgūm*.  
*rah-zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*rāuj* Sh. flame.  
*ruk* Y, N, Sk., *rāk*, *rūk* L, *rūk* Sh.  
forehead — Cf. Prs. *ruz*, *rāz* cheek  
< \**srazaca*-, Skr. *sraṣva*-, *sykva(n)*-  
corner of the mouth.  
*rī'kōb* Sk. stirrup. — Ar-Prs.  
*ra,qō'sī/ē* car, *rāq*<sup>o</sup> Sk. to dance. —  
Ar-Prs.  
*rakṣ* Y grey; *rakṣ* L brown. — Prs. *razṣ*.  
Prob. lw., cf. § 60.  
*rami*-. *ramatt*- Sh. to command. — Pres,  
3 sg. *rīmit*. — Cf. Sar. *rāmi*-. *rāmūd*,  
Prs. *farmūdan*.  
*ra'muṣ*- X, *rī'muṣ*-. *rī'mōṣt* (*rūmūṣak*) Sk.,  
*rāmīṣ*-. *rōmīṣōt*. Z to forget. — Cf.  
Yd. *fērmo*-.  
*ramat* L, *ramōt* Sh. chewing the cud. —

- Poss. < \**raumaqda* (Bal. *rōmast* <  
\**raumaθ* + *ta*?), cf. Frisk, Göteborgs  
Högskolas Årsskrift, 1936: 2, 14 The si-  
milarity with Santali *remel* 'third  
stomach of ruminants' is probably  
incidental.  
*rōn* Y, X, N, Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*rūn* Sh. shelf. — Cf. Sar. *rūn*; Sgl.  
*frān* plank.  
*rand*-. *det*- Y, *rānd*- X, *rānd*-. *ratt*- Sk.,  
*rānd*-. *ratt/dett*- Kl., *rānd*-. *rātt/dett*-  
Sh., *dāḍ*-(l): *det*- Hj. to give. — *yupk*  
*rānd* Y give water; *detāi* you gave;  
*ieu* *tar kitāb randem* I give you a  
book; *tu mar kitāb rand*; *yimē detem*  
*tārek* I gave it to you; *tu mārek*  
*kitābe detāi* Y; *ieu* *tawar i rūpia*  
*rāndem* I give you a rupee; mark i  
*rūpia rande* X; *rāndām*, *rānd*, *rānd* i,  
*rattām* (or *rātum*, *dettum*), *rān'dak*,  
*rat'tak* Sk.; *raḍān* inf. Sh.; *lōḍōw(ak)*  
inf. Kl. — *det*- < \**dila*-, *raḍān* <  
*fra-dā*-. But the Pres. Stem prob.  
< *rad*-, with nasal infix *rand*-, and,  
with secondary preter., *ratt*-. Not  
*rātk*-(l), Kl. *rot*- < *rā-la*-.  
*ru'dāg*, *ru'dāk* Sk. strap, leather belt.  
*rang* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*rang* Y, X male ibex, *rang*. — Prs.  
*rānj* Sh. light, fast. — Cf. Sar. *rānj*.  
Geiger (p. 302) compares Av. com-  
parative *rānjyō*.  
*rip* Y, Sh., St., *rip* Sk. hair on the  
body; *rip* N hair; *rip* L hair of  
animals. — Sar. *reb* from Wkh., or  
with epenthesis. Poss. < \**raupī*-,  
cf. Noise *reyfi* wool torn from sheep,  
etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, II, 364, *reup*-  
to tear out).  
*rū'piṣ* X rupee. — Ind.  
*rapic*-. *rapagn*- Sh. to lose the way;



- rapeur- caus. — Cf. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 10, s.v. *peig*?
- repk* Sh. refuse, *rapk* sweepings. — Cf. Yd. *rufo*.
- rrpk* X neck-rope of the yoke. — If correct, < \**raib/paka*-, cf. Engl. *rope*, etc.??
- rür*: *rord*- Sh. to make equal in height, stretch out, extend, offer, present. — Cf. Sar. *rör*: *rord*- id.; Av. *frā-ar*- to assign to, to approach; but Tumchuk Saka *ror*- to give < *fra-var*.
- rus* L hole, burrow.
- röst* Y, X, Sk. right (hand), true. — Pres. *röst'güi* Sk. truthful. — Pres.
- röstv*: *röstved*- Y, *rasedar*: *rasedved* Sh., *raste* Kl. to cut, break; caus. of *rased*: *rasen*- Sh. to break (of a rope); but note *rasüd*: *rasan*- Sh. to cut off; *rasd*: *rasn* Kl. 'buridan'. — *pu cākueen röstvəm* Y. — < \**fra-sid*-, cf. EVP., s.v. *šlédol*. V. Barr, Phil. Psalter, p. 58, s.v. *pīsn*.
- rūš* L Ovis Poli, Be, male oorial. — Cf. Bur. *rūš*, but Or. *rōs*, Sar. *raos*.
- rūš* Hj. anger. — Denied by Sk.
- rōšana'i* X light, brightness. — Pres.
- rū'sān* Sk. light. — Pres.
- rūšip* L, *rašip* Sh. whip. — \**fra-xšwaipa*-, cf. Av. *xšwašpa*, *xšwašwa*-, etc.? But cf. § 60.
- rūšpuk* L bobbin; *rašpuk* Sh. shuttle. — Cf. Av. *fra-spā*- to throw into?
- rūš'ta* Y, *raš'te* W root-fibre. — Pres.
- rū'wār* Y, *rū'wōr*, *ru'ōr* Sk., *ru'ār* Sh., etc. day. — *cō'būr rū'wār* Y; *rū'wōr* the day Sk. — \**fra-vahra*-, cf. Skr. *vasra-day* (Lex).
- rū'wez*: *rū'wezd*- Sk., *rū'wez*: *rū'wezd*- Sh. to fly. — Cf. Shgh. *rewāz*-, etc., M.Ir.N.W. *friwīt*-, Av. *frā-vas*-,

- raz* W dung of cows and sheep. — Cf. Ishk. *garz*.
- ruiz* Y, *ruzn* N, *rūt* W (< Ishk.) day- (light); *rūzn* Sh. dawn. — Cf. Or. *rpzm*, Shgh. *ruz*. — Cf.:
- ruiz* Y, *rūzn*, *rūzn* Sk., *ruzn* Sh., *roz* H, B white; *ruzn* X bright; *ruzn* *yekta* Sk. a white shirt. — Cf. *roz'nig*.
- roz'nig* Y, N, *rzee'ni* X, *roz'ni* W, *rūznig* Sk., *ruznig* Sh. fire. — *ruznig* *ōit* the fire burns; *ruznigi pīcewəm* I light a fire Y; *ruznig pīdingam* id. X; *ruznig murt* the fire went out X. — Genuine, or Pres.? V. § 60. Cf. Sgl. *šnaš*.
- rūšup*: *rošopt* Y, *rišup*: *rišapt*- Sk., *rūšup*: *rišapt*- Sh. to sleep. — *wuz nīc* *rūšupəm* I am sleeping now; *'iyəm* *'xalg nīc* *'rošupt* this man fell asleep now; *'rošoptəm*, *wūz-um* *'rošoptei* *'xau kardam*; *tr-mis* *'rošoptei* Y; *rišupəm*, *rušū'pāk* Sk. — Note *'rūšupəm* Sk. sleep(?). < \**fra-huap*-. *ruš'sat* X leave. — *r' kerk*, *rit*; *n: tawarke r' gužum*. — Ar.-Pres.
- ruy*- L to bay, howl. — Cf. Skr. *rā'yati*.
- riz*: *rōzd*- Sh. to rip up a seam. — Sar. *raoz*. points to ancient \**rauz* < \**lenḡ* (cf. Walde Pokorny *lenḡ* to break?).
- rūz* X day. — Pres.
- riza'barg* X poplar. — \*Pres.
- rizg* L saline efflorescence.
- rizəm* L soot; *rizm* Sh. black at the bottom of a kettle. — Also in Sar. *rūz ā'xur* X, *zar-āxūr* Sh. manger. — \*Pres.?
- raš*, *ra'šek* L sitting dais: *rūš* Sh. platform, seat of honour. — Cf. Yd. *raša*.
- riš*: *rišd*- Sk., *riš*- Sh. to feel pain (Sh. also to be angry). — *rišd* (*š* = *š*?) Sk. pain, cf. Sar. *rišd* (Be).

S

*sī* W thirty. — *Prs.*  
*sī* Y, *sūi* N, *sūi* W, *sīy* Sk., *sūi* Sh.  
 hare. — *Cf.* Yd. *sīy*.  
*seb* small apple. — *Prs.*  
*sub* X dawn. — *Ar.-Prs.*  
*sa'bab* X cause, reason. — *ci* s° *ke*  
*nīdī?* why did you weep? — *Ar.-Prs.*  
*sub'damik* X in the morning. — \**Ar.-*  
*Prs.*  
*sībuk* Y, 'sebuk X light (of weight). —  
*Prs.*  
*sībās* Sh. back, rear, *tar* s° behind. —  
*Y. cebas.*  
*sic* Y, X, Sh., *sij* Sk. needle. — < \**suci-*,  
*cf.* Sar. etc, Shgh. *sej*, Or. *sēc*, etc.  
*sad* Sk., Sh. a hundred. — *Prs.*  
*sadbarg* X centifolium. — *Prs.*  
*san,do'gar* Sk. merchant. — *Prs.*  
*sā'diyy*: *sādōid* Sk., *sādūy*: *sādōid* Sh.  
 to appear. — *mārək sādūid, sādōidi,*  
*sādōidak, °dōtk* Sk. I feel, felt, etc.;  
*yāvək(ēš) sādūid(ēš)* he feels; 'sākək  
*sādīydešt*, or 'sākəkēš *sādīyd* 'we feel'.  
 — *Av. sad-*, *Khov. lw. sar-*, etc.  
*sūdy*¹) Sh. smooth. — *Sar. sūdy. Cf. sāt.*  
*sūdy*²) Sh. height-sickness. — *Sar. sūdy.*  
*saf'dōr* X, *safe'dār* W poplar. — *Prs.*  
*sā'gīn* Y, *sar'gīn* X, *sigīn* Sh. horse-  
 dung; *skīn* L yak's dung; *sigīn* B  
 cow-dung. — *Cf.* Yd. *yu-skən* (*sargīn*  
*fr. Prs.*).  
*sā'gāci* Y, °*āci* X, W otter (Sh. *kamā*).  
 — *Prs.*  
*seyri* L rump of horse. — *Turk.*  
*sā'yīr* Y orphan. — *Cf.* Sgl. *sayēr*.  
*sīhat* Sk. in health. — *Ar.-Prs.*  
*sak* Y, X, N, Sk., etc. we. — *sak yāwēn*  
 we eat; *sak sāv dīnen* we beat you;  
*yem spa xūn* this is our house Y;

*sak* Waxī *xalge* we are Wakhis;  
*sakar igōn igōn rūpia rande* give  
 us one rupee each; *tu ēzir saker*  
*dingt* why do you beat us? *ispa*  
*xōn lup* our house is big; *ayem xōn*  
*ispacan* this house is ours; but also:  
*ispā Xanduti xalg* we are Khandutis  
*(ispa* said to be used lower down —  
*pāyān*—or in jest—*tōka*) X; *sak yarovum*  
 we eat X; *sākən, spō*, etc. Sk. *Cf.*  
 § 118 sq.  
*sak* Kl. on (*skām* on this, etc.). — *Av.*  
*uska-*. *V. iska-*.  
*sik* X, L, *sik-tuhl* Be. spleen. — *Prs. sik*  
 vinegar. Or, *cf.* Sgl. *sūyūk?*  
*skīd* Y, *skīš* Sh., Hj. (embroidered) skull-  
 cap. — < \**skanda-*, *cf.* Lat. *cūdo*,  
 etc. (Hübischmann, KZ, 24, 412).  
*skaf*: *skaft* L to trip. — *Cf.* *Prs. dial.*  
*kaftan* to fall.  
*sō'ken* Y, *skən* N, *skōn* Sh. puppy. — *Cf.*  
 Yd. *cōke'na*.  
*sōk* Y, Sk., *sōkr* Sk., *sōkr* Sh., *sō'orx*  
 X, W red; *sōk* X white(!). — *Cf.*  
 Yd. *surx*.  
*skōrc*, v. *skōrc*.  
*skōrd* Y, *skōrd* Sk., Sh., Kl., *īskōrc*(?)  
 X bridge; *skōrd* Sh. eyelash (also  
*Sar. yeid* bridge, eyelash, *cf.*  
 semantically Schrijnen, KZ., 50,  
 144) < \**skadra-* \*plank, *cf.* W-P, s.v.  
*sqed*?  
*skurf* Y rough.  
*sēkvē'dēt*(?) Y in: *xalg wuz s° goxum*  
 I send somebody.  
*sāl* X, *sāl* Sh. year. — *Prs.*  
*sāl* X walk, promenade. — *Ar.-Prs.*  
*salām* X salutation. — s° *guxt*, *žat*.  
 — *Ar.-Prs.*  
*sal'mā* X bird-net attached to a stick.  
 — *Prs.*



- sal'lōt Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
 • sul'tān X king. — Ar.-Prs.  
 sam L edge. — Also in Werchikwar.  
 sām W, sūm Sh., sūmb Be. hoof. —  
 sām, etc. fr. Prs.?  
 simbu'lā X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.  
 sām'bōnak Y, 'bānak Sk., saṅbā'nak Hj.  
 pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd. xasmānak.  
 sām'vōr Y, sanvar St., sīvar L, sīvar Sh.,  
 saval Be. yoke. — < \*sami-bara-  
 cf. Yd.—Mj. sām.  
 san-: sat- Kl. to mount, ascend, *bolo*  
*barūmadan*. — Sogd. *san-*. Cf. also  
 Bailey, BSOS. IX, 77.  
 'eina, sī'nā X female breast; sī'nā Sk.  
 (W.Wk.) breast. — Prs.  
 san'dug Y, sōn° X box. — Ar.-Prs.  
 sin'dōn X, san'dāl Sh. anvil. — Prs.  
 sō'nōr°) N daughter-in-law. — Prs.  
 sōnōr°) Sk. thin, narrow (thing).  
 saṅgbu'qā Sk. tortoise. — Prs.  
 saṅgurt L, singurt Sh. beetle. — *saṅ*  
*stone* + \*wart'r'a- 'armour'?  
 spa, v. sak.  
 sup L spider.  
 spēð/ðk L sole of foot. — ? + *padyaka*.  
 span-: spat to fill up (of river). — Denom.  
 < \*us parnā.  
 s'pūndr Y, sipund'r X, spūn° Sk. plough-  
 share; spundr Sh. plough. — < \*spōnr  
 < \*spārana-, cf. Shgh., Rosh. *sepōrn* Z.  
 s'pōr X ploughshare. — Prs.  
 s'pōrdānj Y, spōr'danj Sk., spardanj Sh.  
 flea. — < \*spardana-ē-, cf. Av.  
 spōrd- eagerness, Old Norse *spradka*  
 to kick, flounder, etc. (cf. Tomaschek,  
 p. 769).  
 sprōy Sk., spray Sh., sprōy Kl. flower.  
 — Cf. Khaw. lw. *isprū*, Av. *fra-*  
*sparāya-* a shoot, Sogd. *spry-* to  
 blossom. V. *sprez-*.

- s'purz Y spleen. — Prs.  
 sprez- L to blossom. — Cf. Khaw. lw.  
*isprez-* to blossom, Sak. *haspalja-*  
 to cause to blossom. V. *sprōy*.  
 s'pazk Y rafter. — Cf. Shgh. *s'pāsc*.  
 sar Y, N. sār Sk., sār Sh., sōr X, sīr W  
 head. — Prs.  
 sōr L heap of winnowed grain.  
 sīr Y, Sk., sūr Sh., sūr St. cold. — Cf.  
 Av. *sāra-sti-* cold fever. — V. *wasēr*.  
 sū'ri Sk. cold (noun). — Kl. *sūrēy*.  
 sor-ēibaxt W back of the head. — V.  
*ēibaxt*.  
 sōrding'i X of this year. — Cf. Av.  
*sarāda-*, etc. V. *parōing'i*, *teu'serd*.  
 'sārak Sk. to-morrow. — From Ar.-Prs.  
*sahar*.  
 sar'mō Sk. cold. — Prs.  
 sērē Sh. hole, sarē Be. pit. — Cf. Yd. *sare*.  
 sor'xā X male markhor. — Cf. Ishk.  
*suxā*, and also Sar. *rūst yūej* red  
 deer, markhor. — \*Prs.  
 sās(ē) Y, Sh., sās X, sāyis Sk. you (pl.).  
 — sāsīt kūi? who are you? sās cizir  
 māz dīej? why do you beat me?  
 sās cerak īzē yāvor? what kind of  
 food do you eat? sās yupk pōvō  
 you drink water; sak sāv dinen we  
 beat you; yem xūn sāvan this house  
 is yours Y; sās kūi tūet? who are  
 you? sās īzē yavit-a? do you eat  
 bread? sās cum nafar wez? how  
 many of you have come? wuz sās  
 dīmim I beat you; i deyd saban tūet  
 you had a daughter; ayem xōn  
 safan-a? is this house yours? safan  
 dī'or ce 'kuman? deh i šumā kudān  
 ast? wuz sabar . . . rūndēm I give  
 you . . . X; cf. L (Bar. Texts, p. 341)  
 \*sābe; W *tumux* (I) is Ishk. — Cf.  
 § 118 sq.

*stau*: *staudi*- L, *sto*-, *sitao*: *stod*- Sh.  
to praise. — Cf. Sar. *stāu*-, Prs. *sitūdan*.  
*sāl* Sh. baking pan, slate. — < \**sāta*-  
flat, smooth? Cf. Yd. *sāl*. V. *sud̄y*.  
*sō'al* Sk. hour. — Ar.-Prs.  
*satk* Y, *setk* L, Sh., *sōk* Kl. satisfied. —  
*satk-um vitei*. — Ir. \**sitaka*- supports  
the transl. of *šitā*- RV. VIII, 23, 13  
as 'satisfied'.  
*'stīn* Y, *sītin* X, *stīn* W post, pillar. —  
Cf. Sgl. \**stīn*.  
*si'tār* Y, °*or* X, *istora* N, *stōr* Sk., *stār*  
Sh., *s'tōr* Z, *'stiruk* W (Ishk),  
"sōlhroog" (= \**sstrug*) Olufsen star.  
— Prs.?  
*s'trei* Y, *strōi* Sk., *strēi* Sh. female. —  
*'stroi-pūrkh* Sk. she-mouse. — Cf. Or.  
*s'trēij*, Sar. *stīr*, Av. *strī*-. — Wkh.  
(and Or.?) point to Ir. \**stray*(ī), a  
form unknown elsewhere. — Hj. *šōč*  
(in *purk-šōč*) is an Ishk. form, and  
its existence in Wkh. is denied by Sk.  
*s(r)trīn* L barren, childless. — \**stari-nī*-.  
Cf. Skr. *starī*-, Prs. *astarvan* (Horn  
716).  
*stranj* L cotton carpet, "durree". —  
\**staranačī*-.  
*strās*- Sh. to be splashed up. — Cf. Sar.  
*zatrās*-, \**us-tras*- 'to be frightened,  
stirred up'?  
*stōrs* L plough-share.  
*s't'āx* Y, *isteā* X, *stōx* Sk., Kl. daughter-  
in-law, cf. *'stakh bidganz*' (= \**stāx*  
*vīkanj*) Be. bride. — Cf. Yd. *zīnro*.  
*s'tūy*-. *stolt*- Sk., *stūy*-. *stalt* Sh. to send.  
— *stū'yāk*, *stū'yatk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl.  
*āstay*-.  
*savand cor*- L to throw away. — \**haḡa*-  
*dwan* + *ta*-. Cf. Orm.k. *cīcan*- to  
shake.

*sāvz* Y, *savz* Sh., *sāvz* *šīy* Sk. blue;  
*sāvz* Sk. green. — Prs.  
*sāw*-. *sōwēd* Sk., *sāy*-. *sāmd* Hj. to rub.  
— 'sōyēm' (corr. from *sījēm*), *sīyēd*,  
*sīno*, 'sōwēm, *sū'wak*, °*wōtk* Sk. —  
Cf. Yd. *sā*-, Sgl. *sāmb*-.  
*sa'wār* X horseman. — Prs.  
*suwz*- L to rub; *suw*-. *sōxt* Sh., *sōx*- Z  
to smear, jostle.  
*sō'xan* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*sōy*- Sk. to be unmarried. — *sōyēm*,  
*sōy*, *sōy*! *sōyēm tū* (not *sōidēm*, nor  
inf. or past. etc.). — Cf. Lith. *šeirga*  
widower, and Oss. *si/ējār*, Kurd. *stōi*  
orphan, v. Henning, Mir. Man. III,  
61, s.v. *syeg*.  
*'sāya* Y, *'saya* X shade. — Prs.  
*sauza* Y, *sovz* X, *sabza* W, *sav'zā* Sk.  
grass. — Prs.  
*sūz* Sh. a cold blast; *soz* cool. — Cf.  
Sar. *sauz*, fr. Prs. *sōz*-.  
*sauz'tūtī* X n. of a bird (green parrot?).  
— \*Prs.

## Š

*sāi* Y fat, rich. — Av. *xsāya*- ruler. Cf.  
Shgh. *šayēn* pl. "khans".  
*šui* St. moraine, place covered with  
stones. — Cf. Skr. *kṣaya*- waste, decay?  
*šac* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh., etc. dog. —  
< fem. \**šwacī*(?) v. § 33.  
*šād*<sup>1</sup>) Y, X, N, Sk., *šāš* W, L, Sh., *šāš*  
Kl., *šāl* H six. — Cf. § 116.  
*šād*<sup>2</sup>) Sk. open enclosure for goats and  
sheep. — If š-, possibly = Bartangi  
*šōč* < \**srāda*-. But *ā* < \**ā*?  
*itō* L uphill, *šōš* Sh. steep, *paš*<sup>c</sup> uphill.  
*šaf'tolu* X peach. — Prs.  
*šōjd* Kl. sort, class, *xēl*.  
*ša'yor* W hedgehog. — Lw? Cf. Yd.  
*ša'yor*.



"syri" (?) Sk. ibex (Swedish "stenget").  
*šau'har* X, *šauar* Sh. husband. — Prs.  
*šū'jī* X, *šau'zi* W hip. — Cf. Sgl.  
*šau'zi*.

*šak* Y, Sk., St., *šāk* Sh. bad. — Cf.  
*Ishk. šakk*.

*škop* L. castrated (ox). — IE (*š*)*gop-*  
 (Walde-Pokorny, II, 559) to cut, etc.,  
 (cf. especially Slav. *skopiti* to castrate).

*škūrg-*: *škūrā* Sk. (reg.), *škūr-*: *škūrā*-  
 Sh. to seek. — Cf. *Ishk. škarr*, Yd.  
*škōr*, Sar. *škār*.

*škāv-*: *škūrā* (*škō'rāk*, *ō'rotk*) Sk. to catch  
 a cold. — *škāfk* fever. — Cf. *Ishk.*  
*škōr*.

*šilē*, *š* L, *šilē* Sh. cloven hoof.

*šōlg* Sh. piece of brick. — Cf. Sar. *šalg*.

*šilāp-* Sh. to splash, slop, surge. — Cf.  
 Sar. *wašlāb-*. — Cf. Brahui *šalāping*  
 to dabble something in water, fr.  
 Bal.??

*šilax* Y, *šilaš* Sh. naked. — Cf. Yd.  
*šilāx*.

*šolx* Y, *šolē* X, *šolx* Sh., St., *šalx* B  
 but *šāx* W, *šōx* Sk. branch. — Prs.,  
 but with unexplained *l*.

*šām* Y evening. — Prs.

*šem-*: *ševd* L to beat and clean wool.

*šām'bāf* W spider. — \*Prs.

*šā'māl* Sk. north, *šā'māl*, *šā'* wind (W. Wkh.).  
 — Ar.-Prs.

*šāmōnak* L branch.

*šōna* X, *šā'* N shoulder. — Prs.

*šāndi*: *šāndi* (*šāndi* misprint?) Sh.  
 to mix, compound, rub up in water.  
*šāndik* L a kind of vine, grape.

*šundr* Sk., *šund'r* L, *šūndr* Sh., *šundrēy*  
 Kl. hot (acc. to Sk. only about the  
 weather). — Cf. *Shund* (Olufsen) n. of  
 a vill., v. § 5. Possibly < \**kūon-ro*-  
 or \**kūondh-ro* (not \**kūontro*, cf. s.v.

*mutr*), cf. Arm. *šand* 'spark, red-hot  
 iron' < \**kuepti*??

*šundri* Sk. heat.

*šenawa'rī* X, *šā'nōwa'rē* Sk. swimming.  
 — Prs.

*šiq* L wedge for plough-share.

*šāp-* Sh. to suck the breast. — Cf. Yd.  
*šuv-*.

*šop* Be. knife; whey(?)

*šūp* L night's halt; *šub'r hafak* Sh. to  
 pass the night (= Sar. *šābar reidao*).  
 — Cf. Av. *šāp-*, etc. Note the di-  
 stinction between *šūp* and *na'yd*.

*špudk* L bare footed. — Cf. Bal. *šafud*,  
 \**šawād* (Mayer), Brahui (lw.) *šapād*.  
 But what is *š(a)*?

*šipk* L twig, *šōpk* Sh. rod. — Cf. Sar.  
*šēib*. — V. s.v. *rašip*. — Or cf. Skr.  
*kāpaka* bush, shrub?

*špū'wan* L, *špūn* Sh. shepherd. — Cf.  
 Prs. *šubān*, etc.

*šāupa'rak* Y, *šā'k* W, *šāpārak* Sh. bat.  
 — Prs.

*šapt*, v. *šapt*.

*šaptal* X clover. — Prs.

*špazuv-* L to make explode.

*šār* Sk. town. — Prs.

*šār* Sh. to slander. — Cf. Sar. *šār*.

*šār* W tiger (?), Sk. lion. — Prs.

*šār*, *šār* Y, *šār* L, *šār* X, *šarum* X  
 cowdung; *šārm* W horsedung. —  
*šār(u)m* fr. *Ishk.* (v.s.v.) *šār* < \**šāra*-  
 from *šā(y)* (AfrWb. s.v. *frašāimna*),  
 cf. formally Skr. *kārá-* from *kā(y)ati*.

*šārm* Sk. shame. — Prs.

*šārmin'da* Sk. ashamed, *šarmindagi*  
 shame. — *šārmin'da na* 'no shame'  
 — Prs.

*šā'gin* X sweet. — Prs.

*šāršārā* Y, *šāršārā* X waterfall; *šāršārā*  
 Sk. waterfall in small streams. — Prs.

§

*šur'vā* Y, *ṛvā* X, *šur'vō* Sk. soup. — Prs.  
*šir'raw*: *šir'rand* Sh. to tell one's beads.  
 — Cf. Sar. *našrāw*. — < \**srāwaya*?  
*šiš* Y, X, Sh., Z louse. — Cf. Yd. *spūo*.  
*šāt* W honey. — Ar.-Prs.  
*šot* v. *šot*.  
*šot* L early evening meal.  
*šot* Sh. landslip. — Skr. *kṣati*-destruction?  
 Cf., semant., Khov. *hon* inundation  
 < Skr. *hanu*.  
*štik* Sk., *štik* L, *š(e)tg* Hj. play, joke;  
*šitik* (Olufsen) game played with bone  
 pegs. — Cf. Khov. *išfuk*, *ištoq*.  
*štik* Sk. murderer. — V. *šay*.  
*štir* v. *ištir*.  
*štir* Gr. calf. — Cf. Ishk. *štur*.  
*štrāf* L, *štrōf* Sh. to sneeze.  
*štrax* L to knock against, *štrāx* Sh. to trip  
 up, *štrāx* to impinge, brush against.  
*šattu* X sole of the foot.  
*šivēn* Y, *šivēn* X, *šivan* Sh., Be. rope;  
*ševun* Sk. cord. — Fr. Khov. *šimeni*.  
*šme*: *šaud* L to gnaw. — < \**ššaw*.  
 Cf. Ishk. *šaw* to chew (Zar.).  
*šax* W branch; *šox* X horn. — Prs. V. *šolx*.  
*šux* Y, Z, *šok* X hard; *šux* *šak* Sh. to  
 tighten. — Cf. Sgl. *šax*.  
*šaxək* Sk. hail. — V. *šax*.  
*šxēlān* Sh. whistle. — Onomatopoeitic,  
 cf. Prs. *šipēl*, etc., Psht. *špēlai*.  
*šaxs* L, *šaxs* Sh., *šaxs* Kl. to pass  
 through. — Note: *yi šōat* 'šaxsətk  
 one hour has passed, Kl. p. 94. —  
 Cf. Sgl. *šaxs*.  
*šay* X, *šay*: *šit* Y, *šay*: *šitt* Sk., Kl.,  
*šay*: *šitt* Sh. to kill. — *wuz i xalg*  
*šayem*; *wuz i xalg-em šitei* Y; *kūi*  
*šayum* I kill somebody X; 'šayem,  
*šit*(f), *šay* 'šittom, *šayūk*, *šayatk* (šitk)  
 Sk. — Cf. Av. *xšay* to destroy(?).  
 Bal. *šay* to devour, shear.

*šou* Y, *šū* N, *šau* W, *šou* Sk., *šao* Sh.,  
*šēu* Z horn. — Cf. Sgl. *šou*.  
*štu* Y, X, *šue* Sk., *šū* L, *šū* Sh., *xūi* W  
 black. — *štu jitr* X; *šui-čirāk* Oluf-  
 sen torch. — Cf. Sgl. *šūi*, Khov. *šā*.  
*šacūv* Sh. to filter, strain. — Derivation  
 from \**srač*, cf. Lith. *šlaketi* 'to drip',  
 is improbable.  
*šafš* Y, Kl., *šatp* X, *šafē* N, *šafš* Sk.,  
 Sh., *šifafš* L hair (acc. to Olufsen, p. 71  
 "shafch" are the two long plaits  
 worn by married women). — Cf. Prs.  
*šafš*, thin branch, *šifša*, id., ringlet;  
 Phl. Psalter *špēy* rod. — Assim. from  
 \**šafš*?  
*šayd* Y, *šayde* X, *šōyd* Sh. new. — Cf.  
 Shgh. (Sk.) *ševdā* the younger?  
*šak* L, *šak* Sk. white frost, dew. — Cf.  
 Ishk. *šok*, Sar. *šok*.  
*škendiv*: *škat* Y, *iškang* X, *škendv*:  
*škendōv* Sk., *škōndv* Kl., *škend* L,  
*škōnd*: *škōtt* (inf. *škōdan*) Sh. to break  
 (tr.); *škat*, *šken* L, *škūr*: *škōnd* Sh.  
 to break (intr.); *škōn*: *škōnd* Sh. to  
 quench one's thirst; caus. *škašuv*  
 Sh. — *šungī škendivem* I break a stick  
 Y. — Cf. Yd. *skēd*.  
*škupn* Sh. sling.  
*škōrē* Y, Kl., *škōrē* L, *škōrē* Be. burning  
 coal. — Cf. Psht. *škōr*, etc.  
*štn* Y, *štg* X anus; *tam štn* Sh., *sak-štn*  
 St. podex. — Cf. Yd. *štno*.  
*šnd* L, *šōnd* Sh. raven. — Cf. Khov.  
 (Iw.) *šonthu*, Oss. *sint*; Saka *šund*.  
*šendik* L gums. — But cf. *šendik*  
 vine.  
*šūng* Y, X, *šūng* N, Sk., L, Sh.  
 wood, stick. — Cf. Yazgh. *šang*,  
 Sak. *šingya* branch; Skr. *šrngā*.



- Khov. (lw.) *srung* horn. — Cf. semantically Prs. *šax*, Par. *šī* horn, branch. — V. EVP. s.v. *šaxgarai*.
- šunj* Y, *šunj* Sk., L, *šunj* Sh., *ša'inj* L hip. (Sh. also flank, side). — Cf. Prs. dial. *ša'inj* < \**sraoniči*. V. *šin*.
- šəŋ'gar* Y, *šəŋ'gar*, *šəŋ* Sk., *šəŋ'ger* L, *šingar* Be. guts. — Cf. Khov. *šəŋgür* (lw.?). — < \**strang(a)ra*, cf. Engl. *string*, Gr. *στραγγάλη* *string*, etc.?
- šūpiš* Y n. of an animal resembling an otter, with valuable fur. — *šū-piš* = black cat?
- šapt*, *šāft* X, *šapt* N, Sk., L, Sh. wolf. — Cf. Sar. *šāp*. Early lw. from Khov. *ša'pīr* < *šapīra* cursed. Cf. §§ 10, 37.
- šāš* L, *šāš* Sh., *šāš* Kl. near. — *spā-šāš* Sk. — < \**śriṣṇa*-clinging to?
- šūš* Y, L, *šūš* X, Sk., *šūš* N, *šūš* W, *šūš* Sh., Z lungs. — Prs.
- šūš-dard* Sk. inflammation of the lungs. — Prs.
- šūšk* Y, X, *šūšk* Sk., *šūšk* Sh., Olufsen (p. 69), *šūšk/šk* L high boots made of untanned leather.
- šet* Y, *šet* X, *šet* Sh., St. earth, soil; *šet* Sk. dust. — Cf. Sgl. *šet*.
- šəš* Y, *šəš* X, *šəš* Sh. pea, *mušung*; *šax* Sk. bean. — Cf. Bartangi, etc.
- šāš* Sk. bean.

## T

- tu* Y, X, Sk., Sh., *tə* W thou. — *tu t kūt*? who art thou? *tu mar kitāb* rand give me a book; *wuz tau dīmam* I beat thee; *yem xūn tinen* this house is thine; *niv ti zik kəyem* now I hear thy voice; *wuz tar kitāb randəm* I give thee a book; *yimē šetəm tārek*

I gave it to thee Y; *tu kūt*? who art thou? *tu be wuzum* bring it; *wuz ti (tau) dīmam* I beat thee; *tu xōnan ti xōn lup* thy house is bigger than mine; *yau xōn tinen* that house is thine; *tinan čis yark tu?* was there any work for thee? *tina rūpia dərəm* I take money from thee; *wuz tawar i rūpia rāndəm* I give thee one rupee; *uz tawarke rursat gušum* I give thee leave; *wuz tary dišam* I know thee; *tark cobas kāyaz gošum* I give thee a letter back X; *tə nūng* thy name Sk.; *tafak* thee W (= Ishk.). — Cf. § 118 sq.

*tei*: *tu*. X, Sh., *tai*: *tū* Sk., *thei*: *tho* (tinetk) L to be. — *čiš xabar tei?* what is the matter? *nong S. tu* his name was S.; *you mirāxūr tū* he had a groom; *'pādšā tū'et* there was a king; *tinan i degde tūet* you had a daughter; *xūb maza tū'et* it tasted good (prob. with *tū'et* for pl. ptc. \**tūetk*); but *saš kūi tūet?* who are you? (prob. with *tūet* 2 pl., cf. § 154) X; *təyem, tai* (there is), *tai, tū(m)*, (2 sg. *tūt*; 3 sg. *tū*, 1 pl. *sāken tū*), *tə'ydk, tūtk/tə'ydk* Sk.; *'tənon tai* I have Sk. — Probably of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai* he is, etc. V. *hūmū*.

- tōi* Y, X, W, Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*.
- tūi* Sk. wedding. — Prs.
- toba'lā* Sk. grazing ground. — \*Prs.
- tablar'zū* Sk. fever. — Prs.
- tōbo/is'ten* Sk. summer. — Prs.
- tač* Sk. to go; *tōč*: *tōč* Sh. to move, shift. — Sk. only in *tač* imper. 2 sg. — \**tačya*, cf. Sar. *tej*-, Shgh. *fiz*-, Ishk. *təyč*, and Wkh. *tukan, tačd* (v. s.v. *čāuc*).

*tūf* Sk., Sh. steam. — Prs.

*tuf* Y, Sh., *tūf* Sk. saliva. — Prs.

*tūy* Y, N, Sk., Sh., *tūg* X she-goat (Y, X also female ibex). — Cf. Par. *tōy* male mountain goat. Wkh. *y* disproves immediate connection with Turk.-Prs. *taka* he-goat. — V. *tux*.

*tūyd* L, *tūyd* Sh. sharp. — \**tiata*, Sar. *tāid*; cf. E.Oss. *ciyd* cheese (Müller, p. 25), Skr. *tiaktā* bitter.

*taṣam* L, *taṣm* Sh., *taṣm* Z, *tēym* W (Isbk. seed). — V. *tuzm*. — Cf. Yd. *tuy<sup>m</sup>*.

*tāk* Sk. button.

*tāki* Y, *tqi* Sh. full, much, many. — *xalgi tāki xāc yāwan* many people eat bread.

*tāge* Sk. cap. — Prs.

*tō'ko* X alone. — *wuz-um t'*. — Prs., cf. Yd. *toko*.

*tik* Sk., *tuk* Sh. willow; *teik* Capus *tāk* Kl. tree. — Tomaschek (s. 791) comp. Skr. *toka* shoot. But cf. Prs. *tāk* vine, *tāy* tree, *tōy* n. of a certain wood; Psht. *tāya* elm, poplar. V. Nyberg, MO, 25, 189. Wkh. *i* cannot go back to an.

*tō'qūm* Sk. donkey's saddle. — Turki.

*tōkīyā* Y pillow. — Ar.-Prs.

*tōgat'dōr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.

*tīlā* Y, °o X, *tillā* Sk., Sh. gold. — Prs.

*tīl'pak* Y, °ek X woollen cap. — Turki, cf. Shgh. *talpak*.

*talx* Y bitter. — Prs.

*tām'bān* Y, *tām'bān* X, *tūmbān* Sh. trousers; *tūmbān* Olafsen cotton breeches. — Prs.

*ta,mō'kū* Sk. tobacco. — Prs.

*tō'mūs* Sk. July. — Ar.-Prs.

*tan* Sk. body. — Prs.

35 — Kulturforskning.

*tanē* Sh. to fold (sheep). — Cf. Sogd.

*tyng-* to bring (Reichelt, Stud. Indo-Ir. 251 < *ati-nay*)?

*tun*: *tond* L to work dough with hands into cakes of bread. — < *tan*- to spread out?

*tan'dūr* Y, *tun'dur* Sk., *tūngūr* Sh. thunder. — Prs.

*tang* Y, X, Sk. narrow. — Prs.

*ton* X, *tung* Sh. hard.

*tap* Y, B, *tp* X wing. — Cf. Rosh. *tēf* Sk. V. *tāp*.

*tāp*:- *tapt* Sh. to quake, shake. — Prs.

*tapeē cor* L to water.

*tapk* v. *pātk*.

*tāpik* Y forehead.

*tpār* Y, *tī°* Sh., *tpār* Sk., *ta'bar* X (Prs.) axe. — Cf. Yd. *tu'vor*.

*trāi* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh., *trāi* W three. — Cf. § 116.

*ta'ri* X very wet. — Prs.

*tō'rīl* Sk. thither; *tō'rot* Sk. there. — V. § 133.

*tōr* Sh. net. — Prob. Prs.; but Sar. *tur* id. seems to be genuine, cf. Yd. *tūr*.

*tōr* Sk. neck, *tōr* St. back of the head. — Cf. Sogd. *tār*, Sak. *tāra* forehead.

Prs. *tāra* crown of the head. V. *tārak*.

*tōr* Y, Sk., *tōr* Sh., *tōr* L walnut.

*tar'bīz* Sk. melon. — Prs.

*tau'riē* Y roof-board.

*tī'riē* L dark. — \**tādriya-ēi*?

*tīr-t-dast* Y, *tīr* X arrow. — Prs.

*tārak* W collar-bone. — But Prs. *tārak* top of the head. V. *tōr*.

*tō'rik* X, °ik Sk. dark; *tō'rīkī* Sk. darkness. — Prs.

*trakē* L bitter; *trakē* B insipid; *trac* St. bitter, bad-tasting; *tracē* Sh. bad-tasting. — From IA., cf. Khaw. *trōk* bitter?



- tə'rəm* Sk. hither. — Cf. § 133.  
*tira'mə* Sk. autumn. — Prs.  
*tər'mis* Y formerly, before. — V. *mis*.  
*trāṅg* Sk. girth-strap. — Cf. Yd. *trōk*.  
*triṅ* X sour milk. — Fr. Khaw. *trīn*.  
*tur'piču* X n. of a bird, *turpiču*.  
*trīš* Sk. sour milk. — *pāi trīš*. — Prs.  
*tarš* Y adze. — Prs.  
*trəp* Y, *trəp* L, *trəp* Z, *trəp* Sh., *trūš* X (Prs.) sour; *tuṅp* Sk. = *q'rīt*. — Cf. Yd. *trəp*.  
*tört* Y the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow; *tört* X, *törtur* B., *törtörək* Hj. to-morrow; *tört* B the day before yesterday; the day after to-morrow. — < \**tyta*- third (not found elsewhere in Ir.)? But there is no other instance of Wkh. or < *r*.  
*tört* L, *türt* Sh. ford. — Prob. from Khaw. *thürt*.  
*trā'zū* Y, *tarā'zē* Sk. scales. — *t° xāṣəm* Y I weigh. — Prs.  
*tə'sken* W instep.  
*tasma-kaš* W knife. — \*Prs. ('strap-cutter', cf. Wkh. *šāš*- to cut?).  
*tīš* W iron(?) — Cf. Bur. *tīš* plough-share < Wkh.?  
*tīša* X adze. — Prs.  
*tāš* Sk., *tāš/ə* L empty; *tūš*- Sh., *tāš* car-Sk. to empty out. — < \**tus(s)ya*- (cf. Nyberg, Stud. Indo-Ir., 214 sq.). — Cf. Sgl. *tāš*.  
*təš* L steam. — \**taššya*?  
*tīš*:- *tāšt*- Y, *tūš*- X to shave; *tūš*:- *tāšt*- L to fashion with an axe; *tūš*:- *tāšt* Sh. to cut, whittle. — Cf. Mj. *tīš*:-  
*tāt* Y, X, *tāt* Sk., Sh., *tāt* W (Isbk.) father. — *yeu tate nong* Y his father's name. — Cf. Yd. *tāt*.

- tāt* Y, X, W, N, *tāt* Sk. mulberry. — Prs.  
*tə'vārt* Sk., *titrucart* L the year before last. < \**tərt*, v. *tört*, *vārt* < \**par(u)t?* *thede*, v. *thāu*:-  
*ta'wil* X stable. — *cebūr yaš yōwer t° vit* he had four horses in the stable; *t° gožum*. — Prs.  
*toxtor* X cough. — *t° gužəm*. — V. *qōx*.  
*tux* Sk. ram (W. Wkh.). — V. *tūy*.  
*tuxon* Y, *tuxəm* X single grain. — Prs. V. *layom*.  
*tə'mory* Y, Sk., *tuxm-i-mury* N, *tuxmury* St. egg. — Prs.  
*təx'šim* car- X to divide. — Ar.-Prs. — With *š* from *bašš*?  
*taš* Y, *tāx* Sh., *təxm* Sk. thirsty. — *təxm vitk* is thirsty. — \**tyāma*? Cf. Yd. *tāna*.  
*tīz* Y, X sharp. — *tēz* car- Sk. to whet. — Prs.  
*tōš*- L to remain, continue.

⊖

- šin* Y, B, *sin* X hot. — < \**šan* < \**šafnu*?  
*šerd* L spots (of leopard). Cf. *šard* multicoloured.  
*širs* L, v. *šors*.  
*šūt* L, "thót" Be. lizard. — \**šati* = Prs. *šad* wild animal?  
*šāu*:- *šit* Sk., *šau*:- *šett* Sh., *šet*- Y to burn (intr.), *šāu*:- *šāuword* (tr.) Sh. — *šit* pres. 3 sg., *rəxniṅ šetēi* the fire burned Y; *šu pizū thede* X my heart burned; *šāuṅum, šit, šāu!* *šitum, šāu'wāk, šāu'wətk* Sk. (intr.); *šāuṅum, šit, šāu!* *šitum* Sk. (caus.) to kindle a fire. — Cf. Sar. *šau*:- *šūd*. < *tap*? V. § 27.

## V

*vōc* Y paternal aunt; Sh. maternal aunt.  
*vič-ung* Sh. outside; *tar-vič* outside (adv.).

— Cf. Sar. *vāc-enj*, etc.; Sogd. *βyky* outside; Av. *\*aičyač-*, cf. *aičitarō* outside. — Not with Bailey (BSOS. 6, 73) with original *u-*.

*vōdek* Y, *bi'dek* X, *v'ice'dek* L, *vaḍak* Sh., *waḍuk* St., *vō'dok* Sk., 'dook' Bi. road, path. — Possibly < *\*abi-taka-*, cf. Saka *ēvātā(ka)* street. Scarcely < *\*ā-bda ka*, cf. Mj. *ōv/ed* ford; Av. *abda-* not to be trodden (?), Mokr. Bal. *badūk* impassable place on sea beach.

*viḍāc-*: *viḍett-* L, Sh. to ride. — *\*abi-daw-*, cf. Prs. *dawīdan*.

*vā'zē* W long hair (?).

*vā'zēd* Sk., *vā'zēd* Sh. nightmare. — Cf. Ishk. *vā'zēd*.

*vūl* Sk., Sh. smell; *vūl-* Sk. to smell. — *vūlēm*, *vūlī*, *vūl cart*, *vūlēm*, *vūlāv*, *vūl car!* *vūl kartēm* to smell (abstract); *'vūl carēm*, *v<sup>o</sup> cart*, *v<sup>o</sup> kartēm* to smell (concrete) Sk. — From a dialect with *l* < *ḍ*, cf. § 36.

*vōin* X light, *čirōy*; *vōin* Sh. light, radiance. — Cf. Sar. *vōin*. < *\*bāhant*, cf. Saka *bāy* ray?

*vānd-*: *vāst-* Y, Sh., *vand-*: *vast-* Sk., *vand-* X to bind. — *vandēm*, *vand*, *vand!* *vastēm*, *vōn'dak*, *vōn'dok* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *vad-*.

*vūr* Sk., *vūr* L, Kl. burden; *vūr* Sh. load, baggage. — Cf. Yd. *vīra*.

*vōrau* Y, *vōrū* X, N, *vōru* Sk., *varāo* Sh., *vōrūc* Z, *vōcēr* (!) W eyebrow. — < *\*brāuca-*, cf. Yd. *vriyo*; Saka *brau-sāra-*.

*v/wardenz-* L to press, *wardenz-*: *varbēgn-* Sh. to press down. — < *\*abi-dhanj-*.

*vōrōk* Y, Sk., *varok* Sh. to-morrow. —

If < *\*aparaka-* (Tomaschek, p. 750) •

the word must belong to a dialect with *p* > *v*. But cf. W. Yaghn. *fōrōk* (E. Yaghn. *fōrōnto*), Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 126, with *\*fr-*.

*vrokš* Sh. male Ovis Poli. — Cf. *dvrukš*, *yukš*.

*varin-*: *varitt-* Sh. to shear. — Cf. Av. *bray-* (*brin-*), Prs. *burridan*, Keshe *brin-*, etc.

*'vārand-*: *'vāratt-* (*vōrēm'dāk*) Sk., *'vārāt* Sh. to abuse, scold. — Cf. Sar. *rān-*, Ishk. *vōrōn-*. — If < *\*brand-*, cf. Walde-Pokorny II, 216 *bhlendh-*, e.g. Old Slav. *bļedi* idle talk, etc.

*varenj* Sh. pregnant (animal). — Cf. Sar. *varinz* < *\*barana-čī*.

*vareš-*: *varešt-* Sh. to fry. — *varešt* < *\*brīšta-* (cf. EVP., s.v. *writ-*), with present *š* from the preter. Cf. Sar. *vīrz-*: *vīrzd* (with secondary preter.), Khov. *verenjē-* (lw.), Yd. *vroc-*.

*vōrit* Y, *brūt* X, *vrit* N, *vōrūt* W (Ishk.), *vrit* Sk., *vrit* Sh., Z, Kl., 'vuroot' Bi., *varit* Be., *varut* H, etc. brother. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.

*vritkēnd* Y, *brūtēnd* X brother's wife (?), *vritkēnd* Sk. wife's brother. — Cf. Prs. *birādar-zan* wife's brother. But cf. Sgl. *vriškuč*.

*vōritpōtē* Y brother's son.

*varūy-*: *varoid* Sh. to howl, bay together. — Cf. Sar. *varau-* < *\*brau-ya-*, cf. Av. *mrav-*? V. *ruy-*.

*vōrz* Y, Sk., *verz* X, *vōrz* Sh. long. — Cf. Sgl. *vōzdūk*.

*vōrz* Y, X, *vōrzik* Z pillow. — Cf. Sgl. *vōzd*, Yd. *vīrzand*.

*vašē* Y milk-pail.

*višie-*: *višēd* Y, *višū-(əm)* X, *'višēv-*:



*višond* (*višə'vak*) Sk., *višiv* L., *višūw*:  
*visioned* Sh. to sweep. — < \**abi-*  
*šwail*?

*vīt*, v. *wēc*.

*vez* X long hair(?).

*vīzam*: *vīzamd* Sh. to rub to powder.  
 — Sar. *vīzāmb* id.; cf. Yd. *vīzb*.  
 V. *wazem*.

*vīzvizak* N wasp.

## W

*wai* Sk. O.

*wā'el* W calf. — Scarcely a true Wkh.  
 word. Cf. Werchikwar *wee* < 1A.

*wōc*: *vīt* Sk., *wōc*: *vilt* Sh., *vīt* Y, X,  
 N, *bīt* X to become. — *wōcəm*, *wōst*,  
*wōc*, *vītk* Sk. — *wōzəm* (*satkəm*)  
*vīte* Y I have become hungry  
 (satisfied); *mālum ne vīt* it did not  
 become known; *sawār vīt* he mounted;  
*rušwart bīt* X he became happy;  
*rušn vīti* N it dawned. — *vīt* <  
*būta*, but *wōc*?

*wē* Sh. grab, moth.

*wūc* Y, X very high, Sk. up; *wuē* Sh.,  
 Kl. high; Sk. upper (*būla*); *wuētar*  
 Sk. higher. — Cf. Ishk. *wuē*.

*wuē* L., *wuē* Z, Kl., *wē* Sk., (*wē*) *wē* Sh.  
 arrow, bullet. — < \**wēc* < \**išwēc*?

*wād* Y, *wād* X, St., *wōd* Sk., *wōd* Sh.  
 watercourse, canal, 'aryq'; *wādō* Ol.  
 minor channel. — Sar. *wād*. Cf. Yd.  
*wōlo*.

*wōda* X time, period. — *dar wō-i* Sultān  
*Māmūd*. — Ar.-Prs.

*wūdg* Y, *wūdg* X, *wūdg* Sk., *wūdg* Sh.,  
*ūdg* St., etc. to-day. — *wūd nāyl* Y,  
*wūdg nāyl* Sk. to-night. — < \**adyaka*?

*wōdər*: *wōdōrd* (*wūdərak*) Sk. to have,  
 hold; *wūdūr*: *wōdōrd* Sh. to grasp,

seize. — Cf. Sar. *wādor*; Av. *ava-*  
*dar* adhibere.

*wād* L., *wād* Sh. handle of a tool. —  
 Cf. Sar. *wēd*. — Cf. Av. *vāda*.

*wādn* Sh. root-filament. — Poss. Psht.  
*wula* 'root, fibre' belongs here, and  
 not to Oss. *widag*.

*wāy* Sh. price. — From Khaw. *wāy*?  
 Cf. Yd. *hūy*.

*wāy* L., Sh. to bleat. — Sar. *wāy* id.;  
 Shgh. *wāy* to bellow.

*wā'jāb* N span. — Ar.-Prs.

*wagt* Sk. time. — 'mārək 'cūm w° 'ritik  
*ki 'wuzəm bē'mōr* = *wuzəm 'yā-wagt*  
*vītəm*, *bē'mōram* I have been ill for  
 a long time; *tārək (yau) cūm w° vītik*  
*ki tūt (yau) bē'mōr*. — Ar.-Prs. —  
 Cf. 'cūcaxt, 'tēcaxt.

*wō'let* W span. — Ishk. *wūdīt* (but note f).  
*wōlē* Sh., St. quail. — Cf. Ishk. *wōre*,  
 Prs. lexx. *wald*. Cf. §§ 48, 80.

*wōlən* L to shake (apricots). — Cf. Skr.  
*vī-dhunēti* to shake about?

*wātk* Y, *wōtk* Sk., *wōtk* W, *wātk* L.,  
*wētk* Sh., *wātk* Be. kidney; *wōtk*  
 St. liver. — Cf. Yd. *wūlyā*, Sgl. *wōtk*.

*wēn*: 'wēnd- Y, Sk., 'wēn- (*wē'netk*) X,  
*wēn*: *wēnd* Sh. to see. — *glnōt*  
*wēndəm* Y, 'wunuk *wēnetkīn* X I saw  
 (have seen) a dream; *tiz-ze zāyis*  
*wēndər?* what did you see? *wē'nāk*,  
*wē'netk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wēn*.

*wēndr* Y, Sk., Sh., *wund'r* X field. —  
 Acc. to Benveniste (v. Par. Voc. s.v.  
*yanir*) < \**awa-antarya*.

*wānj* X, Sh., *wānj* Sk. belly. — <  
 \**waniēn*, cf. Skr. *vanīṣṭhā*, Lat.  
*venter*, etc.?

*wēnek* Y, *wēn'dek* X, *ōk* Sk. marmot,  
*wēndek*. — \*Rad. Prs. Cf. Burush.  
*ainag* (< Wkh.?).

*icanok* L willow. — Cf. Sar. *icanūj*,

Shgh. *icān*, etc.

*icunuk* X dream (?).

*icū'ner* Y, *icūnōr* Kl., *icanar* Be., 'voīnerr'

Cap. stable, manger. — Shgh. *venir*.

*icā'ri* W lamb. — Ishk., v.s.v. *icorok*.

*icār* Y, *icar* Be. male oorial, *kiškār*;

L *icar* ram. — Cf. *icūrk*.

*icēra* Y, W, *icēla* X gums. — Prs., cf.

Sgl. *icē'rē*.

*icir* L single-handed (in family); Sh.

alone. — Cf. Skr. *acirā-* having no son or husband?

*icūr* Y, Be., *icūr* (cūr?) Sk., *icūr* Sh.

rain. — Cf. Av. *vār*.

*icorōc*: *icorān* Sk., to stay, remain;

*icōr*: *icorāt* L to remain; *icorē*: *icorēn* Sh. to remain, to be tired.

— *icorācōm*, *icorōst*, *icorād*! *icorānōm*,

*icorācōk*, *icorānōk* Sk.; *icorāc* Y,

*icorāc* X, *icorāc* Sk., *icorāc* Sh.

tired. — \**icorāc*, cf. Sgl. *foris*.

Cf. § 55.

*icord* Sk. tripe; *icord* L, *icord* Be. belly

(of animals). — Cf. Av. *icardēn*,

*icardēn*° soft, cf. German 'Weiche'.

*icirdīn* L clear (sky, weather). — <

\**icird*, cf. Yd. s.v. *loroyō*.

*icirdān* L mill-wheel. — Cf. Sogd. *icirān*

car, etc.

*icirōf*: *icirōf* (icirō'pāk, °pōk) Sk.

to stand; *icirōfāt* Y I am

standing; *icirōfāt*: *icirōfāt* (icirōfātē)

Sh., *icirōfāt*: *icirōfāt* L to stand, stop

(intr.). — Cf. Sar. *icirōfāt*, Shgh.

Voc. s.v. *icirūd*.

*icirg* L ridge between irrigation plots. —

< \**icirā-ka*, cf. Av. °*vāra* protection.

*icirgēš* Y, °*irg* X, *icirgēš* Be., *icirgēš*

Cap. big basket, *kojawa*.

*icork* L scar.

*icūrk* Y, X, N, St., *icork* Sk., *icark* Z.

lamb. — Cf. Sgl. *icorok*. V. *icari*.

*icart* L to knead (in washing cloth). —

Av. *icart* to turn.

*icārt* L mill-stone (in compos.). —

*icārtōr* w°, *icārt* w°. — Cf. Kurd.,

Prs. *icārt* stone; Khw. *icārt*, Lhd.

*icārt* stone, etc.

*icorw*: *icorād* L to water (before plough-

ing). — Cf. Skr. *icirācāya*?

*icorār* Sh. to flood; *icorāc* Sh. to

cause to flood; *icorāc* L to scatter.

*icorag* (s) L right hand. — Cf. Yd. *icorag*.

*icās* Y, *icās* Sh. main roof-beam; *icās*

Sk. ceiling. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. *icās*.

Poss. related to Skr. *icāśyā* beam,

rafter, v. EVP. s.v. *icāś*. V. s.v.

*icāś*.

*icāśi* Y, *icāśi* Z, *icāś* Sh. cotton thread.

— Cf. Ishk. *icāśi*.

*icis*: *icist* Sk., *icist* N to set (about

the sun). — Ir *icisti* the sun set N;

Ir *icist*, *icisti*, *icist*, *icist* Sk.

— Prob. < \**icisā*, with secondary

preter., cf. Yagho. *icis* to descend.

Not < Av. *icis* to enter (Geiger,

Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, 339, and Air.Wb. s.v.).

— Cf. Yd. *icis*.

*icask*, *icask* L revetting wall.

*icask* Y, Sk., *icask* Sh., *icask* Be., *icask*

Hj. dry; *icask* X, *icask* L thirsty. —

*icask bitim* I became thirsty X; *icask*

*icask*, *icask* I dry; *icask* cart Sk.

— Cf. Yd. *icask*. V. § 73.

*icaskāt* Sk. waistcoat. — Ind. fr. Engl.

*icaskāt*: *icaskāt* Sh. to cool, become cold.

— < \**icāc*, or *icisārya*, cf. *icir*. —

Parth. *icisārya*, Henning, BSOS, IX, 87.

*icisārd* Y, *icisārd* L this year. — V.

*icisārdi*.



*wist* Y, *wist* Sh. twenty. — Cf. Yd. *wisto*.  
*wistād* Sk. artisan. — Prs.  
*wisti* sar L bareheaded. — \**a-wastiya*-  
 un-clothed?  
*wōšdōn* L barn. — Cf. Sgl. *uš'tin*, Yd. *uš'čeno*. V. *wiž*.  
*wōšk* Y, *wōšk* Sk., *wōšk* X. Sh. calf. —  
 < \**wasya-ka*, cf. Sar. *wišk* calf,  
 Samnāni *vaškā* child. Cf. Sgl. *wōšōk*.  
 V. *waci*.  
*wōšik* X key, bolt; *wō'šik* Kl., *šik* Sh.  
 key; *šik* Sh. padlock. — Cf. Ishk.  
*wōkəz*?  
*wōšōg* L entire (bull). — < *wšānaka*?  
*wōšp* Y plough-pole. — Cf. Sgl. *āwīšp*.  
 — < *wi* *špā*, cf. Av. *spā* to throw?  
 Cf. *rešpuk*?  
*wōšūy*: *wōšan*- Sh. to untie; *wōš*:  
*wōšin*- Sh. to loose. — < \**wi-šāy*,  
 \**wi-šāna*, cf. Air.Wb. s.v. *hā'y*.  
*wōš* Y, *wōš* X, *wōš/x* Be. straw, *kāh-i*  
*sašed*; *ūš* Sk. hay; *wōš* Sh., *wōš* Z  
 grass. — Cf. Sar. *wōš* Sh. grass,  
 'wōšk' Be. corn-straw. Cf. Yd. *wōš*.  
*wō'šiy*: *wōšt* Y, *wōšim*(?): *wōš* X,  
 'wōši': *wōšt*- Sk. to be afraid. —  
 'wōšim, *wōšid*, (*wōšin*), *wōši* / *wōšim*,  
*wō'šak*, *wō'šōk* Sk.; 'wōšōv': 'wō'šōv  
 / *wōšōv*, *wōšō'vak* / *wōšō'wāk*, *wōšō*-  
 'vōk trans. Sk. — < \**wi-sriya*? Cf.  
 Orm. *yūš*, *yūšāš*, caus. *yūšāc*,  
*yūšāšew*?  
*wōtrin*: *wōtrist*- Sh. to shy; trans.  
*wōtrilw*. — < \**wi-trhna*.  
*wō'tōx* X ram. — V. *tāx*.  
*wōūx/š* L root. — Cf. Shgh. *wyāš*, etc.  
 V. *yāš*.  
*wōxār* Sh. ladder. — Cf. Khaw. *wār*, lw.?  
*wōx'tē* X once, at one time. — Ar.-Prs.  
 V. *wōqt*.

*wō'žen* Y, *w'žen* X, N, \**w'žen* Sk., *wō'žen*  
 Sh. blood; *wōš'žen* L blood vessel. —  
 < \**wahucani*- (cf. Barth. Mir. Md.,  
 V, p. 6). Not with Henning (ZII, p.  
 p. 227) < \**wōhun*.  
*wōyang* L pace.  
*wōytn* Sh., *wō'tn* H pass; *wōtn* LSI hill.  
 — *Wiyino* Sar 'Top of Pass' (in  
 Shimshal); *Zhoewiytn* 'Lake Pass'  
 Cockerill. — Cf. Sar. *wōyauun*. — <  
 \**wi-ayana*-, cf. Av. *ayanā*-, Skr. *vyā-*  
*yana*- going apart, *wi-i*- to go through,  
 traverse (e.g. RV. I, 50, 7; V, 18, 3).  
*wōz*: *wōšt*- (*wō'zak*) Sk., *wōz*: *wōšt*  
 (*wōšk*) Sh. to fall. — Cf. Sgl. *wōz*.  
*wōzi*: *wōzd*- Y, *wōze*: *wōzd*- X, *wōzi*:  
*wōzd*- Sk., *wōzi*: *wōzd* (*wōzg*) Sh.  
 to come. — *dōram* *wō'zāi* come here  
 Y; *ce'bas* *wōze* come back; *parinda*  
*dar ha'wā wōzil*; *wōzdm* 'āmadam';  
*tu ēis yarkōr wōzd*? for what purpose  
 did you come? *wōzegem* I have come;  
*wōz-um* *wōzget* X 'wōzim, *wōzil*, *wōzin*,  
*wōzle*, *wōzi*! *wōzdm*, *wōzi'yak*, *wō'zōk*  
 Sk.; *yot dāi ki 'wōzdei bāf* = I 'dāi  
*wōzdei bāf xalg* the man who came  
 is good; *'dōdi'ydēm dāi 'wōzdei* I saw  
 the man who came Sk. — < \**wz-aya*-  
 (but Av. *us-aya*- go out).  
*wōz* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh.; *aze* W (= Ishk.) I.  
 — *wōz tau dīmēm* I beat you; *wōz*  
*āed-em yitk-em* I ate bread; *tu mar*  
*kitāb rand* give me a book; *tu mārek*  
*kitābe dēlāi* you gave me a book;  
*yem ēz xūn* this is my house; *tu*  
*ēizir māš dī?* why do you beat me? Y;  
 'wōz(-um) *Wā'et* I am a Wakhi;  
*wōz sab dīmim* I beat you; *wz-um*  
*šinak* I have spoken; *wz...* *wōzdm*  
 I came; *ēn xōnan tī xōn lup* my  
 house is bigger than yours; *mar(k)*

*i rūpla rande* give me a rupee X;  
*icuz žēc yauwun* I eat bread; *žē xūn*  
my house N; *icuz, maž, žē, žonon,*  
*mārək* Sk. — Cf. § 118 sq.

*'wuzdi:* *wōzdost*-(?) Y; *'wuzdi:* *wizdik*  
(pf.) X, *wizdey:* *wōzdōid* Sk., *wūzdi:*  
*wordoid* Sh. to wash. — *'wizdeyūm,*  
*wizdeyt, wēzēšt, wēzdeyən, wēzdeyov,*  
*wēzēv!* *wōzdōidam, wēzdeyak, wēz-*  
*deyatk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wuzd, zənay.*  
Influenced by *dē*, q.v.

*wēzem-* L, *icazem-* Sh. to express, squeeze  
out. — V. *vizam-*.

*wēzūm* L big wooden ladle.

*'wuzem-*: *wōzōnd-* Y, *wuzem-* X, *wūzēm-*:  
*wēzēmd* (*wēzē'māk*) Sk. (reg.); *wūzūm-*:  
*wazēmd-* Sh. to bring. — *žūn, kitāb*  
*wūzūmēm* Y; *tū* be *icuzum* bring it X;  
3 sg. *wūzēmd* Sk. — Cf. Turf. Phl.  
*z'm-* to send, lead.

*wēzik* L ibex (m. and f.); *ratik tūy* Sh.  
female ibex.

*wēž/žerk* L, *wūžerk* Sh. lucerne. — Cf.  
Mj. *iryaga*.

## X

*xō—xō* either—or. — Prs. *xwāh—xwāh.*  
*xwāb* X good, well. — *xwāb maza tuet* it  
tastes good. — Prs.

*'xabar* X news; aware. — *ēis x° lei?*  
*xalg x° bit.* — Ar-Prs.

*xēš* Sh. bread. — Cf. Yd.

*xu'doi* Sk. God. — Prs.

*xā'dōrg* Y, *xu°* X, Sk., *xā'dōrg* L, *žā'dōrg*  
Sh. water-mill. — Prob. borr. from  
early Shgh. or Ishk. Cf. Yd. *xā'pō.*  
— V. § 30.

*xō'dōrg-žār* Y, *xu'dōrg-bort* X mill-  
stone. — *bort* fr. Khov.

*xūf* L, *xuf* Z, Sh., *xep* X foam, froth.  
— Cf. Yd. *xof, Saka khava-*.

*xīg* Sk., *xūg* Sh. pig. — Prs.

*xō(h)šā car-* Sk. to wish. — Prs.

*'xōki* X greenish grey; *xō'ki* Sk. grey.  
— Prs.

*xākiš'tār* W ashes. — Prs.

*'xōh* Y, X empty. — Ar-Prs.

*xālg* Y, X, Sk., Sh. man, person, people.

— *iyam xalg yupk pit* this man drinks  
water; *xalgišt yupk pōvan* the men  
drink water; *icuz i xalg žitāi* I killed  
a man; *xalg-i tēki žēc yāwan* all the  
men eat bread Y; *sak Waxi xalge*  
we are Wakhis; *ispā Xanduti xalg*  
we are Khandutis; *ayem xalg (be) žēc*  
*yewet; iū xalg dar huzūr-i pādšā*  
*rešt* one man went near the king X;  
*xalg-yāš* the man's horse. — Ar-Prs.

*xalg* Sk. people, nation (народ). — Ar-  
Prs., but a more recent lw. than *xalg*.

*xa'mtr* Y, X dough. — Ar-Prs.

*xūn* Y, N, Sk., *xōn* X, W, *xun* Sh. house.

— *ce xūnen* from the house Y; (*ce*)  
*xōnen niešk* he emerged from the  
house; *xōnar riš* go home; *rešt xōnar*  
*ke* he went home; *žū xōnan ti xōn*  
*lup* you house is larger than mine.  
— Prs., early lw.

*xu'nuk* X cold. — Prs.

*xīgār* Sk. scimitar; *ž°* Sh. sword. —  
Cf. Yd. *xigor*.

*xūr* X other (doubtful word). — *xūr xalg,*

*xūr xōn.* — Cf. Khov. *xūr* (fr. Ir.?).

*xūr* Y, X, W, N, Sk., *xur* Sh. ass. —  
Cf. Yd. *xoro*.

*xa'rāb* Y lean. — Ar-Prs. Cf. Yd. id.

*xar'dōpp* Sk. breakfast.

*xa'riđ* Y, X buying. — *x° carēm* Y,  
*x° gūšum* X I buy. — Prs.

*xar'gūš* X hare. — Prs.

*xa'rek* W span from thumb to index-  
finger.



*x<sup>u</sup>rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.  
*x<sup>u</sup>rs* X. W bear. — Prs.  
*x<sup>u</sup>ris* Y, *x<sup>u</sup>ris* N, *x<sup>u</sup>rūs* X, W, *x<sup>u</sup>rūs* Sk. cock. — Prs.  
*x<sup>u</sup>rūd-*: *x<sup>u</sup>rōst* Kl. to snore, *x<sup>u</sup>rxur kardān*. — Cf. Skr. *kra(n)d-* to neigh, roar, make a noise; scarcely *krathana*-sudden interruption of breath (Suśr.).  
*x<sup>u</sup>riz* L gravel.  
*x<sup>u</sup>riyōn* X, *x<sup>u</sup>riyan* Z, *xiilian* Sh., *x<sup>u</sup>riyan* Be. nephew. — Cf. *x<sup>u</sup>ryūn* Be. niece. — Cf. Yd. *xuri*. V. § 48.  
*x<sup>u</sup>ror* N, *xu<sup>o</sup>* W father-in-law. — Prs. V. *xiurs*.  
*xoš* X happy. — *yaf xoš bit*. — Prs.  
*xuśdōman* X, *xoś'tōman* N mother-in-law. — Cf. Sgl. *xuś'dāuman*. V. *xiāš*.  
*xośē* Y, *xośē* Sk., *waśē* Sh. wet, *xāšē* L damp. — Cf. Sar. *xāst*, Yd. *xušto*? V. § 73.  
*xošk* Y, L soft (L about iron). — Cf. Khow. (lw.) *xāšk*.  
*xošk* X dry. — Prs. V. *wāsk*.  
*x<sup>u</sup>šrūi* Sk. beautiful. — Prs.  
*xuś'waxt* X happy, merry. — Ar-Prs.  
*xāš-*: *xāšt* Y, *xāš-* X, *xoś-*: *xāšt* Sk., *xiās-*: *xiāšt* Sh. to pull (Sh. also to cut into stripes). — *Prā'zū xāšom* I weigh; *fraxbāz xāšom* I winnow Y; *xiilim xāšom*, I smoke; *xāšom*, *xāštōm*, *x<sup>u</sup>šāk*, *x<sup>u</sup>šōtk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xoś*.  
*xošk* X bitter.  
*xēšt* Y, *xēšt* X brick. — Prs.  
*xūyūn* Sh. husband's sister. — Sar.  
*xūyūn* id., but cf. Sköld, 489, s.v. Schwager (Bruder der Frau). — Cf. Yd. *xūyūn*.  
*xyār*, *xiār* Sk., *xiār* Sh. old, aged. — *x<sup>o</sup>* *k'end* Sk. — Prs. *hušyār* wise.  
*xeyaz*, *xeyisk* Be. hammer. — Cf. Yd. *xōisk*.

*xūz* Sk. wind. — Cf. Shgh. *xiūdē* Sk.? LW?

*xu'zūt* Y, *šabzōd* X a kind of insect, *šabzōd*, *šauzāt*. — Cf. Sgl. *šav'zād*, Shgh. id. bug. — Prs. \**šab-zād*?  
*xūšg* Y, *xūšg* Sh. sweet. — Cf. Ishk. *xatōk*.

### Ā

*xiū* Y, X, N, Be., *xiū* Sh., *xiy* Z, *xiy* Sk., \**xōi* W (= Ishk.) sister (X also cowife, husband's brother's sister; Be. also sister-in-law). — *zu xiū* X. — Cf. Yd. *xiō*.

*xiēb* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Lett *xvaipit* 'to whip', (\**syēip*). Av. *xšwaēwayat-aštra* (\**syēib*), etc.?

*xiē* Y, X, *xiē* N, *xōē* Sk., *xiē* Sh. bread, food. — *wuz xiē-em yilkem* I have eaten food Y. — Cf. Yd. *xišto*? V. § 67.

*xiil* Sh., *xai* St. (denied by Sk.) perspiration. — Cf. Sar. *xiāiā*, Yazgh. *xiāiā*, Khow. (lw.) *xiil*. — From a dial. with *l* < *š*, but cf. Yd. *xul*.

*xiām-*: *xiāmd* Sh. to descend. — Cf. Sar. *xiārs*: *xiārd*, Yd. *xāfs*, Khow. *ax(ie)am* (lw.). Cf. also Wkh. *xām* L bent; *xām ding* Sh. to bend.

*xiām'xiēr* W sword. — Prs.

*xiān-*: *xiāt* Y, *xiān*: *xiāt* (*xi'nak*) X, *xiān*: *xiāt* (*xi'nak*, *xi'notk*) Sk., *xiān*: *xiāt* Sh. to speak, say. — *wuz taxar nezd xiānum* I tell you to sit down; *salām xiāt* he saluted; *uz-um xi'nak 'guftum'*; *Sultān-i Māmūd xi'nak pālsā tiēt* there was a king called S. M. — Cf. Av. *x'an*, *šaka hcan*.

*xiānc* Y, *an* X own. — *yem xūn zo xi<sup>o</sup>*

- Y this house is my own; *zū x° xūn* X. — Pred. gen. of *zat*, cf. Sh. *zū*.  
*ženj* L. *žōnz*: *žōgn* Sh. to fill into a receptacle. — Phonetically < \**huanj*.  
 Skr. *sva(n)j* 'to embrace' {does not suit the meaning, but cf. Walde-Pokorny, s.v. *syeng* (II, 526), e.g. O. H. Germ. *swingan* to fling, etc. 'To throw' and 'to pour into' are semantically related meanings.  
*žāriki* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *šārak* talking-bird.  
*žāwrm* L dust. — If for \**šāwrm*, possibly < \**šāudman* (cf. JRAS 1937, p. 348); but note different semantic development of Psht. *šōmlē* butter-milk.  
*žurs* Y, *žurs* X, Sh., *zurs* Sk. father-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *x<sup>u</sup>sur*.  
*žurz* Y, *čürj* (?) X n. of a bird, *čārda*; *xšerz* L ramchikor; *žörz* Sh. snow-pheasant. — Rhyming with Prs. *čarz* bustard.  
*žasirz* Sh. wife's sister (= Sar. *xasirz*); but *xaserz* Be. wife's husband's brother, sister's husband (= Sar. *xasirj*), Shgh. *xē'sirc* Sk. wife's sister's husband, *xerirj* (-s?) Morg. brother-in-law in general. — Prob. < \**hwa-sura-zā* 'father-in-law's son'.  
*žāš* Y, *xaš* N, *xuš* W, *xāš* Sk., *xšāš* L, *šās* Sh. mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *x<sup>u</sup>šo*.  
*žāt* X, Sh., Kl. self. — *dast-i-žāt(l)* his own hand; gen. *žū* Sh. — Av. *x<sup>a</sup>atō*, cf. Yd. *xoy*. V. *žūnen*.  
*žat* did, v. *gož*.  
*žūw* Sk. spring. — Av. *xā*.

## Y

- yan* (a-*yāu*) Y, X, Sk. that, he; *yao* Sh. he, *yā* that Sh., *ye* X (adj.). — *yan xōn tinan* that house is yours; *ye*

- xalg da ye xōn niengīn* those men live in that house; *you nānar žat* he said to his mother; *you nān* his mother; *yeū tate nong* his father's name; *you mirāxūr tū*, *youcar žatt* he had a groom, and he said to him; *pādsā gōwer rursat kerk* the king gave him leave; *pādsā 'yaucar pursān-um kerk* the king asked him; *ce'bas yōwan kāyaz rač* the letter came back from him; *wāda-i gayōr* his(?) wedding; *yāweis* they X. Cf. § 124 sq.  
*yan* Sk. and(?). — In *waz tu yan* I and you(?).  
*yō—yō* Sk. either—or. — Prs.  
*yib'yā* Sk. very quick ambler. — Cf. Waz. Psht. *ābiyā* amble.  
*yōē* Y, Sk., *yōē* X duck. — < \**yāōē*, cf. Yd. *yēxko*; Saka *āce* waterbird (Bailey, BSOS, IX, 70).  
*yōd* Sk. memory. — *dē tōr ž-yōd* I remembered, *ba yād-i man rač*. — Prs. *yāš*: *yāšt* Sh. to pile up, to make up a fire. — < *ā-dā-?*  
*yī'desen* L. crops reaped, lying in hand-falls on the ground.  
*yaf'tā* Sk. week. — Prs.  
*yūy* Sk. yoke. — Cf. Yd. *yūy*. Note *yū* < \**yau*.  
*yūyōne yōr* L. anvil. — < \**ā-gana-* 'striking upon'.  
\**yoyūt* ('yoghūt') Be. groin. — < \**yōyōd*, cf. Av. *haxti*, Kurd. *hēt* hip, etc.  
*yī'jin* Y, Z, i° X, Sh. felt; *i'jin* Sk. carpet.  
*yūk* L. dewlap.  
*yākš* L, *yākš* Sh. to boil. — Derivation < Av. *yāšš* phonet. impossible.  
*yukš* Y, *yukš* Sh. big male ibex, *rang-i-kalān*. — Cf. Sar. *yāš*. Cf. § 60.



*yak'tā* Sk. shirt. — *Prs.*

*yem* Y this. — *Cf.* § 118 sq. V. *ayem*.

*yū'ōm* L. twin. — *Cf.* Av. *yōma-*, etc.

*yūmj* Y, Z, Be., *yumj* X, Sh. flour. —

*yūmj-um gorlei* I ground flour Y. —

< \**āmačt-*, cf. Saka *hāmaa-* barley

meal, Skr. *āma-* grain not yet freed

from the chaff, unbaked. It would

be quite natural in the Pamir valleys

to designate the ordinary flour as

the 'raw' one in order to distinguish

it from the widely used parched

meal (cf. Yazgh. *crāžt* 'flour' <

\**brištā* 'baked'). The derivation of

*yūmj* < \**ārtaka-* (Junker, *Cauc.* 3,

110) is phonetically untenable.

*yan* Sh., St. other. — *Cf.* Sar. *yan*,

Iahk. *an-* — *yamān* Kl. one another,

*yak digar* prob. < \**yanān* < \**anya-*

*anya-*. *halamān* L. id. < *anyam-*

*anya-*?

*yān* X yes, indeed, *balt*. — *yān*, *wəzə*

yes, come! *yān*, *tark cəbas kəyaz*

*gočum* Yes, I shall write you a letter

back.

*yānd* Sh. late, recent.

*yānd-*: *yāt-* Y, *yānd-*: *yātt* Sk., *yōnd-*:

*yātt* Sh. to carry (away), *burdan*. —

*lāu yāndəm xədōg* I bring grain to

the mill Y; *'yāndəm, yānd, yānd!*

*'yāttəm, yān'dāk, yātk; wəs 'kənd*

*'yāndəm* I marry Sk. — Prob. < \**yāt-*

with *-n* infix. *Cf.* Yd. *is*.

*yā'nōt* Y, *inēt*, *vinuk* Sk., *ināt* Sh.,

*uunuk* X dream (*yūnuk* Sh. sleep).

— (*yān*) < \**ān*. < \**hufna-tā(t)*, or

*-bā*.

*yāp* L. fat. — *Cf.* Khw. *γrp* (< Wkh.?).

*yāng* Y, *īg* X, *yāng* L, *yāng* Z raw. —

*yūng* Sh. unripe, uncooked. — <

\**āmaka-*, v. *yūmj*.

*yāng* ʔ Y, ʔ *gal* X, *yāng* ʔ N, *yā* ʔ Sk.

finger, toe. — *Cf.* Oss. *āngulj* (with

secondary *lʔ*), Mazand. *engel*; also

Psht. *māngul* the five fingers (v. EVP.

s.v. *grut*); Av. *zairiny aṇura-* tortoise

(v. Benveniste, *Stud. Ind. Ir.*, 223).

*yupk* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh. water. —

< \**āpakā-*, cf. Yd. *yduyo*.

*yēr* L. sinew, tendon; *yerr* Sh. the

pulse. — Khw.

*yīr* Y, Sh., *īr* X, N, St., *īr* Sk. sun. —

*Cf.* Av. gen. *hūrō*.

*yōrē* Kl. open space between hearth and

sleeping (sitting) platform; *yārič* Ol.

square hole in the middle of the

hearth-room. — \**arda-čē*, cf. Yd. *ardīʔ*

*yīrgōt* L. white-headed eagle.

*yīr'ya* Y, *yur'ya* W pine, *čūb-i saxt* (not

found in Wakhan). — *Cf.* Yd. s.v.

*iculyəyo*. *Prs.*

*yur'yāl* Sk. ambler. — *Cf.* Sgl. id. — *Prs.*

*yark* Y, X, Sk., Sh. (*yark'* Sk.) work. —

*yark gučum; tu čis yarkər wəzd?*

'*barā-i čē kār āmadīʔ*' *tinan čis yark*

*tu?* have you any work? *yōwər yark*

*gučum 'kār-i āra mēkunim'* X. —

*Cf.* Yd. *hory*.

*yīrk* Y, *yīrk* X, St., *īrk* W, N, *yīrk* Sh.,

*īrk* Sk., *yīrk* L, Be. barley. — *Cf.*

Phl. *yior'k* (Barth. *Mir. Mund.* II,

28)? But Henning, *RSOS*, IX, 90

reads *yavardāg*.

*yurm* Sk., Sh. arm, forearm; *yūrm* Be.

cubit. — *Dat.* sg. *čə-yurmər/k*, pl.

*yurmš-ə* Sk. — *Cf.* Yd. *yārmē*.

*yārs* Y, *yārē* X, *yōrs* L, *yārs* Sh. juniper.

— \**arza-*, but cf. Turk.-*Prs.* *arda*.

*yīrčy* Y, *yōrčy* Sk. millet. — *Cf.* Yd.

*yurzon*.

*yīsp* Y, *visp* Sk. shoulder. — < \**ā-spā-*?

*yā'str* Sk. prisoner. — *Ar.-Prs.*

*yōst* Sh. fowl-house, shed. — Cf. Or.  
*yōst* cow-house (Lentz), < Skr. *a-sthā*-  
 place of abiding?  
*yāš* Y, X, N, *yāš* Sk., *yāš* W, Sh. horse.  
 — *cebūr yāš*; *yāšer peden guā* saddle  
 the horse; *yāš peden guā* X. — Cf.  
 Yd. *yasp*.  
*yāšc* Y, Z, L, *yārc* X, *yāic* Sk., Sh.,  
*yerc* Be., *yāhē* Bi. bone. — Cf. § 67.  
 < \**asti-ā*?  
*yīšn* Y, *īšin* X, *īsp* Sk., *īšn* Sh., *yīšt*  
 Bi., *yīš* Be., *tīš* (!) W (*īšn* said to be  
 Ishk.) iron. — Cf. Yd. *rīš'pēn*, Saka  
*kīšam*.  
*yīštr* L threshold. — In *bore y°*.  
*yāšk* Y, *yāsk* Sk., Sh., Z, *yāšk* L, *wašk*  
 N (Ishk.) tear. — Cf. Yd. *yāsk*.  
*yāšk* L trained, taught; *yēšk cor* L, *yēšk*  
*īāk* Sh. to teach. — Cf. Sar. *īxmānī*,  
*īzman* Sh., cf. Yd. *yuzs*.  
*yī'šok* Y plough-handle. — Cf. Skr. *īśā'*-  
 plough-pole, *īśā-danḍa* plough-handle,  
 Av. *aśša-* plough.  
*yōšt* L hostage, agreement. — < Av.  
*āxšti-* peace, not lw. from Prs. *āstī*.  
*yōt* Kl. this, that. — V. § 124.  
*yōθ* L, Sh., *yōθt* Z, *yōtr* St, *yāθ* Be.  
 nest, *yōtr*, if correct, < \**ā-hada-θra*?  
 — Cf. Or. *yōθ*, Yd. *yēθio*.  
*yāuc* Y, *yauc*-, perf. *yitk* X, *yauc* N,  
*yāuc*-. *yēt* Sk., *yāw*-. *yit* Sh. to eat.  
 — *yāu* imper. 2 sg.; *yāucum* pres.  
 1 sg.; *īyam xalg īcē yit* this man  
 eats bread; *sak yāucan*; *sāiš cerak*  
*īcē yārov?* why do you eat bread?  
*xalgī takt xō yāucan* Y; *yawī-ā?* do  
 you eat? *ayem xalg īcē yawet*;  
*yāucan* 1 pl.; *sāš īcē yāucit-a?* do  
 you eat bread; *ayem xalg be īcē*  
*yāucan* these men eat bread? *yitket*  
 you have eaten X; *wuz īcē yāucum*;

*sak yāucum*; *yāucā* N; *yāucām*, *yit*.  
*yau!* *yētām*, *yō'wak*, *yō'watk* Sk. —  
 Cf. Kati *yū*-, Dameli *īū*-, etc. to eat  
 (< Skr. *yauti* gets hold of?) — Cf.  
 Skr. *ānōti*: *ānāti*!  
*yāuer*-. *yaward* Sh. to select, choose  
 out. — < \**d-war*-.  
*yāš* Sh. twig. — Cf. Par. *īdā* fire-wood  
 < \**yāšša*-, cf. Av. *yaxšti-* twig?  
*yēš* Sh. grizzled.  
*yīš* Y, Sh., Z, (*yīš* Sk., *īš* X ice. —  
 Av. *aśxa*-. Also Sar. *īš* 'cold', *īši*  
 'coldness' belong here, and not to  
 Av. *īsu* as proposed Air.Wb. 372.  
*yī'xūn* Y, *ī'xūn* X, *yī'xūn* Sk., *yī'xūn* Sh.,  
*yī'xūn* Kl. bridle. — Tomaschek  
 (p. 805) compares Av. *axnah*, but  
 this is phon. improbable (v. Air.Wb.  
 s.v.). But *yī'xūn* could go back to  
 \**axāna*-. (*axnah* influenced by \**añei-*  
*dāna*-.)  
*yaz* L ice, glacier. — Common in place-  
 names, e.g. *Lup-yar-yaz* 'Great Stone  
 Glacier' in Shīmsal (Cockerill);  
*Dukuti-Yaz*, etc. — Cf. Khov. *yoz*  
 (Ir. lw.?). < I.E. *jeḡ-* ice (v. Walde-  
 Pokorny, I, 206).  
*yēz* Y, X, Sk., Sh. yesterday. — *yēz-m*  
*rāydei* I went yesterday Y, *yēz-nāyēd*  
 Sk. — Cf. Yd. *iziko*.  
*yāzn* Y, *yarn* Z inflated skin, mussuck.  
 — Cf. Yd. *izē*.  
*yōš*-. L to bear (of animals); *yāz*-. *yāzēd*  
 Y, Sh. to bear a child.  
*yīzg* L saliva.

## Z (J)

*zā* Sk., *zah* Sh. child, infant. — Prs.  
*zēi* L wave. — Cf. Av. *zāy*-. Skr. *haya*-,  
 from *hi-* to set in motion?



- jai* Y, *zi* X (Prs.), *j/zai* L bowstring. — Cf. Psht. *zai*. V. *jəl*.  
*zūbōn* X tongue. — Prs. V. *zik*.  
*zobut* L, *zūbūt*: *zūbott* Sh. to burst (trans.); *zūbeḍ*: *zūbōn* Sh. to burst (intrans.). — Cf. Skr. *ud-bhidyate*, *ud-bhinna* to spring open, to burst forth.  
*zūy* L cooked fat. — Cf. Psht. *yōz*?  
*juy* Sh., *zūg* Be., *jūy* Kl. yak. — Cf. Khw. *zūy*, hybrid yak.  
*zu'yəl* X coal. — Prs.  
*zūk* Y, Sk., *zik* N, Sh., 'ziuck' Bi., *zevl* W (Ishk.) tongue, word. — *niv ti zik* *kjūym* now I hear your word. — Prob. < \**hizūkā*. Cf. Yd. *zevly*.  
*zōg* Sk. tedious, boring (*oxyuno*).  
*zaka'lai* Y, *zaka'loi* X, *jak'lai* Sk., *ja'* Sh., *jag'lai* Kl., *czalāi* Be., etc. small. — *zak'lai wušk* a new-born calf X. — < \**jalkai*? Cf. Shgh. *jelik*, etc.  
*zō'kōm* Sk. head cold, rheum. — Ar.-Prs.  
*jəl* Kl. string of an instrument, *lor*. — Cf. *jai*.  
*zō'fak* W comb. — \*Prs.  
*zō'līm* Sk. unjust. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zulm* Sk. injustice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zulzu'la* X earthquake. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zēu* Y, *zīm* X, *zēm* Sk., *zām* Sh. snow. — Cf. Av. *zyum* winter; Sar. *zamdn* snow (but Yazgh. *zō'naṣ*, Shgh. *zō'nij*, etc. < \**snaiga*).  
*zīm* Be. yawn. — Sar. *vizīm*. Cf. Yd. *zōm*.  
*zām'būr* X, W wasp. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zām'būr-i asal* X bee. — Ar.-Prs.  
*zō'mān* Y, *zō'* Sk., *zō'mōn* X, *zaman* Sh. child. — Cf. Yd. *zō'mōn*.  
*zō'mīn* Y, X, Sk. earth, ground; *zīmīn* X floor. — Prs.  
*zōmā'nok* W boy. — Ishk.

- zamin'zēm* Y, *zalanjum* Be. earthquake. — Prs. — Cf. Yd. *zibi'jrm*.  
*zemis'tōn* Sk. winter. — Prs.  
*zō'nū* N (Prs.), *zun* W (prob. Ishk.) knee.  
*zend*: *zet* L to take away from. — \**uz + yānt* (v. s.v. *yānd*)? But why not *z* < *zy*?  
*'zinda* Y, X alive. — Prs.  
*zinda'yōni* car L to live. — Prs.  
*zang* Sk. rust. — Prs.  
*za'nāx* Y, N, Sh., *zō'nax* Sk. chin, jaw. — Prs.  
*zār* Sk. poison. — Prs.  
*zūr* Sk. strong. — Prs.  
*zardolu* N apricot. — Prs.  
*zārend* L to scrape; *zirānd*, *zirest* (inf. *zirān*) Sh. to turn in a lathe. — \**uz-rand*, cf. Skr. *rad*-to scrape, scratch.  
*zart* Y, X, Z, *zārt* Sk., *zard* Sk., *zōl* W (Ishk.) yellow. — *Zartīyar* n. of a place Y, Cockerill. — Cf. Yd. *zit*, Sgl. *zāl*.  
*zē'vī* W tongue; *zēvāk* Hj. language. — Ishk. — V. *zik*.  
*zōdy*: *zōelt* Sh. to roll up. — Cf. Sar. *zerway* < \**uz-wāy*, Skr. *ud-vayati* to weave or fasten up.  
*zaryū* Sk. wound. — Prs.  
*zāx* Sk., *zāx* Sh. thorn. — Cf. Khw. *j/zox* (lw.)? But note Orm. *zēḡ*, *zēḡr* thorn < \**jadri*.  
*zōiya* L destruction, ruin. — < \**zayā*? Cf. Av. *zyā* to injure (cf. *jayāi*, inf. of *jyā* 'to weaken' acc. to Barth., but see Benv. Infinitives Avest., p. 65). But note phonet. difficulties.

## Ž, ž

- žau* Y, Sh., *žau* L, St., Be., *you* W (Ishk.) grain, (provisions Sh.). — Cf. Ishk. *'yau*, Yd. *yōu*, Sar. *zau*. — *ž* from Khw. *žō*?

*žoe* ('zhoe) Cockerill lake. — From Khov.?  
*žabd* Hj. stable (unknown to Sk.).  
*žōd* : *žōd* Sh. to sow seed; *žēd* : *žōd*  
 to sprinkle, strew. — Cf. Sar. *yēd*,  
*ȳēd*. — < \**wi-ā-dā*?  
*žāla* Y, W, *žō* N hail. — Prs.  
*žō'mak* Y, N, *žō'māk* Sk., *žū* Sh. moon.  
 — \**užmahka* < \**užmā*, cf. Yd.  
*imojo*. But cf. Benveniste, JA, 1936, 231.  
*žūmānd* Sh. to wring. — < *mant*  
 with *haka*?  
*žin'da* Kl., *žin'dag* Sh., *žindag* (ž?) L  
 tale, proverb.  
*žinan* Y, X mine (predic.). — *haiyem*  
*žōn* 'unan X. — Cf. § 122.  
*žip* Sk. nit.  
*žip* L, *žup* : *žōd* Sh. to spin. — Cf.  
 Yd. *ȳi*, Sbgh. *žib*. V. p. 454, n.<sup>4</sup>.  
*žār* Y Adam's apple.  
*ž/žirev/ž* L. to need, lack. — Cf. *žirōv*  
 (< to be in need < to be stuck?).

*žirāu* Y, *žirāb* X, *žāu* Sh. ravine, valley;  
*žō'rāv* Sk. brook; *žirāu* (Cockerill) a  
 gorge with a stream.  
*žirōv* : *žirōgn* Sh. to hang from a peg;  
*žōrōv* : *žōrōjn* (*žōrō'žak*) Kl. to be  
 stuck.  
*žerāž* Sh. knot. — Prob. from Sar. *žerāž*,  
 etc., cf. Yd. *žursāž*.  
*žārž* Y, Sk., Sh., *žārj* N. Be., *žarje* X  
 milk. — *žārž* Sh. foster brother or  
 sister; *žō* *žamān* foster-child (Sar.  
*žorž*, *žō* *žalāh* fr. Wkh.), cf. Khov.  
*žhir-brār*, etc. — < \**žaražē*, cf.  
 Av. *žarv* to stream, *aipi-žarv* to be  
 liquid (about milk), cf. semantically  
 Prs. *žiftan* to trickle: N.W.Ir. *žift*  
 'milk', etc. — But *ž* < *č* (cf.  
 § 33)?  
*žitr* Y, *žitr* X, *žutr* Sh. woollen thread.  
 — *žim-žitr* X a black thread. — <  
 \**žaištra*, cf. *žip*??

## List of Names.

*Abgač* Y n. of a vill. *Abgač* Curzon,  
*Ifkerš* Russ.  
*Ku'tal-i-Ankura* X n. of a pass.  
*Išmury* Y, *Išmurš* X, *Išmarg* Survey,  
 Curzon, *Išmury* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Buru'gul* X the Baroghil Pass.  
*Bāz'gīr* X, *Bazgirān* Survey n. of a  
 vill. between Ishkashm and Zebak.  
*Čilkand* Y, *Čahilkand* Survey, *Čezet-gal'd*  
 Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Darkut* X the Darkot Pass.  
*Kala-i-Wust* Y, *Kala Wust* Survey, *Kala*  
*Wust* Curzon, *Ust* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Korkut* Y, *Karkit* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Kišin* X n. of a vill. and cantonment.  
*Kišn* Kl., *Langar Kisht* Curzon.

*Kezgit* Y, *Kezget* Burhan-ud-Din, *Keb-*  
*kut*(?) Russ., *Kipkot* Curzon(?) n. of  
 a vill.  
*Nud* X, *Nut* Hj. n. of a vill. near  
 Ishkashm.  
*Namad'gūt* N, *Namadgut* Survey, *Namat-*  
*gut* Hj. n. of a vill.  
*Nira* Y, Russ., *Neris* Curzon n. of a vill.  
*P'igis* Y, *ōiž* X, *Pigis* Survey, *Pigaš*  
 Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Puž* Y, *Fax* X n. of a vill.  
*Pa'kui* Y, *Pa'kui* X, *Pokoi* Russ., *Pagui*  
 Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Panja* Y, *Kala-i-Panj* X, *Kala-i-Pānē*  
 Hj., *Kala-i-Panja* Russ., *Kila Panja*  
 Survey n. of a vill.



*Pu'tuſ* Y, *Patuc* Curzon, *Patus* Russ.  
n. of a vill.

*Pit'xar* Y, *Pirxar* Russ., Curzon n. of  
a vill.

*Reje'biſ* X n. of a vill. (in Garan?).

*Rokuſ* Y, *Rakot* Survey, Curzon n. of  
a vill.

*Rët'rud* Y pass leading to Gāzikistān,  
to the left of the Sad Istray, but  
not passing by Deh Gol (?).

*Sā'nin* Y, *Sanin* Russ., Curzon n. of a  
vill.

*Sarhadd* Y, *Sarhad* Survey n. of a vill.

*Sast* Y, *Sist* Russ. n. of a vill.

*Sa'wōr* X, *Saor* Curzon n. of a vill.

*Šiyi'nōn* X Shughnan. Cf.

*Šikātm* W Ishkashm.

*Wark* W, *Warg* Survey, Curzon, *Wūry*,  
*Hūry* Hj. n. of a vill.

*Wuž* Y Wakhan, *Wa'xē* Sk. Wakhi.

*Xodārgbort* X, *Xona Bhort* Survey n.  
of a pass.

*Xandut* Y, X, Survey, *Kōn'dut* Hj. n.  
of a vill.; *Xanduti* a man from  
Khandut. — Cf. § 3.

*Xōrog* X n. of a vill. and cantonment  
(*caunt*) in Shughnan.

*Ātk* Y, *Wa'xt* X, W Wakhi. — *sak-on*  
*Ātkən. tik* Sk. Wakhi (*tik-zik* eastern  
dialect). — < \*W(u)Ātk.

*Yang* Y, *Yamk* Hj. *Yōnek* Russ. n. of  
a vill.

*Ya'mit* Y, *Yemit* X, Survey, *Yamid*  
Russ., *Yamit* Hj. n. of a vill.

*Yūr* Y, *Yur* Survey, *Yot* (?) Russ. n. of  
a vill.

*Zarti'yar* Y, *Zirxar* Curzon n. of a vill.  
at the foot of the Baroghil Pass.

## SHUGHNI SUPPLEMENT

(Sentences not given, or not given in full, in Notes on Shughni, NTS, I. Sentences from the dialect of Bashar are marked B).

1. *âdam-um zît* B I killed a man.
2. *'arai ca'vâr mēð-om yast, tam t'im* B I shall stay three or four days, and then go (*se câr rûz bâz mērim*).
3. *Awal Jalâla'bâd sâwom, tām badēveta<sup>1</sup> Pešâwar sâwom* B First I shall go to J., and then to P.
4. *Haz ude ar Xuž'nûn cōnd mēð pōnd yast?* B How many days road is it from here to Shughnan?
5. *Az câra žac za'wēd* B Draw water from the well.
6. *Az me yi mûn par'jiv* Take an apple from him.
7. *Az we (de) pēšc* Ask him (this one).
8. *Az xūdman a'gā de ke* B Wake him from sleep (*az xau bedâr ku*).
9. *Az yūdande Badaxšûn cūnd mēð pōnd* How many day's road is it from here to Badakhshan?
10. *Beyâr-um ikme âdam-um wint* B I saw this very man yesterday (*dîna hamî âdam dîdam*).
11. *Biyâr-om az we pēšet* B I asked him yesterday.
12. *Biyâr-om wēšt, zâr-um sut* B Yesterday I fell and got bruised (*dînarûz uftâdum, augar šudam*).
13. *Ca waxt-at-i yat?* B When did you come?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *bâde we ta 'pas az i'*, Notes, p. 48.



14. *Čūk dādom* B I bore.
15. *Da mūn yās, lāk* B Take this apple away, and leave it (*i sēba bubar, bumān*).
16. *Devē xam'bēn!*—*Devē-m waxt xam'bēnē* B Shut the door!—I have already shut it.
17. *Δen'dān dādum* B I chew.
18. *Δārg-um verūšt* B I broke the stick.
19. *Gap-um rinūšt* I forgot the word.
20. *Garḍa xārom, gar'da-um xūd* B I eat (ate) bread.
21. *Gūšt-um pēxt* I cooked meat.
22. *Gūšt xarāb-a, xīdao na bāft, xīdao na varḍim* B The meat is bad, it is not to be eaten, I cannot eat it.
23. *K'imb wēddom, k'imb-um wēdd* I throw (threw) a stone.
24. *K'imb mū te na wēde!* Don't throw a stone at me!
25. *Ku naštōidum* B I went out (*barḍmadim*) But why *ku*?
26. *K'ār-um čūd* B I worked.
27. *Kurti-m<sup>1</sup> penūid* B I washed the shirt.
28. *Kurtā-x-ščendam<sup>2</sup>* B I tear my shirt (*kurtara burridam*).
29. *Kitāb-um tur vūd (turḍ-um vūd)* I brought you the book.
30. *Kitāb mēz te lāk* B Put the book on the table.
31. *Lap k'ēn-om zud,<sup>3</sup> šis-ta nācom* B I became very sorry, now I am weeping (*bisyār deq šuda-īm, āli giryā mēkunum*).
32. *Ma dādand-in xduš puc* My father has six sons.
33. *Ma de ma!* B Don't beat me
34. *Mund sut puc, xu dādard-me lūvum: mu pucik nūm nēθ* I got a son. I said to my father: Give my little son a name.
35. *Murḍa mā dād vārḥ dād* My father gave me a horse.
36. *Mu rafiḡ-at vut, kīvdum tu* B You were my comrade, [therefore] I called you. Answer to: *čir-at mu kīvd?* Why did you call me?
37. *Mur vār* B Bring it to me.
38. *Nur-um ḍar pōnd tūid* I have walked a long way to-day.

<sup>1</sup> For *kurta-īm*?

<sup>2</sup> For *kurta šē*, with notation of a glide between *a* and *š*.

<sup>3</sup> With sonorization in sandhi, for *sut*.

39. *Nāstum nūr yūdand* To-day I sat down there.
40. *Naw-om nūst* B I sat down now.
41. *Naw-om šut to āwāz* B Now I heard your voice.
42. *Pōn tim, pōnd-um tūid* B I go, I went (*rā mēgardam*).
43. *Ra'wden sa!* B Get off!
44. *Sa'har t'im* B I shall go to-morrow.
45. *Sa, žiz zewēd!* Go, and fetch wood.
46. *Šič dīm tō* Now I (shall) beat you.
47. *Šič-um tūid* B Now I went.
48. *Šint-om, naw-om šint* B I laughed (now).
49. *Šac ar piāla k'en, var!* *Brējom* B Pour water into the cup and bring it. I shall drink. (*au dar piāla partau, biār. buzurim*).
50. *Šāč-om dūd, ho gap ma renēs* B I was afraid (saying:) Don't forget this word.
51. *Šāj dērom, šis-ta wāš-um az kū te* B I am afraid to fall down now from the hill.
52. *Šapa'rak rōwāšt* The bat flew (fem.!).
53. *Tu cawax-teyē? Ī čand rōz ga tim* When shall you go? I shall go in a few days.
54. *Tam ta vā tim* B Then I shall go.
55. *Tu nūm na vzūnum* I don't know your name.
56. *Tar Šērpur 'sāom* B I shall go to Sherpur.
57. *Visam* B I bind (*basta mēkunam*).
58. *Vār)ə (vērj) tēr yast* The horse (mare) is black.
59. *Wuz-um bēčāra, nātu'wān* B I am poor and helpless.
60. *Wuz-əm ādam, tu-t-m -əs<sup>1</sup> ādam* I am a man, and you are also a man (*man ādam-am, tu ham ādam-i*).
61. *Wuz-am man kitāb xo verāḍard dāx-šut<sup>2</sup>* I gave this book to my brother.
62. *Wuz na wzānum, yi čiz wezdne to?* B I don't understand it, do you understand this thing?
63. *Wuz turd ḍādom* I gave (it) to you.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *əs* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> Prob. *man* = *mam*, *dāxšut* for *ḍāk čūd*.



64. *Xabar dâr, žir šiç-ta wâšt* B Take care, the stone is falling now.  
 65. *Xedârjan xu yâžj narm yan*<sup>1</sup> Grind your flour at the mill.  
 66. *Xuôm-um wint* B I had a dream.  
 67. *Xu ôust ze'nêam (-um ze'nâd)* B I wash (washed) my hand.  
 68. *Xu ôust-om ôikt* I licked my own hand.  
 69. *Xu pic mâ-njab (= anjav), wuz-um tō wint* Don't be ashamed, that I did see you (*rū-i xuda na gir, ke ma tura didim*).  
 70. *Xaš jāi we čužj* . . . . . (*makam (= muḥkam?) na karda-i*).  
 71. *Xu paisa ma be'nes* B Don't forget your money.  
 72. *Yâ âdam recüst* The man fled.  
 73. *Yâc peðenum, -um peðet* B I kindle(d) a fire.  
 74. *Yâc-um ðude* B The fire burnt me.  
 75. *Yâm čid čoddm âdamand?* Which man does this house belong to? (*in xâna-i kuddm šaxs-ast?*).  
 76. *Yi mûn mûrd-um dâd* I gave this apple to this one(?).  
 77. *Yi mîð yâ âdam xurde lûrd* One day a man said to himself (*yak rûz yak âdam ba xud guft*).  
 78. *Yi soicâr wi draxt bunan nûšc* B A horseman was sitting under that tree.  
 79. *Yiða yatam* B I came here.  
 80. *Zemâd-am zedûd* B I swept the floor.  
 81. *Žindam yâs xedârjan* B Take the wheat to the mill (*ganduma bubar âsyâ*).  
 82. *Ženið dap (= lap?) dî*<sup>2</sup> Much snow falls(?).

<sup>1</sup> Written *narmian*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Or. (Zar.) *diyan* snowstorm?Song from Ghund (*Baif*).

Shughni Text  
*Ar 'jâik 'sâwe tu Xo'dâik ta'wil, /*  
*mo'râdik te'lâb az 'pâ-i 'xâjâ. /*  
*Ra'wân, ra'wânîk tar 'dêf šâ'lin /*  
*'ta sadu'qik tu bân-sê'mîn.*

<sup>1</sup> تعويل. <sup>2</sup> *Sadq-it sawcam.*

Persian Translation  
*Har jâ mērawē, ba Xudâ turâ tawil<sup>1</sup> kadim. /*  
*Dud (murâd) bigir az pâ-i Xējâ. /*  
*Pē-i mā rafti, dar mābain-i maidân, /*  
*satkičarcon<sup>2</sup> . . . . . čišm.*

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page.	Line.	
16	4	from bottom. Add: <i>Hingan</i> , cf. p. 426.
29	8	Aspiration is noted in a Shgh. vocabulary published in the <i>Annuaire de la Rev. de Kabul</i> 1934—35. E.g. کڅېل (= <i>khāl</i> ) head.
73	1	in margin. For <i>čk</i> read <i>šk</i> .
77	5	from bottom. Ad <i>lūga</i> , cf. Voc. s.v.
79	4	Cf. also <i>kinčūkā</i> girl.
	8	Cf. also <i>pacog-</i> 'to break' < * <i>pati-synda-</i> ?
84	5	from bottom. Add: <i>γikʷ</i> < * <i>gʷšnuka-</i> , v. § 117.
86	12	For * <i>spišā-</i> read * <i>spišā-</i> .
87	7	Cf. also § 52.
89	7	Add: Ir.
105	19	Add: <i>zʷvty</i> tongue < * <i>hizwāka-</i> .
	22	Add: <i>lo</i> with < * <i>hadā</i> .
109	9	For <i>rt</i> > <i>rd</i> > <i>q</i> read <i>rt</i> > <i>t</i> > <i>q</i> .
114	2	from bottom. For § 148 read §§ 149, 163, 175.
121	3	Add: Yeh <i>šināmī</i> girls.
122	7	But <i>pūrē</i> might go back to * <i>puθrai-</i> , with pronominal ending.
149	1	Add: Cf. Voc. s.v. <i>ko'nī</i> .
151	3	But v. p. 129 ll. 10 sqq., and p. 159, ll. 2 sqq.
155	20	Cf. also Par. <i>māt</i> killed ( <i>mēr-</i> ) < * <i>mārila-</i> (not * <i>marzta-</i> ).
158	9	For 327 read 227.
204	10 and 15	Articles <i>čafir</i> and <i>čšir</i> to change place.
220	20	(s.v. <i>ketin</i> ). Add transl.: book.
222	12	(s.v. <i>luū</i> ). <i>luū</i> < * <i>luē</i> , <i>rušk</i> < Ir. * <i>duš(a)k</i> , cf. Yazgh. <i>δwōkk</i> , Shgh. <i>δwē(?)</i> . But scarcely Prs. <i>dala</i> 'weasel' from a dial. related to Sgl. with <i>l</i> < <i>š</i> .—With * <i>dušaka-</i> , cf. Av. <i>dušaka-</i> hedgehog? Semantically cf. Yaghn. <i>sugur</i> 'marmot'.
224	11	from bottom (s.v. <i>Proḡb</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>wirdina</i> clear (sky); Jaunsari (Indo-Ar.) <i>bidri</i> .



- | Page. | Line. |   |
|-------|-------|---|
| 236   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>pīy</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>piūk</i> .  |
| 246   | 5     | Insert before <i>skul</i> : <i>skapir</i> G above.  |
|       | 22    | (s.v. <i>sāl</i> ). Add: Y <i>sālo</i> , Par. <i>sār</i> < * <i>sardā</i> .   |
| 247   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>sānj</i> ). Cf. Bur. <i>sinç</i> roof-beam.  |
| 248   | 20    | (s.v. <i>sar'yār</i> ). Add: Ysh.   |
| 264   | 11    | from bottom (s.v. <i>wuziā</i> ). Cf. Parth. <i>uzyh</i> < <i>uz-i</i> , v. Henning, BSOS, IX, 89.  |
| 266   | 11    | " " (s.v. <i>xōan</i> ). Cf. Saka <i>ggān</i> , v. Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71.  |
| 274   | 1     | For <i>ni-yang</i> read <i>ni-yaug</i> .  |
| 278   | 1     | from bottom. After <i>zang</i> add: <i>zingo</i> Yg n. of a bird.   |
| 305   | 11    | Add: Cf. E. Yaghn. <i>s</i> (old <i>θ</i> ), W. Yaghn. <i>t</i> < <i>θ</i> , v. Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 125.  |
| 330   | 8     | from bottom. Cf. also <i>ōrnōzd/rēmuz</i> sun, v. Voc. s.v.   |
| 331   | 9     | " " Add: <i>foryem</i> , <i>riw-lav</i> .   |
|       | 7     | " " Add: <i>durk</i> , <i>purk</i> .  |
|       | 6     | " " Add: § 144.   |
| 345   | 13    | Ad <i>tō-bē</i> add: <i>tam-ba</i> Sgl. p. 3. V. Voc. s.v. <i>āstay</i> .   |
| 348   | 4     | Add: Possibly <i>kuč-i</i> his wife, <i>nes-i la-kuč</i> didn't allow him.  |
| 349   | 5     | from bottom. Add: Sk. <i>wāw</i> Ag. Pl. of <i>awē</i> (Texts VI).  |
| 354   | 2     | Add: Final <i>-i</i> also in Sgl. is. <i>la-kurō mē-i</i> I have left it (enclitic pronoun?).   |
| 355   | 8     | Add: Sk. <i>nrist</i> ; Sgl. <i>nes-i la-kuč</i> .  |
| 391   | 9     | from bottom (s.v. <i>das</i> ). Add: <i>das</i> I.  |
| 398   | 3     | from bottom. Ad <i>kamak</i> cf. Sar., Shgh. <i>čomj</i> buck.  |
| 419   | 19    | (s.v. <i>wulmāk</i> ). Add transl.: moon.   |
| 420   | 26    | (s.v. <i>wārv</i> ). For Mj. <i>wārv</i> read Yd. <i>urw</i> .  |
| 422   | 5     | (s.v. <i>xum</i> ). But cf. § 55.   |
| 438   | 1     | from bottom. Acc. to 'Annuaire de la revue de Kabul', 1934-35, p. 143 this dialect "used to be spoken in the district of Faizabad on the banks of the Saraghilām river. Now it is dead and abandoned (مردۀ و متروک)."   |
| 442   | 1     | from bottom. Add: The geographical distribution of <i>-ov</i> and <i>-it</i> is not clear. Kl. describes the dialect of Langar Kishn in Eastern Wakhan.—Another dialectical variation is that of Y, X, Sh. <i>spa</i> 'our', and Sk., Kl. <i>spō</i> , Hj. <i>su'pā</i> .—The Perfect forms given by Sk. (v. § 156) may also belong to a restricted locality. |
| 471   | 12    | in margin. For <i>sp</i> read <i>šp</i> .   |
| 482   | 3     | from bottom. Add: <i>šenj</i> to fill, <i>vardenz</i> to fill < <i>-aya</i> ?   |

ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX





## ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX

to the Vocabularies contained in the following publications by the author: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I, II; Notes on Shughni (NTS, I, 45 sqq.); The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto (NTS, IV, 156 sqq.; with reference to page); Supplementary Notes on Ormuri (NTS, V, 10 sqq.); An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskapsakademi i Oslo, II, Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1927. No. 3); and to Notes on Prof. Charpentier's Article "Some Remarks on Pashto Etymology" (AO VII, 198 sqq.).

The languages are, as a rule, quoted in the following order: Wanetsi (*Wn.*); Pashto (*Ps* = Etym. Voc. Psht., *Ps*<sup>1</sup> = Notes, AO VII); Ormuri of Logar (*O*: IIFL, I); Ormuri of Kanigaram (*O*<sup>1</sup>: Supplementary Notes, NTS, V); Parachi (*P*: IIFL, I); Yidgha-Munji (*Y*: IIFL, II); Sanglechī-Ishkashmī (*S*: IIFL, II); Wakhi (*W*: IIFL, II), and Shughni (*Š*: NTS, I).

Identical, or nearly identical forms of a word are only given once, and in this manner the order of the dialects has often been deviated from. Minor variations of vowels (such as *ā*, *â*, and *ä*) have not been taken into account in such cases. Thus, e.g.: "Garden . . . *bāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š" stands for "*bāy* O, *bāy* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāy* S, *bāy* Š" (and, besides, Munji *bāy* will be found in the Vocabulary s.v. *Y bāya*).

Accents are omitted, and uncertain vowel quantities within a single language have not been noted. Thus, e.g., *a* for *ä* of the Vocabularies, and *o*, *e*, for Psht. *ō*, *ē*. Note that in IIFL, II *ast*, *isp*, etc., will be found under *s*. Verbs are given in the root-form, except in the case of Psht.

Translations have frequently been broadened and modified in order to make the Index more easily surveyable. In every case the Iranian word given in the Index must be looked up in the Vocabularies, where the more special meanings will be found. Thus the Index catch-word 'wheat' will include 'summer-' and 'autumn-wheat', 'cap' several kinds of caps, etc.—In a few cases obvious mistakes in the earlier translations have been corrected.

Wanetsi forms are given only when they differ from those of Psht. A few words not given in the NTS-article have been included within square brackets. For the sake of ready comparison a few important Psht. and Shgh. words not found in the above mentioned publications have likewise been added within square brackets. The Shgh. forms are taken from Sköld's material.

Very rarely new etymological suggestions have been added to the Psht. forms.



## A

- ability *hoqūf* P.  
 able, to be *ē* O, *nar* P, v. *ken*, *kir* Y, *kāken* S, *bās wazī* W, *var-ē* Š.  
 above *paḥga* O, *-bēza* O<sup>1</sup>, *pasmitno*, *valyo* Y, *cā-pšūr*, *vorāz* S.  
 abstinent *pariz* P.  
 abuse *astlo* Y.  
 abuse, to *škanjāl* PŠ, *vārand* W.  
 account *hisāb* P.  
 accursed *lain* P, v. *curse*.  
 accustomed *rūzd* PŠ.  
 ache, to v. *pain*.  
 acid food, eaten as a relish *tānda* O.  
 acorn *pergai* [also Afr. etc.] PŠ.  
 across *pore* PŠ.  
 action *kār* O.  
 Adam's apple *garai* (v. *garāl*) PŠ, *yurvo-kuluca*, *tūta* Y, *ṛālevi* S. Cf. *throat*.  
 admirer *guriagar* P.  
 advice *nesiyat*, *pand*, *salū* P, *nasiāt* Y.  
 adulterer *gar* Y.  
 adze *tarfaj* PŠ, *škinj* O<sup>1</sup>, *toško* Y, *užāk*, *tarš*, *tiša* W.  
 affair *gap*, *sūy* P.  
 afflict, to *blōsedāl* (v. *blōs*) PŠ.  
 affliction *tāb* P.  
 Afghan *Paštūn* (v. *pašto*) PŠ, *kūš* O, *anyān* P.  
 afraid, to be v. *fear*.  
 after *verusto* PŠ, *bād* O, *bādaz*, *peš*, *pešchan* P, *ēpāc*, *dīd*, *vāro* Y, *bād*, *pasī* S, *bāād*, *ga*, *pas* Š.  
 afternoon *jōštai* O<sup>1</sup>, *namāzdigar*, *pēšin*, (ʿ) *ziān* Y, *pešin* S, *namāz-e digar* Š.  
 afterwards *peč* O, *bād*, *bāz*, *pēsthērā*, *pešte*, *ēka* P, *bād* Y.  
 after that *devā* S.  
 again *biyār* Wn 162, *byā*, *hyarta* PŠ, *bē*, *peč* O, *bād*, *bite*, *wapēš*, *dūbāra* P, *bot*, *cebas* W, *wā* Š.  
 age *unur* P, *humr* Š.  
 agitation *šūr* P.  
 ago *mēn* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 agreeable *zicaš* (v. *zoš*) PŠ, *zuš* Š.  
 agreeing *fāreš* P, *kābūl* S.  
 agreement *angūr* PŠ, *rezā* P.  
 aim *murād*, *mazaaʿūd* P.  
 air (h) *awā* O, P, S, W.  
 alarm *ēlq* P.  
 alas *darīy* Y, *afsōs* W.  
 alive *žicandai* (v. *žicāk*) PŠ, *zinda* O, S, W, Š, *o* Y, *zenda*, *janē* P.  
 all *drast*, *wāra* PŠ, *kull* O, P, S, *ar*, *ayēra* O, *hu*, *harēi*, *hus(s)* P, *drast*, *pāzi* Y, *hōr* S, *kūšt* W, *fukat* [-aθ] Š.  
 all three *kušše* P.  
 almond *bādām* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *bādām* S, (wild) *kitāya* Y.  
 alms *wačārūm*, *xudāi* Y.  
 alone *yavājai* (v. *yav*) PŠ, *tanā* O, *šahi* P, *škyiyiko* Y, *toko* Y, W, *tāke*, *wulyēka* S. Cf. *single*.  
 along with, v. *together with*.  
 already *waxt* Š.  
 also *mi* Wn 162, [*humi* PŠ], *ga(r)* O, *ham* P, *əm* Y, *am* Š.  
 always *mudām* O, P.  
 ambergris *ambar* P.  
 ambler *yibyā*, *yuryā* W.  
 ambling *yurya* S.  
 ambush *pašinai* PŠ.  
 amir *amir* P.  
 amorous *āšugbāz* P.  
 among *mēn* P, *tar* S.  
 amulet, v. *charm*.  
 ancient *gahīna*, *kōna*, *tarīcāl* P, *kūnā*, *qadīm* S, *kina* Š.  
 and [θ] PŠ, *u* O, P, *wo* P, Y, Š, *anci* S, *et* W, *at* Š.  
 angel *malāik* P, *forāšte* S.  
 Angelica *kurušo* Y.

- anger *khar*, *šanufart*, *xəšem* P, *kvahrē* Y, *xəfa* S, *kīqār* S, W, *rūs* W.
- angry *xəfa* O, P, Š, *bṛōs* Pš, *yussamand*, *pērtēān* P, *būr* W.
- animal *haiwēn*, *žāndār* Y, *aiwēn*, *čārān* S, *aiwēn* W.
- ankle *linda*, *narai* *yaṛai* (v. *yaṛəl*), *šongarai*, *šatgarai* Pš, *kanak* O, *šengerāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *band-e pāi* P, *trōboda*, *wuški-ostia* Y, *band-r-pā* S, *band-i-pūd*, *mās* W, *bijelak-i-pāi* Š.
- ankle-bone [*prō'ka* Wn], *warjāni* (v. *āyažəl*) Pš, *bujulak* P, *nšk-māžiko*, *pōlə bōžekə* Y, *čta-ləng* W, *šurčak* Š.
- ankle-ring *masl* P.
- answer *jawāb* O, *jwāp* P, *žuāb* Y, *jwāb* S, W, Š.
- ant *mērta* Wn 161, *mežai* Pš, *murčā* O, *marčoi* O<sup>1</sup>, *mūčō*, *murč* P, *marjo* Y, *mārcik*, *mərč* S, *murča*, *mīr-prič* W, *mūrj* Š.
- ant, white *wēna* Pš.
- antidote *taryāk* P.
- antler *čol* Y.
- anus *kūna* Pš, *kūn* O, W, *kyūn* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūypk*, *šin* W, *šardie* Š. Cf. *podex*.
- anvil *putk*, *sandan*, (small) *xōisk* Y, *sindōn*, *yūyone* *yər* W.
- any *čl* O, *hčl* P, *hāl* Y.
- anyone *kōk* O, *koi* Y, *ikko*, *koči* S.
- anybody *khin* P.
- anything (*čca* O, *hezā* P, *hčči* S).
- apart *biḡāna* P.
- apparent *mālēm* Y.
- appear, to *sōdij* W, *nemāi* Y.
- appearance *nemāyān* P.
- appearing *paidā* P, Y, S.
- apple *maṇa* Pš, *mltč* O, *mltč* O<sup>1</sup>, *āmar* P, *sčb* [Wn], P, W, *dmuno* Y, *mčl* S, *mur*, *mōpū* W, *mūn* Š.
- appointed time *wāda* O.
- apprenticeship *šāgirdi* P.
- approach, to *garz* Wn 167.
- approve, to *kabūl kan* P.
- apricot *matat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zardālū* O, P, [*zyard*<sup>2</sup> Wn], *mindut* P, *čirē* Y, *zardolu* S, W, *čuwčl* S, *čuwēn* W, *nās* (incorr. *nās*) Š.
- apricots (dried) *čtryščē* Y.
- apricot (unripe) *člṛwa* Y, *pəṇčək* W.
- apricot-kernel *čilyānē* Y.
- aqueduct *tarnāw* (v. *nāwa*) Pš.
- archer *kamāndār* P.
- arghawan, Judas-tree *arjauēn* P.
- arm *bizar* O<sup>1</sup>, *last* Y, *dəst* S, *dast*, *yurm* W, *bāz* Š. Cf. forearm, hand.
- arm (upper part of) *leča* Pš, *bāzū* P, S, *kālāja* P, *vizja* Y, *astamayčək* S, *mayzi* W, *fyak* Š.
- arm, strength of the *bāzūi* P.
- arm (weapon) *erāq* P.
- armlet, v. bracelet.
- armour *zjara* Pš, *zyirə* O<sup>1</sup>, *parkāla* P.
- armpit *kucapa* Wn 163, *txarg* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *baṇal* O, P, S, W, *banabayal*, *taikōl* P, *šafšjān*, *tākaš* Y, *kašviš* S, *kalibən* W, *bzyūž* Š.
- army *laškar* P, S, *fauj* P, W, *paltan* P, *kārun* Y, *askar*, *fauž* S.
- around *daur* P.
- arranged *jōr* P.
- arrangement *wāda* O, *bandubast* P.
- arrest, to *pačraz* W.
- arrive, to *čāy* O, z- O<sup>1</sup>, *zah* P, *res* Y, *ič* S, *žat* W, *šorāp* Š.
- arrive, to make to *zahčw* P, : *riščl* Y.
- arrogant *sōr-xaš* S.
- arrow [*čsa* Wn], *yšai* Pš, *tir* O, *yšāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānč* P, *pič*, *yufčirgiko* Y, *dər-nāk*(?), *xastirek* S, *tir-i-dast*, *wōč* W, *čaykamānak*, *pāč* Š. Cf. bullet.
- arrow, barbed *šatai* Pš.
- artisan *mōčič* Y, *wustād* W.



as, v. like.  
 ascend, to *lik*- O<sup>1</sup>, *san*- W. Cf. rise.  
 ascending *bēk* O.  
 ascent *pešūmai* Pš, *patarāj* Š.  
 as far as *tu-manak* O.  
 ash, mountain- *tūr* Y.  
 ashamed *šarmunda* O, °*enda* P, °*inda* S, W, °*emāe* P.  
 ashamed, to be *lejj*- P.  
 ashes *arē* Wn 159, *irē* (šr) Pš, *xākistār*, *yānak* O, *yāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhāy* P, *yaxio* Y, *park*, *wuter* S, *xākistār* S, W, *pārg* W, *štr* Š.  
 ashes, hot *xwāštan* Pš.  
 as if *laka* Pš.  
 as if, just as *gāya* Y.  
 ask, to *puštēdāl* Pš, *khujšew*- P, *pys*- Y, *fros*- S, *pars*- W, *pešc*- Š.  
 ask for, to *žay*- O, *za*- O<sup>1</sup>, *čalg*- W.  
 asleep *prou* Wn 160, *ūdē* Pš, *neastak* O<sup>1</sup>, *minduk* S, *žāft* Š.  
 ass *xar* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, Š, *xro* O<sup>1</sup>, *khōr* P, *xoro* Y, *xor* S, *xūr* W, *markāb* Š.  
 ass, wild *gyara* Pš.  
 ass's load *xerwār* P.  
 assembled *jam* P, *goš* S.  
 assignment *barāt* P.  
 assistance v. help.  
 assistant *hamrā* P.  
 astonished *hairān* P.  
 astringent *stay*, *zmox* Pš.  
 at *pa* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *da*, *dāl* P.  
 at last *āxer* P, *pešucaxšt*(?) S.  
 at once *mudā* P, *uqah* Y, *mis* Š.  
 attached, to be *meas*- O.  
 attain, v. *šnd*.  
 augury *mufr* W.  
 aunt *nandiār*, *tandor* Pš, *koko* Y, *vōē* W.  
 aunt, maternal *māšo* Pš, *xāla* O, P, Š.  
 aunt, paternal *tror* (v. *trō*) Pš, *amē* O, Š, *trō* O<sup>1</sup>, *amaji* P, *bibi* S.

autumn ['*manu* Wn], *manai* Pš, *me*<sup>o</sup> O, *mināi* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāmur* P, *pāiz* Y, *tīramā* Y, S, Š, °*mō* W, *lamūz* S.  
 avalanche *puma*, *rešk* Y, *yārē* S, [rišt Š].  
 avalanche (of stones) *čarxo* Y, °*a* W, Š.  
 avaricious *stay* Pš.  
 aware *poh* Pš.  
 awake ['*icārish*' Wn], *wtš* Pš, *agga(h)*, *usxiūbon*, *bidār*, *bicāre* Y, *bē*<sup>o</sup> S, *agā* Š.  
 awake, to (intr.) *gust*-(*ust*-) O, *čid*- P, (tr.) *čidec*- P, *aggahu*- Y.  
 aware *xabar* Š.  
 away *pū* P.  
 awl *rīna* Pš, *durf* P, *lerāšō* Y, *čārz* W.  
 axe *tabar* Pš, O, *nač'xai* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašō*, *tašō*, *taucāca*, *weggā* P, *tuvor* Y, *toror* S, *špār* W, *taf'wār*, *taršak*(?) Š.  
 axe, battle- *tucvzin* Y.

## B

babble, to *brām*- W.  
 babbler *ūnai* Pš.  
 baby *zolikik* Š.  
 bachelor *buidōq* S.  
 back (adv.) *byarta* Pš, *pēc* O, *apešt*, *bile*, *wopēs* P, *cebas*, *vispac* Y, *sibās* W, *wā* Š. Cf. again.  
 back, n. [*puštēi* Wn], *šā* Pš, *pēc*, *pūšt* O, *pešpuš*, *pušta*, *puš* P, *pišcō* Y, *arqa* S, W, *kamak* S, *dām*, *kūmi*, *mād* W.  
 back (lower part of) *biyān* O.  
 back (of an animal) *dām* S, *pert* W.  
 back (upper part of) *pat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *taxta-e* *pujika* P, *harko* Y, *arka*, *dām* Š.  
 back (of the head) *pēkalā* P, *sor-čibax* W.  
 back-tooth *pačagi* *danān* P, *kām-lad* Y, *korāsi*, *woldān* S.  
 back-wall *čana* Pš.  
 backwards *čpōšt* S.

- bad *bad* O, P, S, *yanj* O, *xarāb* O, O',  
P, Š, *elāhī*, *bīst*, *geš*, *kačal*, *wačhanā*  
P, *līw*, *naškel* Y, *ganda* S, *šak(k)* S,  
W, *loyar* W, *šake* Š. Cf. evil, lean,  
rotten.
- bad, ill-omened *badkār* P.
- badness *badī* P.
- bad smell *wah* S.
- bag *gōpiš* O', *bozai* Y. Cf. goatskin bag,  
mussuck.
- baker *naḡon-pečāk*, *naḡonphakš* P, *xā-*  
*dem* Y.
- baker, professional woman *xanadaro* Y.
- bakhshesh *širini* P.
- baking-pan *usid* S, *sāt* W.
- bald *kal* O, P, S, *kvel* Y.
- band *riškai* (v. *weršol*) Pš.
- band (of sheaf) *wandanai*, *wawdanai* Pš,  
°*enai* O'.
- band (of a shirt) *kaitān* P.
- bank (of a river) *bar* P, *daryā-lab* W.
- barber, a *modreb* P.
- bare-footed *abl* (v. *pal*) Pš, *xīr-pul* Y,  
*špuak* W.
- bare-headed *wīsti-sar* W.
- bark (of tree) *xwar* Pš, *pāni*(?) O, *pūst*  
(= *bhīnika*, °*e tika*) P, *pisto* Y,  
*pōstāk* S, *draxt-pīst*, *k'urust* W,  
*pōst* Š.
- bark, birch- *barj* Pš.
- bark, to *šlp* [Pš], O', *jaf*-, *wakar* P,  
*rov* Y, *lav* S.
- barking of a dog *yan'yan* O.
- barley [*arba/asi* Wn], *orbūšē* Pš, °*spēk* O,  
*ispēk* O', *šō* P, *košk*, *yēršio* Y, *wer-*  
*wa* S, *yirk* W, *čūšē* Š.
- barley (beardless) *kwāl-yaršio* Y.
- barley-bread, v. bread.
- barn, v. hay-stack, store-room.
- barren *šayf* Pš, *š(x)trin* W.
- bashful *lejjanāk* P.
- basket *kajāno* O', *bořiko*, *kūmio*, *sāvdē* Y,  
*čumōl* S, *wurges* W, *cemūd* Š.
- bat (zool.) *šapararak* O, P, S, W, *ša-*  
*wurkai* O', *mūš-i parrān* P, *š-verzəṛa*  
*rūso*, *šabparekilay*, *šiederaus* Y, *šab-*  
*gardak*, *šāparak* Š.
- bath *ammām* S.
- bathe, to *šamb* O', *šənay* Y, *šənšwarē*  
*kən* S. Cf. to wash.
- battle *jang* P.
- battlefield *jangjāi* P.
- baxter *tabai* (v. *taba*) Pš, *noynojo* Y.
- bazar *bāčār* P, Y, S.
- bay, to *rny* W.
- be, to I Wn 106, *šta*, *wu'*, *yam* Pš.  
*b* O, -*a*, -*ā*, *hā*, *si*, *bī*, *šst* P, *ast*:-  
*vī* Y, -*š*, *ast*, *čsto*, *wš* S, *hūmū*,-  
*tei* W, *wu*-, *yast* Š.
- beacon *šunya* Y. Cf. bonfire.
- beak *nūl* O, P, S, Š, *mašūko* O', *nəyojo* Y,  
*mingōr*, *nūck* W.
- beam *pəšō* Y.
- beam (of floor) *sūnj* Y. Cf. roof-beam.
- beans *kačeraphōy*, *māš* P, *muṛojo* Y, *bāl'ē* S,  
*bakula* W, *maš*(?) Š.
- bear *yiri* Wn 161, *yaš* Pš, *xirs* O, P, W,  
*yirs*, *yilō* O', *uē*, *uř* P, *xars*, *yař* Y,  
*xars* S, *noṛordum* W, *yūř* Š.
- bear, to (a child) *ziy*-, *ažaw* Y, *yōž* W.
- bear, to- (endure) *šarā* Y.
- beard *šira* Pš [Wn]; *aurušt*, *giš*(?) O, *dhāri*  
P, *yaršo* Y, *riš*, *vin* S, *regiš* W, *bōn* Š.
- beard (of corn) *laša* Pš, *sūg* O, *lēš* O'.
- beast of burden *bhārgir* P.
- beat, to *wul* Wn 166, *wahol* Pš, *pr(b)*,  
*fikawo*-, *zan* O, *dē(h)* O', P, S, *jan* O',  
*ur*-, *jan*-, *lag* P, *dah* Y, *čuk*, *žeb*-  
S, W, *dē*-, *dīm* W, *dā*-(*de*), *zin* Š.
- beat (a drum) *kūb* P.
- beat to (each other) *dəgg vit* W.
- beat and clean wool, to *šem* W.



- beating *zək* O.  
 beautiful *kāšalai* (v. *kāšal*), [*šāyista*] Pš, *šāsta* O, *šāista* O<sup>1</sup>, *negār*, *nāzanin*, *suṭra* P, *xāšrūi* W.  
 beauty *kārigī*, *surat* P.  
 because *ka* O, *če*, *cā* P, *ke* Y, *ki* S, W.  
 because of *bābadi* O.  
 become, to *šwəl* Pš, *b-* O, *s-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čh-* par. P, *oy-* Y, *š-* S, *wəc-* W, *sāw-* Š.  
 bed *gāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *čārpāl* O, P, Š, *kaš* P, *čor-poyt*, *mānjo*, *žen* Y, *vīš*, *manjē* S, *oja*, *čārpāya* W.  
 bedding *brēstən* Wn 162, *brastən* Pš, *bistar* O, *lēf* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *kasāyan*, *wīranš* P, *niwilo*, *kurpo* Y, *čē* S, *kīrpa*, *pipir* W.  
 bee [*angīmēčā* Wn], *glawza*, *mačal* (v. *mač*) Pš, *šādžambūr*, *šātībambur* P, (*agmīn*-) *kurmīkl* Y, *zambūr-i asal* W.  
 beehive *agīmīnyčē* Y.  
 beetle *čāčk* Y, *sanguert* W.  
 beetroot *lablabū* S.  
 before *wrānde* (v. *wrumbai*) Pš, *šam* O, *pač(čar)*, *pailān*, *pēš*, *pušt*, *tar(i)*, *tartar* P, *apir*, *piro*, *psaro*, *škapir* (v. Addenda ad p. 246) Y, *ža* S, *xēz* Š.  
 before, in front of *wulāi* S.  
 beggar *saqir* O, P.  
 begging *bōricānī* P, *gadāi* Y.  
 beginning *awal* W.  
 behind *wrusto* Pš, *apešt*, *damāi*, *dumbāl*, *peš(čte)*, *peščan* P, *debāl*, *špāč* Y, *čpōšt* S, *zebā* Š.  
 belief *bāwar*.  
 believing *kābūl* S.  
 bellow, to *naṭəl* Pš, *buṭ*, *nar-* O<sup>1</sup>, *anue-* Y.  
 bellowing *bay* O, *qōnas*, *khānas* P, *baṭaz* Y, *boṭas* S. Cf. bleating.  
 bellows *gučēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *dəm*, *pučē* Y.  
 belly [*geša*, *xēša* Pš], *nas*, *škamba* O, *qīm* O<sup>1</sup>, *aštāf*, *xīl* P, *darūn*, *laṇčik*, *iltr*,

- ūlūt* Y, *dēr*, *rēč'k*, *šikam* S, *dūr*, *wānj*, *word* W, *kāčē* Š. Cf. guts, intestines.  
 beloved *yār*, *zurbar* P.  
 below *kāta* (v. *kē*), *kūz* Pš, *jēm* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ta*, *wāchanē* P, *dalin*, *noṭosār*, *sāro*, *šitāhān* Y, *piān*, *viš* S.  
 belt *psol* (v. *psolol*), *walmastānāi* (v. *mlā*) Pš, *kamarband* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, *ezārband* P, *lākīn* S.  
 belt, (leather) *suṭ-molān* Y, *spādag* W, *karapči* Š.  
 bend, to *kāša*- O<sup>1</sup>.  
 Berberis *azito* Y.  
 berries, a kind of wild, red- *wetricanē*.  
 betrothal *kozda* Pš.  
 betrothed *čanyol* Pš.  
 better, is *bīdo(?)* Š.  
 beware *xābardār* Š.  
 beyond *pore* Pš.  
 bier *šinazo* Y.  
 biestings *wurš* Pš, *šilla* S, *pič* W.  
 big *loe*, *star* Pš, *\*stur* O, Y, *stur* O<sup>1</sup>, *ghand*, *ferimān*, *yulū* P, *žēšt* S, *kalān*, *kačča* S, Š, *hup* W, *xādir* Š.  
 bile *rəma* Pš.  
 bind, to *taṭəl* Pš, *taṭ-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *beč-* P, *trāš*, *vad-* Y, *vānd-* S, W, *vīnd-* Š.  
 birch *zewiryo* Y, *bīrēš* S, *bulli*, *furs* W.  
 birch(-bark) *barf* Pš.  
 bird *marys* Pš, *parrinda* Y, S, W.  
 bird (n. of a) *bubititi*, *yūči*, *kašir* O, *dasxār*, *pūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bādār*, *xarkau* P, *bubuka*, *čaroyo*, *ifo*, *waryijīn*, *xoryū*, *šingo* Y, *pirmāi* S, *bakar*, *bīlfak*, *kalanjoč*, *qakul*, *turpičū*, *žāriki* W. Cf. water-fowl.  
 bird-net *salmā* W.  
 birth *zāt* P.  
 bit, horse's *yalamī* O<sup>1</sup>, *lašām* P, *čom* Y, • W, *čūm* Š, *lašām* S, *nuxta* Y, *dāna* S. Cf. bridle.

blitch {*spai* Pš}, *mādakucēh*, *tāzi* P, *mācio* Y, *mācik* S, *māček* W, *ked* Š.  
 bite, to *dāpəl* Pš, *gas-* P, *noγ-* Y. Cf. chew.  
 bitter *trix* Pš, *tēš* O, *tēš* O<sup>1</sup>, *takku* P, *talx* P, Y, S, W, *tarku* P, *xošk*, *trake* W, *ciš* Š.  
 black *tor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *γrās* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *paddā* P, *n<sup>o</sup>roū* Y, *šūi* S, *šiu* W, *tēr* Š.  
 black-pocks *gulamiri* W.  
 blacksmith *pəš* Pš, *ā(h)engar* O, P, *mōciē* Y, *ustād* S.  
 bladder *spoxz* Pš.  
 blanket *šarai* [< IA] Pš, *kambala* O<sup>1</sup>, *pəlās*, *šil* Y, *kampal* W. Cf. bedding, rug, shawl.  
 bleat, to *wenger-* P, *γənil-* Y, *wāγ-* W.  
 bleating *brešan* Pš, *bānas* P, *boγas* S. Cf. bellowing.  
 blessing *duwā* O.  
 blind *rūd* Pš, *kōr* O, S, Š, *šnd* O<sup>1</sup>, *biteh*, *kānō*, *kōr* P, *kurbos*, *yūdē* Y, *kūr* W, *bezūwē* Š.  
 blindfolded *tešepakā(t)* P.  
 blink, to v. wink.  
 blister *šwa*, *šinai* Pš.  
 blood *wina* Pš, *in*, *šun* O, *sun* O<sup>1</sup>, *šin* P, *xūn* P, Š, *ino* Y, *wēn* S, *wūšn* W.  
 blood, mixed with water *malob* Pš.  
 blood, dripping with *hncakāi* P.  
 blood-brotherhood *biyādarxāndagi* P.  
 blood-fine *bađuēām* P.  
 blossom, to *spriš-* W.  
 blow *zərb* P.  
 blow, with closed hands *gurma(t)* (v. *gruf*) Pš.  
 blow, to *pəb-*, *puf* *ken-* S.  
 blow out v. extinguish.  
 blowing *phī* P.  
 blue *šin* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *xiygak* O, *kabūt* P, S, W, Š, *sauz* P, *axšrn* Y, *sāwz* W, *nile* Š.

bluish grey *xing* S.  
 blunt *kund* O, Y, S, *kull* P, *mizv*, *s<sup>o</sup>nte* Y, *kīnd* W, *gund*, *tund* Š.  
 boar *matz* Pš.  
 board *lāriē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 board, roof- *taxta* S.  
 board (round fireplace) *taxtabandē* Y.  
 boat *kīsti* O, S, *kešti* P, *xan* Š.  
 bobbin *rešpuk* W. Cf. spindle.  
 body *jān* O, P, *badan* P, S, W, *tōn* P, *tono* Y, *bana* (?) S, *tana* S, Š, *tan* W.  
 bog *buštana* (v. *buštēdāl*), *tarma* Pš.  
 boil n. *lūna*, *nonkaš*, *šalūna*, *šanza* Pš, *dāna* P, *parəpaši* Y.  
 boil, to v.i. *yašedāl* (v. *yašnā*) Pš, *yas-wēk* O, *γaric-* P, *uric-* Y, *yaki-* W.  
 boil, to, v.t. *jūš-* O, *γaricēw-* P, *kāky-* Y, *wāw-* S, *wūw-* Š.  
 boiling *yašnā* Pš, *jōš* O, *γaric* P, *wūw* Š.  
 bolt, of a door *poruy* Y.  
 bolt, hole for the door-b. *poruy-lan* Y.  
 bone [*haq* Pš], *stoyān* O, *haq* P, *yastē* Y, *ostok* S, *yašč*, *ustuxōn* W, *selxān* Š.  
 bonfire *dūna* (v. *tod*) Pš, *pumbarāš* Y.  
 book *kitūb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, Š, *ketin* Y, *kitūw* S.  
 boon *xubi* O.  
 boot *bōt* O, *būt* P, *būto* Y, *okord* S, *šišk* W, *pəx*, *paizār* Š. Cf. shoe.  
 border of a field *vāzak* Š.  
 born *paidā* P, Y, S.  
 born, to be *zowul* Pš, *say-* O, *zā-* P, *azistai* Y.  
 born in the preceding spring *sāmuri* P.  
 both *dwārə* Wn 162, *dwārə/a* (v. *wāra*) Pš, *aqduqāq*, *ardū* O, *huddi(nān)* P, *avēl* Y, *kifē* W.  
 bottom *wən* Y.  
 bottom of a bed (plaited) *ylsē* Y.  
 boulder *xīfai* Pš.  
 bound *basta* O<sup>1</sup>.



- bow *linda* Pš, *kanān* O, P, *drūng* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*drūn* Y, *kanōn* W, *can* Š.
- bow (pellet-) *šllak* P, Y, *ṣṣ* S, *xṣ*-  
*mānek* Y, *šmbōnak* W.
- bow (for carding cotton) *kamanek* Y.
- bow, the point of a *svediko* Y.
- bowstring *ziā* Wn 169, *zai* Pš, *zāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*fir* P, *zē* P, S, *zio* Y, *dernāk*(?) S,  
*jai* W, *zil* Š.
- bowl, wooden *kuydūk*, *padreiko* Y,  
*kolarē* S, *kōbūn* W.
- box *sandux* O, *səndūk* O<sup>1</sup>, *sandūg* P,  
*sandūq* Y, W, *uk* S, *tovūno* Y.
- box (for cheese) *vorkyakyē* Y.
- box (on the ear) *čapilāk* P.
- boy *werkai* (v. *eur*), *zapai* Pš, *bača*,  
*klanāk* O, *kulāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bačl*, *bald*, *lerē* P,  
*mardumpūr*, *šunayē* Y, *zomanek* S, W,  
*kaš* W, *ṣṣdā* Š.
- bracelet *bāhū*, *wašai* (v. *icandanai*) Pš,  
*čuri* P, *pālāstiko* Y, *prešt* S, *boin* W.
- braid *yafōyi* P.
- braid, to, v. *plait*.
- brain *māyz* Pš, *mastery* O<sup>1</sup>, *māyz-e*  
*sārika* P, *māyz* Y, Š, *kala-māyzigo* Y,  
*māyz-i sor*, *sātān-māyz-i* S.
- bramble *zana* Pš, *kuryūde* Y, *čerir* W.
- branch [cānggo Pš], *šāx* O, P, W, *cānggo* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šl* P, *šāxo* Y, *vəzək* S, *šolx*, *šamō*-  
*nak* W, *šexāk*, *xēl* Š.
- brass *ziyař* Pš, *mes* P, *mīs* Y, S, W, Š,  
*birinj* S.
- brass-pot *məs-dig* W.
- bravo *šābāš* P, *šābāš* Y, *šfarin* S.
- bray *aq* O.
- bray, to *rayəl* Pš.
- bread *wēl*, [nəzan] Wn 169, *nayan* Pš,  
*ōn* P, *en* Y, *txan* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kək* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nahari* Y, *gōla*, *xēste* S, *ṣṣok*, *šec* W,  
*šepik* Š.
- bread (thin) *pāstēi*, *wisilyē* [< Pš] O<sup>1</sup>.
- bread (piece of) *xān* Pš, *nōri* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
(Cf. morsel).
- bread (barley) *kōškōn* (nayan), *aršōmin* Y.
- bread (millet) *aršōmin* Y, *kileščak* Š.
- bread (wheaten) *yađmin nayan* Y, *gidim*-  
*šec* W, *garđa* Š.
- bread (made with curds) *kutaxin* Y.
- bread (made of muyo) *maymun* Y.
- breadth *psor* Pš, *bar* P.
- break, to v.i. *šledəl* Pš, *mēz*, *s-yok* O,  
*maz*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ṣṣišk(ē)* Y.
- break, to v.tr. *mizau-* O, *eri-* Y, *vrēl-* S,  
*vəstəv*, *škendiv* W, *šicēnd*, *vrač* Š.
- breakfast *nārai* Pš, *nahari* Y, *zar*-  
*dōpp* W.
- breast *bar* P, S, W, *šind* P, S, W, Š,  
*fiž* Y, *ṣṣi-i-bar*, *puz* S, *ṣṣabar*,  
*ṣṣūz* W.
- breast (female) *yualūn* Wn 159, *tai* Pš,  
*čik* O, *šiz* P, *iščin* Y, *čiči* S, *bap*,  
*dal* W, *biš* Š.
- breastwork *murdal* P.
- breath *ūda*, *sāh* Pš, *phī* P, *dom* Y,  
*tom* Š.
- breeze *nūwq* W.
- briar *axrio* Y, *gulxār* S.
- bribe *māaselt* P.
- brick *xāšta* Pš, *xēst* O, *uštu* Y, *šetk*,  
*šōlg*, *xēšt* W.
- brick, burnt *šilo* O<sup>1</sup>.
- brick, dried *xēst* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š.
- bride *nāwē* Pš, *ārūs* O, P, S, *so* Y,  
*kenyāla* P, *šābuk* Y, *ōris* W.
- bridegroom *palasta* Wn 168, *šā* P, *šābuka*,  
*šāi*, *šābuk* Y.
- bridge [pal Wn], *puł* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, *hi* P,  
*yrya* Y, *yotuk* S, *škōrd* W, *yēid* Š.
- bridge, rope *duł* W.
- bridle *awlūn* Wn 159, *mlūna* Pš, *kaiza* O,  
*jelau* P, *awlūn*, *qizagī*, *yunciz* Y,  
*yilūn* W. Cf. bit.

- bright rūp Pš, rūšana O, rušan P, roušan, signi S, nīr W.
- brightness brēnā Pš, ira P. Cf. light.
- bring, to rā-w- Wn 160/1, prēw- Wn 167; (inanim. obj.) rā-wrəl (v. wrəl) Pš, war- O, ār- P, āvēr- Y, ižim- S, wuzem- W, vār- Š; (anim. obj.) °wastəl Pš, ēn-, zahēw- P, avēz- Y, nīr- S, kulāl- Š.
- bring in, to hēl kan- P.
- bring up, to deg- W.
- broad v. wide.
- broken māt Pš, rházōi, xār P, fʾrēd S.
- brooch čamō Y.
- brook, v. stream.
- broom jārūp O, parawak O¹, jārū P, Y, parwaxlē, rufo Y, rēf S, dʾrepē W, wōlīrēm (corr. form) Š.
- brother wōrōr Pš, marzā O, O¹, bʾəyā P, vraī Y, vʾrūd S, vʾrīt W, vārād Š.
- brother, elder lāla P.
- brother-in-law bōja W, wēlīrj Š; (husband's brother) lewar Pš, O¹, hīwar P, xʾwēr, yūi Y, tēu S, bakš, hīar W; (sister's husband) dāmād O, zamai Y; (wife's sister's husband) bāja Y; (wife's brother) āxai Pš, xusurbērā O, āxāi O¹, xasurbīra P, xʾwərbērā, roucan Y, xusərbērē S.
- brown xər Pš, xīr O¹, žigarēn Y, šurang-zārd S, žigari, rakš W.
- bruise, to jabōl Pš.
- bruised angār O.
- bucket kuzālī O, bōkō O¹, aftūca P, °ōwō Y, °āwē S, langau, mašerba Y, yūdāra S, kūza W, Š, kušcak Š. Cf. water-vessel.
- buckle of a belt pišanciz Y.
- bud ʾandal Pš, ʾūpō O¹, ʾunča P, buʾayī, tūga Y, ʾorrā W.
- buffalo meš Pš, miš(a) O¹.
- bug xowiza Y, šawzād S, xəuzit W.
- bulbul bulbul P, W.
- bulgar leather būryāl P.
- bull lēzda Wn 161, yuckai, yocai, (v. yocā) Pš, nargōi O, (nar-ʾgyōi O¹, qīay Y, axla, (ʾr-kužuk S, buqā, dʾrukš W, sītōr, fīj Š.
- bull, young juyda O.
- bullock xwandar (v. xzai) Pš, O¹.
- bullock, plough- gašōi O, kāsagū P.
- bullet počūn S. Cf. arrow.
- burden bār O, P, bhār P, vira Y, vūr S, vīr W, viz (w-) Š.
- burial-feast čāzdāni P.
- buried šax Pš.
- burn, to v.i. swəl Pš, bras- O, thi- P, tər- S, šāw- W, : šod Š.
- burn, to v.tr. sejl (v. swəl) Pš, bras- O, thēw- P, guv- Y.
- burnt thōi P.
- burrow ros W.
- burrow, hare's šō-yālai (v. yālai) Pš.
- burst, to čāwēd[ō] Pš, tār- P, zobūt- W.
- bury, to dīz- Y.
- bush tarāni P.
- but balkim O, xu, walē, walekin P, allo nō S, °nāi W, ammā S, ammā W.
- butter čuk Wn 162, [kuč Pš], maskā O, W, Š, °o Y, pisk O¹, ponū W.
- butter, clarified, v. clarified b.
- butterfly šāparak O, Š, °ik P, pingrak O¹, kantia, rawa Y, paručnek S, mīndelič, pilek-milek W.
- butter-milk šomle, tarica (v. trhe) Pš, pikāk, tōpi O, O¹, dōy, waspē P, niya Y, nižuk S, dīy W, dūy Š. Cf. curds, milk, whey.
- button tūga Y, tukmo/a Y, S, tāk W.
- build, to rēz- P.
- built al P.
- bustard čārai Pš, čaʾoʾo Y.



buy, to *pīrawedl* [\**parya-*] Pš, *fen-* O, *frin-* O<sup>1</sup>, *guri-* P, *xōn-* Y, *xarn-* S.  
 buyer *guriagar*, *xaridār* P.  
 buying *xarid* W, Š.

## C

cairn *colai* Pš. Cf. beacon.  
 cake *kulcā* S.  
 cage *kafastūr* Y, *kafas* S.  
 calamity *balā* P.  
 calculation *šumār* P, *išūb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, W.  
 calf [sxa Wn], *sxai* Pš, *yuskak*, *xusi* O, *ywos* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūsūla*, *yasč*, *tōrpl* P, *bakol*, *šutur*, *wosok* S, *štūr*, *wok*, *doški* w<sup>o</sup>, *waci*(?) W, *fig* Š; (he-) *bārāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakrāda*, *muškoya* Y, *juāna* Y, W, *bakuydi* S, *noband* W; (she-) *bārič* O<sup>1</sup>, *foryōmčēk*, *miščoro*, *patešo* Y, *juwde*, *wāntē* S, *foryōmčē*, *rəgūm* W.  
 calf of the leg *yapāi* (v. *yapāl*), *puṇḍai* (v. *pūnda*) Pš, *oḍiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *iskambek-i pāi*, *baftak* P, *ilira*, *linga*, *nāliko* Y, *kārlīn*, *šōf-i pād*, *wont*, *zūngviš* S, *iskamba-i-pā* W, *ling* W, Š, *pura-i-gošt* Š.  
 call, to *uḡā-* Y, *qiv ken-* S, *qēw-* W, *kiv-* Š.  
 calling *kicī* O.  
 call together, to *dhēw-* P.  
 camel [wus Wn], *uš* Pš, *štūr* O, P, *wūš* O<sup>1</sup>, *iškīrō* Y, *štūr* S, *štūr* W, *štūr* Š.  
 camel-driver *sāricān* P.  
 can, v. able.  
 candle *šam*, *čiray*, *siyā-čiray* S. Cf. lamp, light.  
 canter, to *halka kan-* P.  
 cap *kolai* (v. *xol*) Pš, *xolī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kulā*, *kup* P, *xūlo* Y, *kulī*, *talpak* S, *pakbāl*, *skid*, *tāqe*, *tilpak* W, *tākē* Š.  
 cap, woolen *pakoṛo* Y.

cap, woman's *pakvīk* Y.  
 captain *kāftan* P.  
 captured *deslgir* P.  
 caravan *kāfila* Y.  
 caravanserai *srāt* O.  
 card, to (wool) *šak* O<sup>1</sup>, *lib-* Y, *domb-* S.  
 care *eleāt*, *parcā* P.  
 carpenter *nažār* S, *ustāt* Y.  
 carpet *dāryē*, *yaličō* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 carpet (cotton) *stranj* W. Cf. coat, rug.  
 carrot *gajar* O, *gūzerak* P, *zardak* P, Š, *ošk* S.  
 carry, to *werl* Pš, *g-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bar-* P, *is-*, *wan-* Y, *wus-* S.  
 carry to (off) *yūnd-* W.  
 cartilage *tandwai* Pš.  
 cartridge *kortus* Y.  
 cartridges, having *jāyuri* P.  
 carve wood, to *derd car-* W.  
 cascade, v. waterfall.  
 cash *nāxt* P.  
 cast off, to *ražedl* Pš.  
 castle *srāt* O, *arg*, *kāsr* P. V. fort.  
 castrated *škop* W.  
 cat [pšl Wn], *pišo* Pš, *pišl* O, *bulli*, *pus* O<sup>1</sup>, *pišak* P, *piško* Y, *pūs* S, *piš* W, *pūšak* Š.  
 catch, to v. seize.  
 catch a cold, to *škō-* S, *škā-* W.  
 cattle *māl* P, Š, *cōrpā* P, *čšir-pāla-f* (v.s.v. *čšir*), *štūr* Y, *čārvā* S, *čat* W; (small) *psō* Pš, *carwōk* O, *čārcoyi*, *rižayak* Y.  
 cattle-shed *yūjōl* (v. *kolai*) Pš, *bāyčō*, *škāu* O<sup>1</sup>, *yāio*, *priwūr* Y, *šikōš* S, *aycl*, *pučl* W, *čejid* Š. Cf. goats' pen.  
 cavalry *resāla* P.  
 cause *jinib*, *sabab* W.  
 cause, to (to be made) *koni-* Y.  
 cave *cveda* Pš, *čhe* O, *yār* O, S, *khur* P, *kēn* Y, *bāi* W.

cavity *garang* Pš.

ceiling *čs* O<sup>1</sup>, *kš*, *talāf* P, *čof* Y, *widūn* Š.

Cf. roof.

cellar *wačhanē-yus* P.

centfoil *sādbārg* Y, W, Š, *kabūt s°* Š.

centipede *šobla*, *zanza* Pš, *mūr* O, S, *girgišo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čilpāt* P, Š, *saibal* P, *hazorečangolo* Y.

certain *yakin* P.

certainly *walē* P.

chaff *kūtk* W.

chain *zanjir* P, *žaširo* Y.

chair *sandalī* O, *kursī* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *k°* S, *čauki* P, *°kyē* Š, *mindal(?)* S, *čovki* W.

chamber, upper *bātaxāna* O.

channel, v. irrigation channel.

charcoal, v. coal.

Charles' Wain *hīb-vārit* W.

charm *marai* Pš, *elm*, *taviz* P.

chatter, to *varēdāl* Pš.

cheap *arzān* O, P, *°on* W.

cheating, v. deceit.

cheek *yuc/ča* Wn 168, *anargai* Pš [*< ānana-*], *mux* O, P, *bəzur* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruzsāla* P, *nišok*, *rəx°* Y, *rūi* Y, W, *linjek*, *pšūr* S, *lunj* W. Cf. face.

cheese *tarica* (v. *trivc*) Pš, *panir* O, P, Y, W, *p°* S, *kirār*, *plāc*, *tarān* Y, *ijgai(?)* S, *londak* W, *alyāk* Š. Cf. curds, dried.

cheese-box *vorkyakyē*

chenar *činār* O, Y, S, W, Š, *čc°* P, *rīm* Š.

cherry *gīlās* Y, S, *°os* W.

chest v. box.

chew, to *šowul* Pš, *gran-*, *zay-* O, *jāw-* P, *axšow-*, *mā-*, *šaf-* Y, *šāw-* S, *yemeš-* S. Cf. bite, gnaw.

chewing the end *xšān* [*šawand*] Pš, *ramet* W.

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chicken *čirgəšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *čužiya* Y, *čūčik*, (*kurčūn*) *zəmāni* S, *čica* W.

chief *rahts* P.

child *woŕkai* O, *γurčk*, *jura* P, *zəmon(ak)* Y, *telf* S, *zā*, *zəmān* W. Cf. boy.

children *aulād* O, *°t* P, *baškač* S.

child-bearing *zəžko* Y.

childless *būr* Pš.

chin *kaž* (v. *kše*), *zana* Pš, *zināk* O, *zaniē* O<sup>1</sup>, *zanuk* P, *zanax* Y, W, *alāša* W, *zīgūn* Š, (no separate word) S.

chip of wood *totanai* (v. *taršaj*) Pš, *frōi* Y.

chisel *čwurlai* Pš.

choice *extiyār* P.

choose, to *bəž-* O, *yawer* W.

chosen *γowara* Pš.

chop, to *waršol*, *°šol* Pš, *tukun-* Y.

chuck into the mouth, to *pīnol* Pš.

churn *porwac* W.

churn, to *ušan-* Y.

churning *kīmšō* P.

circle *daur* P.

circuit *dūbara*, *gerde* P.

circumcise, to *nailō-* Y.

circumcision *šlik-skədm* Y.

clan *zel* Pš, *ulus* P.

clarified butter *ruŕa* Wn 161, *γowŕi* Pš, *rūn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *liwoŕn* P, *rūy(?)n* Y, W, *rēy°n* S, *širō* Š.

clasp, to *čəf-* Y, *nədavn-* W.

claw *mangul* (v. *gruf*) Pš, *mangulāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *čang* P, W, *panjāl* P, *čigālī* Y, *čingāl* S, *čangin* Š.

clay *gel* O, P, Š, *jer* O, *šū* P, *gil* Y, S, W, *xlārjo*, *šifon*; *milγuz* (red); *milγo* (white) Y, *loī* S, *šarkh*, *šadk* Š.

clay-pot *gurcuk* O, *pišin* S.

clean *pākizā* O, *kārl*, *sāf* P, *pāgro* Y, *pāyzē* S, *pāyja* Š.



cleanse, to *spejəl*, *wtujəl* Pš, *pək ken* S,  
*pək car* W, *pək ken* Š. Cf. wash.  
 • clear *barcer* (v. *cer*) Pš, *sāf* P; (sky)  
*troyo* Y, *wirdina* W.  
 clearly *čūrt*, *nāteq* P.  
 cleave, to *cir* O<sup>1</sup>, *pəcag* Y. Cf. cut.  
 clever *kāy* Pš.  
 client *a(s)sūmī* P.  
 cliff, (high) *vənaγaro* Y.  
 cloak *kač-žōy*, *pīlamru*, *royz*, *šīžoyun*,  
*žōy* Y, *wanjī*, *čapān*, *čayman* S,  
*čpān* W. Cf. coat.  
 clod of earth *γuroi-pīš*, *γarbasē* Y.  
 close v. near.  
 close, to, v. shut.  
 closed *dəḡ* O, *bot*, *kəpē* Y. Cf. locked.  
 clothes *ləša* Wn 168 [Pš *loxa* = *ləša*  
 bedding], *kālī* O, °a P, *zopē* Y, *mus* S,  
*būt* W. Cf. dress.  
 clond *γarzo* Wn 168, *ōro*, *veryaj* Pš,  
*yēwer* O, *abar*, *wišt* O<sup>1</sup>, *air*, *tam* P,  
*nūy* Y, *ab(ə)r* S, W, Š, *mōi* S, *mēy*,  
*mūr* W.  
 cloudy *ozgū* P.  
 clover *sabargo* Y, *kaftal* S, *šaptal* W,  
*səbarga* Š.  
 club *gurz* P.  
 cluster of grapes *zangūrāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *γōro* Y.  
 coal *skor* Pš, O, *aggešt* O, °ūšt S, *škāro*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *γār* P, *škārvio* Y, *zuyōl* W.  
 coal, live *skarwafa* (v. *skor*) Pš, *zuyāl* O,  
*spōx* O<sup>1</sup>, *džuryo* Y, *žič* S, *angīšt*,  
*škōrē* W, *nīšār* Š.  
 coal, pit *kemur* S.  
 coal pieces of, charcoal *pēmāna* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 coat *kəf* O<sup>1</sup>, *kūf* Y, *wanjī* S. Cf. rug.  
 coat, sheepskin, v. posteen.  
 cobbler *kovzdūz* Y.  
 cock *čirag* Wn 159, *čirg* Pš, *pīng* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bāšana*, *xurōs* P, °ūs S, *narkirē* Y,  
*xōris* W, *čūš* Š.

cock-crow *bāng* P.  
 cognizance *dərak* Y.  
 coin *pāišā* Y.  
 coin, gold *ašerafi* Y.  
 cold (adj.) *sof* Pš, *cāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čštāwō* P, *axlen*,  
*yož* Y, *sard*, *xənək* S, *sir*, *xunuk* W,  
*žetā*, cf. *šecājum* Š; (n.) *sāla* O,  
*šūriš* P, (*h*)*ayās* S, *sūri*, *sarmā* W;  
 cold, a *xūdm* S.  
 cold, to be *škōr* S.  
 colic *šwala* (v. *šomle*) Pš.  
 collar *gorci* Wn 163, *glribān* P, *hasatne*  
 Y, *γarāy* W; dog's *γar-wandai* (v.  
*wandanai*) Pš.  
 collar-bone *hekt* Wn 161 [*\*hukka-ka*  
 'the dry bone'?), *grewa* Pš, *gruwiē*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *fīz-yasti*, *parāyasti*, *šulko* Y,  
*brūtiyarc*, *čigas*, *tārak* W.  
 collect, to *žen* P, *šfacā* Y, *žūrt* W,  
*vīšt* Ša-Š.  
 collected *šol* O, *jām* O, P, *goj* S.  
 collyrium *wazan* O, *surma* P.  
 colonel *kārnail* P.  
 colour *rang* O, S, W, *rōng* P, *rok* Y;  
 (of skin) *γūna* Pš.  
 colt *biyāš d* O, *biyāš* O<sup>1</sup>, *kur(r)a* P, Š,  
*taya* Y, *tayāk* S, *tōi* W.  
 comb *wēnəj* Wn 162, *žmanj* Pš, *šakk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šānā* P, *šfīn* Y, *āšfūn* S, *nəbos*,  
*zəlfak* W, *vešāj* Š; (curry-) *γajō* Pš.  
 comb, to *lmečəl* Pš, *nurāš* Y.  
 come, to *rās*:- *rāyya* Wn 160/7, *γalai*,  
*rājəm* (v. *šwōl*) Pš, *lž* P, *as*, *šam*(??)  
 Y, *is* S, *wəzi* W, *yad* Š. Cf. arrive.  
 come out, to *nī* Y, *nēz* S.  
 command *ukəm* O, *farmān*, *gap* P,  
*hukm* P, Y.  
 command, to *farmāš*, *wescj* P, *band*-  
*awā* Y, *fərmē* S, *rami* W, *rēmād* Š.  
 commandant *kūmaidān* P.  
 commission *barāt* P.

compassion *rahm*, *rhammī* P.  
 complaint *zāri* P.  
 completely *bibāki*, *hamcār*, *puxta*, *saī* P.  
 comrade *mal* Pš, *rafuq*, *aṇḍiwāl*, *hamrā* P, *rafīq* Š.  
 conceal, to *ūtaf* P, *pāš va ken* (?) S, *māš* W.  
 concealed *puṭ* O, *buḍ* O<sup>1</sup>, *juṭ*, *peṭ* P.  
 conceited *seṣṭa* P.  
 conclusion *ijrā* P.  
 condition *auhāl*, *hāl*, *hawāl*, *tab* P.  
 conscious (of a crime) *ūbālī* P.  
 consciousness *huš* P.  
 conscription, military *haṣṇafarī* P.  
 consent *rezā* P.  
 consideration *ṡaur*, *paricā* P.  
 constantly *hamcār* P.  
 contract, to *kaš kan* P.  
 conversation *guṣṭigū*, *guṣṭār*, *xitāb* P, *gap* S.  
 convert, to *pherēw* P.  
 converted into, to be *pher* P.  
 cook, to [*paṡawul* Pš], *biž* O, *biz* O<sup>1</sup>, *peč* P, *kākv* Y, *pac* S, W, *pīj* Š.  
 cooked *pox* Pš, *kikyii* Y, *pačk* S, *pačeth* W.  
 cooking-pot *dēgli* O, *dēg* O<sup>1</sup>, *āteṣi*, *dastē* P, *tāl* Y, S, *zāxēidin* Y, *ēdan* S, *dīg* W, *dēk*, *ḍik*, *mišbār* Š.  
 cool, to *wasēr* W.  
 coquettish *mastāna*, *nāzuk* P.  
 coquetry *nāz* P.  
 copper *loh*, *tala* Y.  
 copulate, to *ṡowul* (v. *ṡo*) Pš, *kīn* O, *gēh* P, *kun* Y, *bugāy*, *koc* S, *yīy* W.  
 copulation *ṡo* Pš.  
 cord *riṣṭan* P, *riṣmōn* S.  
 corn v. grain, ear of corn.  
 corner *yeṭai* (v. *yeaṭ*) Pš, *gūša* P, W, *kunṣ* P, Y, Š, *burz*, *lungā* Y, *xān-borš* S.  
 corpse *murdā* O, P.

correctly *raṣṭē* Y.  
 cotton *karvasi*, *puram* Y, *paxtā* S, W, *kənāi* W, *ṣevinj* Š.  
 cotton cloth *soe* Pš.  
 cotton thread *ḍidanewo*, *paxtai*, *ṣiṣoyun*, *uṡūles*, *wiṣinga* Y, *woṣi* S, *wasāi* W.  
 cough *zukām* O, *ṡuxiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *khūṣā*, *surfa* P, *xāpui* Y, *xoṣuk* S, *qōx*, *toxtox* W, *k'exak* Š.  
 cough, to *ṡux* O<sup>1</sup>, *khūṣ* P, *xoṣ* Y, *xoṣ* S, *k'ex* Š.  
 count, to *šmerol* Pš, *imar* Y.  
 country *mulk* O, P, *watan* P, S.  
 countryman *watandār* P.  
 courage *maṡṡi* P, *ṡuṡṡanmaṡṡi* S.  
 courageous *dilēr*, *dilōvār* W.  
 court *darbār*, *dargā*; (of justice) *kaṣāri* P.  
 courteous *bāadab* S, *bah* W.  
 courtesy *adap* P, (*h*)*adab* S, W.  
 court-yard *ṡolai* (v. *ṡalai*) Pš, *ai* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cousin, male *torbūr* (v. *trō*) Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *trēpīr* O<sup>1</sup>, *vrai'min*, *baipur* Y, *bōyē* Y, S, *ruṡoṡe* W, *peṭiā* Š; female *terla* (v. *trō*) Pš, *la* O<sup>1</sup>, *bailṡdu* Y, *mumbucīnāi* *vedūy* S, *beḍḍā'd* W.  
 cover, to *ūtaf* P, *gaw* W. Cf. conceal.  
 covered *xaṡpūs* P.  
 covering *ṡolāṣṭ* O, *pūs* P.  
 coverlet v. bedding.  
 cow *ṡwā* Pš, *gōi* O, *gyōi*, *ṣiṣa-ṡyōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gū*, *mādagū* P, *ṡavē* Y, *uṡūi* S, *ṡū* W, *ṣāw* Š; young *ṡawandir* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. heifer.  
 cowherd [*ṡabṡn* Wn], *ṡoba* (v. *-ba*) Pš, *ṡēibōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *galawōn* Y.  
 cowpen, v. cattleshed.  
 co-wife *bōn* Pš, *wan* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ambōy* Y, W, *āy* S, *ṡouno* Y.  
 crack *ṣāwēd* Pš.  
 cradle *ṡāz* O, *ṣinā* P, *ṣuṡin* S.  
 cramp *brēṣ* Pš.



crane *zāna* Pš, *kulaŋ* O, P, *zāniš* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cream [*perawai* Pš], *ras* O<sup>1</sup>, *sriyo* Y,  
*sārek* S, *mārik* W, *marōb* Š; (sour)  
*kaimāx* O, °āk P, °ok S, °oq W,  
 °oxē Š.

creator *parvardigār*

creep, to *cxedəl*, *xwajedəl* Pš, *rukuš-* Y.  
 creeper *zela* Pš.

crest of a cock *tāj* P.

crime *jurm*, *ūbāl* P.

crippled *zmol* Pš.

crocodile *nahāŋ* S.

crooked *cor* Pš, *kāš* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *kāj* O, *kušo*,  
*pāt* Y, *kard* W. Cf. *curbed*.

crop of a bird *zāyārg* Y, *pēyār* W.

crops *hāsel* P; (reaped) *yidisen* W.

cross, to *gudar*-P, *šaxs*-S, *šaxs*-W.

crossing *guzar*, *guzārān* P.

crow *kāryō* Pš, *krāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zāyo* Y,  
*siāsar* S, *čāyeli*, *karyā* W, *akāb*(?),  
*xārn* Š. Cf. *raven*.

crowd *qal* P.

crowing *bāŋ* O<sup>1</sup>, *boŋ(g)* S.

crumble, to *fril*-W.

crush, to *nošra*-O<sup>1</sup>, *kuš*-P, *šak*-S, *šix*-W.

crushed *maida* P.

cry *nāra*, *šūr* P.

cry, to *šarəl* Pš.

cry out, to *narəl* Pš.

cry, of camel *barbar* O.

cuckoo *kakük*, *šayuk* Y, *bibuk*, *kipok* W.

cucumber *kadūi* Y.

cultivated field, v. field.

cup *jām* O, *piyāla* O, P, °lo O<sup>1</sup>, *čine* Y,  
*plātē* S, °a Š; wooden *lōšāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*piloŋ* Y, *pil* W; wooden milk-*xštr-*  
*kvesa* Y.

curbed *čang* P. Cf. *crooked*.

curdle, to *mōš*-W.

curds *māsto*, *matar* Pš, *jurjāt* P, W,  
*poya* Y, *māst* Y, S, *pōi* S, *pāl* W, Š.

curds dried *kurūt* P, Y, S, *katez* P, *kutox*  
 Y, S, *qorūt* W. Cf. *buttermilk*, *cheese*.

curl *xurbāl* Pš, *kapēt* O, *zulf*, *kākul* P,  
*soyond* S, *pēca* S, W, *parēdn* Š.

curls, having *kākul* P.

curse *šarā* Pš, *šāp* P.

curtain *payda* P, *taxt* P, S, *parāš* Š.

cushion, v. pillow.

custom *doe* Pš.

custom-house *bandar* S; -official *xarš-*  
*gār* S.

cut n. *čira* Pš, *haxāla* P.

cut, to *parčar*-O, *kap*-O<sup>1</sup>, *kaš*, *mač*,  
*thā*-P, *pxeg*, *skəd*, *tiž*-Y, *biriš čār*,  
*xəstəv*-W. Cf. *chop*, *cleave*.

cut down, to *kxr*-Y.

cut grain, to *dir*-O<sup>1</sup>, *durr*-P.

cut into pieces *qurt* P.

cut off, to *pre-kancul* (v. *prā*-) Pš, *čurt*  
*kan*-P.

cut out, to *šaxtəl* Pš.

cut up, to *kūtəl* Pš.

cutting grain, v. reaping.

cypress *sārv* Š.

## D

dagger *kəqvarə*, *maxmudiyo* Y, *xanjar* S,  
*kušol* W. Cf. *sword*.

daily bread *rūzi* P.

dam \**hel* Pš, *band* P.

damage *yirāni* P.

damp *xušt* Pš, *šələk* S. Cf. *wet*.

dampness *zyam* (v. *zimai*) Pš.

dance *bāzi* O, *icāyār* P, *raxs*, *yōba* Y,  
*raqost* W.

dance, to *icāyār*-P, *drāv*-Y, *raqost/ē*  
*ken*-S, *nemenj*-W.

dandelion *tax-kardač* Y.

danger *xatar* P.

dark *tārik* O, P, *tirid*, *tōrik* W; (-com-  
 plexioned) *škāp* Pš.

- darkness *tārə* Wn 159, (*lam*), *tyārə* (v. *tor*<sup>1</sup>) Pš, *tōrəyū* O<sup>1</sup>, *tārik* P, *tīro* Y, *tōrik*, *turki* S.
- darn, to *peəl* Pš.
- date (fruit) *xajurə* O<sup>1</sup>.
- daughter *lūr* Pš, *dūa*, *dukā* O, *dūə* O<sup>1</sup>, *dut* P, *luḡdo*, °*diko* Y, *uudəyḡ* S, *ḡəyḡ* W, *ḡac*, *rezin* Š.
- daughter-in-law *nḡōr* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *nigḡōr* O, *su*, *sunū* P, *szurə* Y, *uuznēl* S, *sonōr*, *sḡtəḡ* W, *zenaḡ* Š.
- dawn *sār* O, *subdāmī* P, *jansarən* Y, *rašt* S, *naḡdīn*, *rux*, *sub* W. Cf. morning.
- day [*torəz* Wn], *ruaj* Pš, *rḡz* O, *ryḡz* O<sup>1</sup>, *deuās*, *ruē* P, *miḡ* Y, *dīn*(?) , *mīi* S, *rəz* S, Š, *ruēdr*, *rūz* W, *mēḡ* Š.
- day after to-morrow *bēsār* O, *byḡ-ryūz* O<sup>1</sup>, *passabā*, *šīruē* P, *məzdīra*, *yāmo* Y, *pəḡḡtem* S, *tōrt* W, *afaḡ* Š.
- days, three—hence *sūyyāmo*, *yūyyāmo* Y, *veder* Š; four—hence *pasāveder* Š.
- day, before yesterday *warḡ* (v. *uḡumbai*) Pš, *injān* O, *īnzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *alḡruē* P, *šīrizen* Y, *āḡuzd*, *vəkoḡin* S, *tōrt* W.
- days, three—ago *muḡ-injān* O, *ēaḡḡruē*, *pəḡparīruē* P, *ēīrsīzen*, *čurnō* Y, *āḡuzdēr* S, *pəḡḡb* Š; four—ago *afu bi-nzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *pēūrma*, *pānjəmo* Y.
- daylight *ruēān*, *rhīnē*, *rušanī* P, *rux* W.
- dead *mər* Pš, *muḡ* P, *moḡo* Y.
- deaf *koḡ* Pš, *kar(y)* O, P, S, W, *kən* O<sup>1</sup>, *bīgū*, *bārū* P, *kunḡastē* Y, *čūn* Š.
- dear *fri* S; (costly) *kimati* P.
- death *merḡ* P, *faut* W.
- debt *por* Pš.
- deceit *ḡulat* Pš, *fərēb* O, *bāzī* P.
- deceived, to be *ḡuledəl* Pš.
- deceiving *mazək* P.
- deep *šawar* Pš, *ḡand* O, *daqoḡ* S.
- deer *ḡsai* Pš, *lakaḡəwəi* O, *lakaḡuēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *āhū* P, *ramūz* Y, *āhūi* S.
- defeat *šikast* P.
- deficient *zuam* Pš.
- defile *tangī* P, *kūgs* Š. Cf. hole.
- delay *lārḡa* Pš, *yārḡa* O, *mūlat*, *mḡḡlat* P.
- delicate *nāzanīn* P.
- demon *perai*, *raucai* Pš, *but* P, *barzəngə* Y, *almasti* S, °*e*, *lēu* W.
- dense *tat* [corr. *tif*] Pš.
- deodar *rəḡo* Y.
- departing *rāhī* P. Cf. starting.
- dependent, a *a(s)sāmī* P.
- derision *tāna* P.
- descend, to *tōs* Wn 167, *nim* O, *šrim* O<sup>1</sup>, *uzḡ* P, *xafə* Y, *xav* S, *šām* W. [*xafə* Š].
- desert *mairə* Pš, *bīābān* O, Y, *sāharə*, *sahro* Y.
- deserving *lāyāq* P.
- design *ḡaraz* P. Cf. aim.
- desire *hawā*, *mudā* P.
- desolate *ḡirātīn* P, *barbād* Y.
- despatch, to *wesəj* P. Cf. send.
- destroyed *barbāt* O, *quḡt*, *xarāb* P.
- destroyed, to be *naḡedəl* Pš.
- destruction *halāk* P, *zəiya* W.
- devil *šaitān* O, S.
- dew *parxa* Pš, *purxə* O<sup>1</sup>, *zamarit* P, *nəb*, *praiḡār*, *šaklām* Y, *šəgnam*, *šak*(?) S, *mōḡḡ*, *naḡd-yupk*, *šak* W.
- dewlap *ḡulek* Y, *yuk* W.
- diaphragma *ḡuc* Š.
- die, to *mḡəl* Pš, *mr* O, *mer* P, *mər* Y, *mur* S, *mərī* W, *mar* Š.
- different *byal* Pš.
- difficult *rəc*, *rūl* Y, *moḡkīl* S, *xəḡ* Š; —crossing *kapra* Pš.
- difficulty *tangī* P.
- dig, to *kandəl* Pš, *kap* O, *wəza(y)* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kinda* O<sup>1</sup>, *kusēw* P, *kən*, *nikand*,



- paš* Y, *kan*-, *kāw* S, *parkōl* W, *čān*- Š.  
 dig out, to *hupēr* P.  
 dig up, to *peten*- Š.  
 dinner *mulūk* S.  
 direction *palau* O, *taraf* P.  
 direction, in some or other *kāncun* P.  
 dirt *raš* PŠ, *čirk*, *makān*(?), *maffa* P.  
 dirty *čirk* O, Y, *park*, *kačal* P, *kizyo*, *yuzyp*, *xatraloy* Y, *k'āz*, *nāstē* S, *kark*, *xāden* Š.  
 disaster *balā* P.  
 disclosing *xwālō* PŠ.  
 discorteous *bēhadab* W.  
 discourse *skālwa* PŠ.  
 discussion *radd o badd* P.  
 disgrace *ruswā(f)* P.  
 dish, v. plate.  
 dishevelled (hair) *yūza* P.  
 dishonoured *dašwār* P.  
 dislike, to *yandāl*, *kažāl* PŠ.  
 disobedience *bisari* P.  
 disputing *āriya* (*āra*) PŠ.  
 dissolute *ēlāhi* P.  
 distant, v. far.  
 distress *xāri* P.  
 distressed *yussamand*, *pēricān*, *ranjā*, *sargardān*, *xafa*, *xār* P, *dunayy* Y.  
 Cf. troubled.  
 distribute, food at a feast, to *baxš* Y.  
 distributing *tit* P.  
 distribution *wēš* (\**baxšya*-) PŠ.  
 distributor of food *xādem* Y.  
 ditch *xandak* P.  
 divide, to *baxš car*-, *taxšim car*- W.  
 dividing *taxšim* O, P, S, *boxš* Y, *bašak*, *baxš* S.  
 diving *nimekyika* Y.  
 division *wēš* PŠ; of a field *zgān* O.  
 do, to *k*- Wn 165, *kyl* PŠ, *k*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kan*- P, *ken*- Y, S, Š, *car*-, *goš*- W. Cf. make.  
 doctor *tabīb* O, *ip* P, *hakim* P.  
 dog [*spā* Wn], *spai* PŠ, (*spuk* O, *spak* O<sup>1</sup>, *kučuk*, *spō*, *spay* P, *yalv* Y, *kuš* S, *kač* W, *kut/d* Š; (wild) *xurūso* Y, *xrēseg* S, *kik* W. Cf. bitch.  
 dog-rose *larāni* P.  
 doing what? *čēkāra* P.  
 donkey, v. ass.  
 don't na P, S, *mak* O, *či* Y, *mə* W, *ma* PŠ, Š. Cf. not.  
 donkey's foal *tiya-xarak* S.  
 door *war* PŠ, O, *bār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, W, *bār* P, *darwāza* P, S, *vor* Y, *vār* S, *derē* Š.  
 door-frame *daršal* PŠ, *čaukāt* O<sup>1</sup>, *čapē* Y; (upper part of) *yūcāra* Y.  
 door-hinge *yūniko* Y, *gōrj* W.  
 doorkeeper *qāpči* P.  
 double *byāry* (v. *bray*) PŠ, *lohrij* Y.  
 dough *patira* O<sup>1</sup>, *āgugay* Y, *dis* W; leavened *xambira* O<sup>1</sup>, *xamir* W; baked *lavaza* Y; unbaked *xisto* Y.  
 dove, v. ring-dove, pigeon.  
 dove-coloured *kašūt* Y.  
 down *spah'ta* Wn 168, *kūz* PŠ, *jēm* O, *wačhanē*, *pastō* P, *sāro*, *pursōro*, *kalāpo* Y, *-ā* S, *-ai* Š.  
 down of birds *patl* P, *muryulum*, *tobot* Y, *tōbt* S.  
 drag away, to *hupēr* P.  
 dragon *ālder* Y.  
 draught, a *nōš* P.  
 draw, to *kyl* PŠ, *xoš*- Y, *xas*- S, *čač*- Š. Cf. pull.  
 draw out, to *nawar*- O.  
 draw a sword, to *kīn*- W.  
 draw water, to *nawar*- S.  
 drawing pay *tanxāwūr* P.  
 dream *xūb* (*xōb*) PŠ, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *misūk*, *xōdm* S, *yīnūt* W. Cf. sleep.

dress *nucarai* Pš, *drěši* P, *anjām*, *pāšāk* Y;  
female *taucār* P, *žōy* Y. Cf. clothes.  
dress oneself, to *āyustəl* Pš, *paryan-čk* O,  
*āyūn-* P, *ayd-* Y, *pānec-* S, *pūnec-* W,  
*peniz-*, *wēd-* Š.  
dress somebody else, to *āyūnēw-* P, *aydā-* Y,  
*pūmecer-* W.  
dribble, to *tūr-* P.  
dried up *hušk* P.  
driftwood *pəwaz* W.  
drink, to *yōz-* Wn 166, *cašəl* [šuməl] Pš,  
*ar-* O, *tr-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ter-*, *šup kan-* P,  
*šam-* Y, *pōv-* S, *pōv-* W, *berēz-* Š.  
Cf. sip.  
drip, to *cačēdəl* Pš, *pic-* O, *čak-*, *tūr-* P,  
*naxlē* Y.  
dripping *čakkak* P, *čakak* Š; (inside a  
house) *\*stuyūnūl* Y; (with blood) *hin-*  
*čakšl* P. Cf. drop.  
drive away, to *šarəl* Pš.  
drivel *šāf* Š.  
drop, a *čak* P; (of drinkable liquids)  
*čakka* P.  
drought, year of *ušksāl* Y.  
drum *načāra* P, *domāmo*, *təplāya* Y,  
*tambūr* Š; of a spinning wheel *štra* Y.  
dry *spor*, *wuē* Pš, *tosand* Pš<sup>1</sup>, *wēkkl* O,  
*wyōk* O<sup>1</sup>, *huāku*, *ōškār* P, *ušk*, *gard* Y,  
*wošk* S, W, *kāk* S, Š, *wəsk* W.  
duck *helai* Pš, *muryāwī* O, Š, *mə°* S,  
*šlīš* O<sup>1</sup>, *kury-e* *ducl*, *muryāwī* P, *axšēn-*  
*srrē*, *kožetoko*, *wūro*, *yečko* Y, *yōē* W.  
dumb *gungai* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bībān*, *diwāna*,  
*gun* P, *gūl* Y, W, *guggəstə*, *kūr* Y,  
*gol* S, *gōl* Š.  
dung *sarūl* Pš, *sōro* Y, *yarx*, *wuđil* S,  
*đort* W, *đid* Š; (cow-) *wəasyā* Wn 159,  
*drabla* (v. *dre*), *yōšāk* Pš, *rəx* W,  
*škan* O, *skan* O<sup>1</sup>, *sayōn* P, *yuskōn* Y,  
*šiv* W, *šā-yaθ* Š; (goat-) *wuđil* S,  
*pašc* Š; (horse-) *xaršīn* Pš, *lid* O<sup>1</sup>,

*pāru*, *xəškən* Y, *šurm*, *pōru* S, *sargen* Š;  
(horse- or cattle-) *səgin* W; (sheep-) *pukš*  
Wn 161, *pača* Pš, *piškāl* O,  
*pučukāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōrk* P, *pškedrī* Y,  
*pōšk* S, *pəšk* W.  
durbar *darbār* O.  
dust *xāwera* Pš, *gard* O, P, *čārk* P,  
*kōrgar*, *šot* S, *šot* W, *šjt* Š.  
dust-storm *yubār* P, Y, S, Š, *xākbāt*,  
*air* P, *kundūt* Y, *yəbār* W.  
dwarf-palm *mazirāi* O<sup>1</sup>.  
dwell, to *osədəl*, *pre-mištol* (v. *mešta*) Pš.  
dye, a kind of *čukār* S.  
dyke *wand* (v. *wandanai*) Pš, *bānd* S,  
*boda* Y.

## E

eager *zurthō* P.  
eagle *hukāb* P, *ukāb*, *kvālyereno*, *karyəz* Y,  
*aqāb*, *šūš* S, *bispūr*, *uqōb*, *yīryōt* W,  
*tazarf* (f), cf. *akāb* Š.  
ear *wəaž* Pš, *gōl* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gū*, *gōš* P, *yū* Y,  
*yōl* S, *šlīš* W, *yūž* Š.  
ear of corn *wəžai* Pš, *xūša* O, P, Š, *°o* Y,  
*wēžai* O<sup>1</sup>, *sor*, *yūya* Y, *sōrox* S;  
of maize *sōžai* O<sup>1</sup>; of wheat *rāwəc* Š.  
ear-ring *barywəžai* (v. *wəaž*) Pš, *alka* O,  
*junkī* P, *kadrəno*, *yūārikē* Y, *gušwōr*  
Y, W.  
earth *xāwera* Pš, *xāk* O, *bhāy* P, *yurvi* Y,  
*šot* S, *šot* W, *šjt* Š; the *zmaka* Pš,  
*bummā* O, *bummo* O<sup>1</sup>, *dharam* P,  
*zəmīn* Y, *za°* S, W, *wəxs* S, *zəmād*  
[not *ā*] Š. Cf. ground, soil, dust.  
earthcoloured *xakī* Y.  
earthquake *zilzilə* O<sup>1</sup>, *°a* P, *hanu* P,  
*šlīso*, *zibijrm* Y, *ziležem* S, *zaminžəm*  
S, W, *zulzulā* W, *zaminjumb* Š.  
ear-wax *yōi-kizyō* Y.  
earwig *gurgulāi* O<sup>1</sup>.



east *āftāb bārdmadam* S, *mašriq* S, W.  
 easy *āsān* P, Y, S, *subuk* O, P, *askān* Y.  
 eat, to *xwār* PŠ, *xr-* O, *wangēw-* P,  
*xār-* P, Š, *xōr-*, *pxrāw-* Y, *xwār-* S,  
*yāw-* W, *fur-*, *xā-* Š.  
 eatable *xaranē* P.  
 eating *xurdan* O, *xūr* P.  
 caves, skirting boards of *prōšū* Y.  
 eclipse *grāh* Y.  
 edge *mux*, *brāš* O, *kendāra* P, *sām* W.  
 effect *ifrā* P.  
 egg *hōya* Wn 168, *hā* PŠ, *supāl*, *wulk* O,  
*ōlk* O<sup>1</sup>, *ēz* P, *dyur* Y, *ākik*, *tx-*  
*mory* S, *ury*, *falez* W, *tarmurx* Š.  
 egg-shell *pučala-i ērika* P.  
 eight *ōt* Wn 158, *akō* PŠ, *āft* O, *hāšt*  
*O<sup>1</sup>*, *ōst* P, *ašō* Y, (*h*)ot S, *hat* W,  
*wāft* Š.  
 eighteen *aštēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aštōs*, *hašda* P,  
*hōtōšs* S, *ašda* W.  
 eighty *atā* Wn 159, *atiā* PŠ, *cār-jistu* O,  
*aštāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *cōr yūstak* P, *aftād* S.  
 either—or *yā* S, *xō—xō*, *yō—yō* W.  
 elbow *cangal* PŠ, *ārunj* O, P, *inj* S,  
*enj* Š, *cangal* O<sup>1</sup>, *razzn* Y, *bāndrik*,  
*wesuk* S, *būrrj*, *kirkon*, *ōrīnj* W,  
*wištjērū* Š.  
 elder *mašar* PŠ; (greater) *xuštī* Y.  
 elegant *nāzanīn*, *xērimān* P.  
 eleven *yaulas* (v. *yau*) PŠ, *landas* O,  
*sandas* O<sup>1</sup>, *š(u)wēs* P, *losyū*, *yōzda* Y,  
*kyōšs* S, *šas-tu* W, *šis-at-yāw* Š.  
 ell *gaz* O, P, Y, S, Š.  
 embankment, field *šim-mōl* O. Cf. *dyke*.  
 embers, v. coal, live.  
 embrace [*y(w)ušt* Wn], *rešt* PŠ, *yāny* O,  
*baṭalkāš*, *čangāu* P, *aynuš* Y,  
*katāk* S.  
 embrace, to *nāḍawn-* W.  
 emerge, to, v. come out.  
 imprisoned : *ptrmd-o* Y.

empty *taš* PŠ, *xālī* O, P, S, W, Š, *o* Y.  
*tusk* O, *taš* W, *taš* Š.  
 empty, to *na-* Y, *taš kōn-* S, *taš* Š.  
 encouragement *dilāsā(i)* P.  
 end *ōzer* S, W.  
 endurance *lakat* S.  
 enemy *dušman* O, P, S, *on* Y, *mudāf* P,  
*dāšman* W.  
 enemies, possessing *dušmandār* P.  
 enmity *dušmanī* P.  
 engaged *māmūr*, *maṅgīr* P.  
 engagement *wāda* P.  
 enough *bas* P, S.  
 entangled, to be *pargōš-* W.  
 enter, to *wel-* O, *dar tē-* P, *tē-* Y, *dēš-*,  
*axtōš* S, *čerm-* W.  
 entertainment *mazāk* P.  
 entire (ox) *wušeng* W.  
 entrails *lōrai*, *larīmūn* PŠ, *rōda* O, *yilēi*,  
*larīmīn* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūdā* P, *dzi-tigar* Y,  
*lānžek* S. Cf. *guts*.  
 entreating *arz*, *minnat* P.  
 entrust, to *pāslawul* PŠ, *supār-* P, *pīlam-*  
*Y*, *spār-* S.  
 entrusting *supārīš* P.  
 envy *wiyār* PŠ.  
 epilobium, willow-herb *surwāsād* Y.  
 equal *siāl* PŠ, *barābar* P, Y; (in weight)  
*hoal* PŠ.  
 eructate, to *kai ken-* S.  
 eructation *aržai* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *ararōy* Y, *arək* S.  
 essence *ain* P.  
 even *ga* O.  
 evening *amāšām* (v. *nmūn*) PŠ, *māšām* O,  
*šām* P, Y, S, W, *xuflan* Y, *š(u)šēr* S,  
*pīrz* W, *šūm* Š.  
 eveningstar *uštūr-šoyō* Y.  
 every *ar* O, Š, *har* P, Y, S, *hōr* S.  
 every day *rūzi* P.  
 everyone *harkī* P.  
 everywhere *harkū* P.

evil *bad* O.  
 ewe, v. sheep.  
 exactly *fakat*, *sai* P.  
 excellence *fazl* P.  
 except *yaira* P, *bayair* O, P, *beyari* S.  
 exchange *badal*, *sarbadal* P.  
 excited, to be *šur*- P.  
 excrements, human *gul* Pš, *gūl* O, P,  
   *gūl* O<sup>1</sup>, *ḡoh* Y, *guh* S, *gi* W, *ḡaḡ*,  
   *ḡaḡe* Š. Cf. dung.  
 exempted *pol* Pš.  
 exertion *stam* Pš.  
 excursion *sail* P.  
 excuse *uzer* P, *nucure* Y.  
 exhausted *hājes* P.  
 exiled *farār* P.  
 existence *hast* P.  
 expanded *wir* Pš.  
 expel, to *nižind*- W.  
 expense *talaf* O, *xarē* P, S.  
 expensive *klmati* P.  
 explanation *bayān* P, *tagbir* Y.  
 explode, to *špaxur*- W.  
 explore, to *šanol* Pš.  
 extend, to *rür*- W.  
 extended *pan* O.  
 extinguish, to *gul*- O<sup>1</sup>, *uzuziā*- Y, *nie*- W,  
   *wizud* Š.  
 extinguished *afrān* Y, *gul* O, P.  
 eye *storg(a)* Wn 159, *starya* Pš, *ciml* O,  
   *cōm* O<sup>1</sup>, *dida*, *tech* P, *cam* Y, *cām* S,  
   *cašm* W, *cim* Š; (of a needle) *swamb*  
   Wn 161, *swam* Pš, *sim* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 eyeball *lāma/o* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *tēiko* Y.  
 eyebrows *wrije/a* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *abrū* O, S,  
   <sup>o</sup> P, *kāš* P, *erīyo* Y, *erīc* S, *cemis*(?),  
   *wərau* W, *wəruš* Š.  
 eyelashes *bāno*(v. *pāna*) Pš, *mujā* P, S, *pēlek*,  
   *penācko* Y, *mijāš*, *polū*, *pātk* W, *pūfē* Š.  
 eyelid *zema* Pš, *palkāk* O, *pātiš* S,  
   *kək* W. Cf. eyelashes.

## F

face *max* Pš, *mux* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *rū* P, *rūi* Y,  
   *rō* S, *pec* W, *ptc*, *pēšānē* Š. Cf.  
   cheek.  
 facing *ruz ba* P.  
 fade, to *permər*- W.  
 faded *mām* (v. *māol*), *spor*, Pš, *māk* O,  
   *jingar* O<sup>1</sup>, *hušk* P.  
 fair (market) *maila* P.  
 fairy *pari* O, P, *parizāt* Y.  
 faithless *būesā* P.  
 faithlessness *būcafāt* P.  
 falcon *bāša* Pš, *yurzaḡd* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāz* P, S,  
   *puzē* Y, *bāša* Y, W, Š, *cauli*, *bowurē*  
   W, *šāin* Š, <sup>o</sup> *nī* P.  
 fall, to *lucedal*, *pre-catal* (v. *prā*-) Pš,  
   *yūz*- O, *yūaz*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ḡhar*- P, *cad*-, *tīž*- Y,  
   *at*- S, *wāz*- S, W, *palan*- W, *wāš*- Š;  
   (as leaves) *raledal* Pš, *spūcau-vēk*,  
   *xul-vēk* O.  
 fall in, to *drabəl* Pš.  
 fallen *prot* Pš.  
 falling *ḡalt* S.  
 falsehood *palma* Pš.  
 family *kor*, *koyma* Pš, *ulus*, *aulāt*, *ayāt*,  
   *xīs* P, *ažyāl*, *nofs* Y.  
 famine *qātī* P, *žondokī* S.  
 famous *manšahūr* P.  
 fancy *xiyāl* P.  
 far *lire*, *wrāya* Pš, *pēc* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *durin* P,  
   *dir* S, *šir* W, *šar* Š; distant *prat* Pš,  
   *lūro* Y.  
 fart *ḡər* (v. *ḡara*), *pəs* Pš, *puska*, *tiz* O<sup>1</sup>,  
   *pilyo* Y, *čos* S.  
 fart, to *pil*- Y, *tor*- S.  
 fast a. *rānjik* W.  
 fast n. *roža* Pš, *rūzo* Y, *recky* W.  
 fat (adj.) *corb* Pš, *čicaš*, *ruš* O, *czaf* O<sup>1</sup>,  
   *čārbi* P, *farbo*, *yafs*, *layḡik* Y, *mās* S,  
   *yāfc* Š. Cf. stout, thick.



fat n. *wāzda*, *γwəz* Pš, *γwēzd* O<sup>1</sup>, *čārbū*,  
*γāzd* P, *hoč*, *səbrim*, *wāzd* Y, *čabrū*,  
*farbe*, *wəst* S, *čarvī*, *γip* W, *čārvē*,  
*rag* Š. Cf. greasy.

fat (of the kidneys) *γoz* Pš.

fat-tailed dumbī P.

father *piyār* Wn 160, *plār* Pš, *pē* O,  
*piē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāw*, *dāda* P, *tāt* Y, S, W,  
*pedār* S, *dād*, *ped* Š.

father and son *bāwehā* P.

father-in-law *səzər* Pš, *xusur* O, Y, Š,  
*xə<sup>o</sup>* P, *xsir*, *xəšāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xosər* S, *xə<sup>o</sup>*,  
*šurs* W.

fatherless *bibāw* P.

fathom *kulāč* Y, *kəlāč* S.

fault *aib*, *yalat* P, *āib*, *xatāt* Y.

favour *marasta* Pš.

fawn *kablai* Pš.

tear *wəra* Pš, *bin*, *berkhā*, *tars*, *xəif* P,  
*trəs* S, *šāš* Š.

fear, to *tərhedəl* Pš, *γuš* O, *čār*, *γuš*-  
O<sup>1</sup>, *berkh*- P, *dəro*- Y, *k(r)ras*- S,  
*wəšiy*- W.

feast *mēmāni* P, *šār* P, Š, *wətuk* S.

feather *bəgə*, etc. (v. *pāgə*), *pəgə* Pš,  
*parr* O, P, S, W, *puxai*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *pən* P,  
*pūgā* Y, *pār* Š.

feel pain, to *riš*- W.

tell, to *kəz*-, *xəp*- Y.

telt *lameai* Pš, *lamsāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *namō*, *namat*  
P, *livin*, *nāmyo*, *yiston* Y, *numōš* S,  
*yijtn* W, *namad* Š.

telt-pad (under the saddle) *dākuša* S,  
*iryalā*, *jaofī* W.

female *māda* P, W, *šicak* P, *šiyō* Y,  
*šec* S, *sətsei* W.

fester, to *xūyedəl* Pš.

festered v. inflamed.

festival *maila* P, *mailis* Y, *iš* S. Cf.  
feast.

fetch, to *war*- O.

fever *taba* Pš, *tebba* O, *tau* P, *idon* Y,  
*tav* S, *tablarzā* S, W, *andar* W,  
*tābak* Š.

fever, to have *leš*- P.

fidelity *wafā* P.

field *yanir*, *kešta* P, *zəxmo* Y, *zamin* S,  
*wāndr* W, *zeme* Š; cultivated *ābāli* O,  
*xāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ābādi* Y, *dēkāt* S, *kštā* W,  
*kīšt*, *kašta*, *sēc* Š; (open) *puṅgiē* O<sup>1</sup>.

field, section or division of a *zgan* O.  
fiery *dam* P.

fifteen *pinzəlas* Pš, *panjēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *paēs* P,  
*pönzda* Y, *pönzədos* S.

fifth *pōnc/jumī* P.

fifty *panjos[t]* Wn, Pš, *panjāstn* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pinjā* P, *pa<sup>o</sup>* S, *lūwistolos* Y, *p'inzədis* Š.

fig *injar* Pš, *injir* O<sup>1</sup>, *kowito* Y.

fight *jagga* O, *kəza* O<sup>1</sup>, *lang* Y, *dəd* S,  
Cf. battle, war.

fighting *gēnq* O<sup>1</sup>, *balwā(n)* S.

file *šār* Y, *suhān* P.

fill into, to *šenj*- W.

fill up, to (of river) *span*- W.

film over the eye *pāl* Pš.

filter, to *šacūw*- W.

filth *raš* Pš.

find, to *məm*- Wn 158, *māndəl* Pš, *wəw*-  
O, *wəw*- O<sup>1</sup>, *γun*- P, *āwīr*- S, *gūt*-  
*parvč(y)*- W, : *vūd*, *deriyam* (for  
\**veriyam*) Š.

find place, to *wəj*- Y, *wəw*- S.

fine (adj.) *mahn* P, *māida* S, *nāzūk* Š.

fine n. *jurm* P.

finger *n<sup>o</sup>gūt* Wn 161, *gūta* Pš, *angūt*  
O, P, *n<sup>o</sup>angūt* O<sup>1</sup>, *γūt* P, *panjā* P, Š,  
*oguščō* Y, *ingūt* S, *γāngəl* W, *āngūt* Š;  
(index) *čoromī* *oguščikō*, *čarangūšč* Y;  
little *kilk<sup>o</sup>gūt* P, *riza* *oguščiko* Y,  
*zelikik* Š; middle *mənzangūt* O,  
*mālanē* *oguščigo* Y; the five *mangul*  
(v. *gruf*) Pš; space between *gruf* Pš.

finger-nail v. nail.  
 finger-ring, v. ring.  
 finally *âxir* O, *âxer* (ul-amr) P.  
 finished *adât*, *lhâš*, *lamâm* P, *tayâr* Y, *xalâs* Y, S.  
 fire *aur* Wn 160, (< \*âtr-) or Pš, *rûq* O, *râcen* O<sup>1</sup>, *âr*, *rhinë* P, *yûr* Y, *šnâi* S, *râxniq* W, *yâc* Š.  
 fire, to set—to braz. O, *dar dah* P, : *guwêd*- Y. Cf. kindle.  
 fireplace *uryulâ* Wn 160, *or-yâlai* (v. *yâlai*), *borjal*, *nyarai*, *dərbâlat* (v. *drê*) Pš, *dëgdân* O, *di*° S, *yrâi*, *nyarâi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gapâr* P, *liedân* Y, *digdân* S, *dildung*, *çerf* W, *kêçarak* Š; board enclosing the *taxtabandê* Y.  
 firewood *largai*, *daya* Pš, *dyûr*° O, *dyûr* O<sup>1</sup>, *kôr*, *zêx* P, *izma* Y, *čûb*, *yûz* S, *çûz* W, *ziz* Š; pile of *lašino* Y.  
 first *urumbai* Pš, *au(ie)al* P, Š, *awmalin* P; (adv.) *wulâkt* S.  
 first watering *xâkâv* Š.  
 fish *kôz* Wn 168, *kab* Pš, *mâi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mâhl*, *maš* P, *kap* Y, *môl* S, W, *mâye* Š; uneatable *kôrmahî* P, *kar-yasp* Y.  
 fist *mît* Wn 168, *muŕta(i)* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *muŕt* P, W, *mîš* Y, *mêt* S, *gaucust*, *mêt* W, *mut* Š.  
 fit *munâsib* P.  
 five *pinja* Pš, *penc* O, *pênj* O<sup>1</sup>, *pônê* P, *pânš* Y, *pîn* S, *pânz* W, *p'ins* Š.  
 five braids, with *pônibâf* P.  
 flag-stone *pistdû-yar* Y.  
 flame *lambo*, *šuyb* O<sup>1</sup>, *awarxo* Y, *rauŭ* W.  
 flame up, to *pišing*- W. Cf. kindle.  
 flank *pâlû* S. Cf. side.  
 flat *čit*, *sat* Pš, *sam* O<sup>1</sup>, *pistdû* Y, *maidân* S, *amêâr* Š. Cf. plain.  
 flattery *žâna* Pš.  
 flavour *maza* P. Cf. taste.

flea *werža* Pš, *kaik* O, P, S, *šrak* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ruê* P, *friyo* Y, *kaig*, *špordânj* W.  
 flee, to *paredâl*, *tšâl*, *taŕtedâl*, *çâstâl* Pš, *tiš*- O, *auz*, *lawak*, *čatak*- P, *lûr*, *çyal*- Y, *jih*- S, *red*- W, *reclê*- Š; to make s.o. *tišaw-çk* O, *mahmirâ*, *lurô*- Y.  
 flesh, v. meat.  
 flight *kâl* P.  
 flint *čumax* Y, *čaxmax* S.  
 flock *yele* Pš; (of lambs) *olô* Pš. Cf. herd.  
 flood *niyûz* Pš, *sêl* P, S, *sêlâo* P, *sil*, *tulismâd*, *yongo* Y, *lâyâv* Š.  
 flood, to *werzar*- W.  
 floor *nax*, *ârdi* Y; part of *yorê* W.  
 flour *orç* Pš, *mâr* O, *wârûn* P, *yârê* Y, *wuŕck* S, *yûmj* W, *yduŕj* Š; dried *bôrno* Pš; mulberry *pišt* P, *talkân*, *tûi-puŕky* Y, *tût-pot* S, *pišt* Š; wheat *dâya* O<sup>1</sup>; made fr. dried apples *puŕç* Y.  
 flow, to *wêh*- P, *ziê*- S, (*naŕtiç*-) Š.  
 flower *gul* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *gul* S, *gol*, *sprôç* W; full blown *brang* O<sup>1</sup>; name of a *lâltâq* P, *gulšambarê*, *milkoŕqi*, *nêçyiko*, *xaxâlîç* Y, *čûj*, *šînšûd* Š.  
 flower-bed *xiâban* Y.  
 flute *špelai* Pš.  
 fly *mêl* Wn 159, *mêl* Pš, *mangas*, *maŕi* O, *miŕt* O<sup>1</sup>, *maças* P, *moçuso* Y, *paŕê* S, *maka* W, *čanggin* Š.  
 fly, to *werzedâl*, *owatâl* Pš, *parr*- O, *rhâz*- P, *vrôç*, *wurafs*, *çyâh*- Y, *araz*- S; *rewuŕt* Š; to make to *mahmirâ*- Y.  
 fly up, to : *wuŕkyçi* Y.  
 foal, v. colt.  
 foal, donkey's *tiya-xarak* S.  
 foam *kaf* P, W, *xêf* Y, S, *xûf* W, *çif* Š.  
 fodder v. grass.  
 fog, v. mist.  
 told *bray* Pš.



fold, to *palašt* O.  
 fold (sheep), to *tanē* W.  
 foment, to *tabəl* (v. *taba*) Pš.  
 food *nəzārāi* Pš, *xur(r)āk* P, Y, *tāam* Y,  
*xārāk* S, W, *tahām* S; distribution  
 of—at a feast *xādem* Y.  
 foolish, v. *stupid*.  
 foot *špa* Wn 162, *pša* Pš, *pāt* O, *pārī*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *qadam* P, *pā* P, Š, *palo* Y, *pād* Š,  
*pūd* W, *pād* Š; (of a hill) *dāmonē* Y;  
 upper part of *pušt-i pā* S; sole of  
 the *šlānān polo* Y.  
 foot-chain *pičawr* O<sup>1</sup>, *zāwelāna* P.  
 footprint *pal*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *paifāl* P, *pol*, *wulid*  
 (v. Zar.) Y, *layat* S, *pād* W.  
 for *kā* O, *kun* P, *nā*, *po* Y, *be* S, *ke* W.  
 for the sake of (da)pāra Pš, *pārak* O,  
*peš* P.  
 force *zūr(i)* P.  
 forcibly *mhākam* P.  
 ford, a *guzar* P, Y, S, *ovd*, *pišf* Y, *tort*  
 W, *pūd*, *trōke* Š.  
 fore-arm *cangal* Pš, *bazar* O, *dōst* S.  
 fore-hair *kajeki* O, *hulbar* P, *parčam* Y.  
 fore-head *wēwēlāi* Pš, *paš* O, *piš* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pišār*, *pišānī* P, *pē*<sup>o</sup> S, *pānē* Y,  
*pišōna*, *ruk*, *tāpik* W.  
 foreign *begāna* P, Y.  
 fore-leg *yārnē* Y.  
 foremost *tariwāl* P.  
 forenoon *čāst* P.  
 forest *jāngal* P, S, W, *z*<sup>o</sup> Y, *kvesina* Y,  
*jāngāl* Š.  
 forget, to *fərmō* Y, *fərnīs* S, *ramuš* W,  
*renēs* Š.  
 forgetting *šramot* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nhāmuy*, *farā-*  
*muš* P.  
 forget-me-not *šuvazi* Y.  
 forgive, to *baxš* P, *gvēr* Y.  
 forgiven *pəl* Pš.  
 forgotten *her* Pš.

fork, v. *winnowing-fork*.  
 form *sūrat* P.  
 former *gahina* P.  
 formerly *werāte* Wn 169, *awāl*, *termis* W.  
 fort *kala* P, *lizo* Y, *qalā* Y, S. Cf. *castle*.  
 fortunate *mubārak* P.  
 forty *calwešt* Pš, *čāštu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čel* P, Y, S,  
*luceist* Y.  
 forward *apače* P, *prūt* W.  
 found *paidā* O.  
 fountain v. *spring*.  
 four *calor* Pš, *cār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čār*, *čār* P,  
*čšir* Y, *čšūr* S, *cābūr* W, *cafer* Š.  
 four days ago, hence, v. *day*.  
 four-hundred *cūq-sō* Wn 161/3.  
 fourteen *cwārlas* (v. *calor*) Pš, *carēs* O,  
*cōres* O<sup>1</sup>, *čōrda* Y, *čā*<sup>o</sup> S.  
 fourth *čōrum(g)* P.  
 fowl, v. *hen*.  
 fox *lambār* (v. *lām*), *spalam* Pš, *rōbā*  
 O, W, *raueas* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōbā*, *rūyasčik* P,  
*rūso* Y, *rōrēs* S, *naxčir* W, *rupsak* Š.  
 fraud *hila*, *mahr*, *rēw* P.  
 free *zalās* O, P, *yalā* P.  
 free, from sorrow *biyam* P.  
 free will *extiyār* P.  
 freeze, to *čiy* Y.  
 fresh *tānda* Pš, *šūr* O, *nā*, *nauca*, *lāza* P.  
 Friday *juba* P.  
 friend *mal* Pš, *imbāl*, *marzā* O, *dūst* P,  
 Y, S, W, *handam* P, *yār* P, Y, *azl*,  
*merabōn* W, *āšnā* Š.  
 friendship *selwa* Pš, *āšnāi*, *dōsti* P.  
 friendliness *mehrabāni*, *xūbi* P.  
 fright *lor*<sup>3</sup> Pš. Cf. *tear*.  
 frighten, to *yušaw* O, *yušre* O<sup>1</sup>, *berkhēw*  
 P, *drawā* Y.  
 frightened *halapata* P.  
 frog *šlānda* Pš, *čōk* O, S, *māryūy* O,  
<sup>o</sup>*čy* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakā*, *yūk* P, *azuzyo* Y, *moj-*  
*dok* S, *mukuduk* W, *širbij* Š.

from *la*<sup>2</sup>, *na*<sup>2</sup>, *tar* Pš, *az* P, W, Š, *tar*,  
*ze* P, *ie*, *io*, *to* Y, *ca* S, W.  
 from the presence of *dāl* P.  
 from there *cān* W.  
 front-tooth *kalagi danān* P.  
 frost *yax* S.  
 frostbitten *pčio* Y.  
 fruit *mēica* P, S, W, *phōr* P, *mīca*,  
*vory* Y; of briar *axri-gula* Y; (ripe,  
 soft) *fšii* Y.  
 fruits, dried *noql* P.  
 fruit-tree *mīcajē* Y.  
 fry, to *verit-aucul* Pš, *vareš* W.  
 frying-pan *čimdērio* Y.  
 full *dāk* O, *thar* P, *pīr* Y, *pur*, *takt* W,  
*lap* Š.  
 full-moon *čadōs* P.  
 funeral *jenāsa* P.  
 fur-cap *talpak* S.  
 fur-coat *yīška* Y, *rušt* S.  
 furze *kačō* P.  
 furze-gatherer *kačōarak* P.  
 future world, the *āzirat* O.

## G

gait *čimō* P.  
 gall *rasicalai* Pš.  
 gallop *čarxaiz*, *duqčlāč* S.  
 gallop, to *beducōn* S.  
 game said, *šekār* P, *naš* S. Cf. hunting,  
 play.  
 gang of robbers *tār* Pš.  
 gap wat Pš; in a dam *dar-yol* (v. *yālai*)  
 Pš.  
 garden *bāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *bāxā* P, *baṣa* Y,  
*bōy* W; small *bayaks* Y.  
 gardening *bāycaini* P.  
 garlic ["moorža" Wn], *ūža* Pš, *sēr* O,  
*sir* P, S, *bin* P, *užnu* Y; wild chive  
*latrak* Y.

garment *jāma* P.  
 gate *daričāza* S.  
 gathering *žalsa* S.  
 gazelle, v. deer.  
 gem *yamai* Pš.  
 general *jarnāl* P.  
 get, v. find.  
 ghee, v. clarified butter.  
 giddy *ženayeri* Y.  
 gift *baršiš*, *pīškaš*, *sanjāt*, *širini*, *xirai* P,  
*werga* Y, *pāllaxčē* Š (wrong transl.  
 Notes Shgh., cf. Lentz, Pamir-Dial.  
 188).  
 ginger *šunq* Pš.  
 girdle, round iron- *pastē* Y. V. baxter.  
 girl *čuara* Wn 168, *jinat*, *peyla*, *tūng* Pš,  
*dukā* O, *dūko* O<sup>1</sup>, *kaniz*, *kašte* P,  
*šinamia* Y, (*h*)*šēcāk* S, *perčod* W;  
 (small) *kaštčōk* P, *kinčākā* Y.  
 girdle *tang* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 girth *targ*, *trok* Y, *trāng* W, *terang* Š.  
 give, to I- Wn 167, *lāl*, [*war-krāl*], *šandāl*  
 Pš, *baš*, *šir* O, (*šrūk*) O<sup>1</sup>, *barš kan*,  
*dah* P, *dāl* Y, *dāy* S, *rand* W,  
*šā(š)* Š.  
 glacier *šayoz* Y, *yaz* W.  
 glance *nazar* P. Cf. look.  
 glass *šilo* Y, *istakān* S.  
 glans penis *čula* Y.  
 glide, to *šucahedāl* (v. *šucāi*) Pš, *šmuš-vēk* O.  
 Cf. slide.  
 glitter, to *bruš-vēk* O.  
 glove *deštkaš* P.  
 glue *šrista* O, *štrikēm* Y.  
 gnaw, to *čoucul* Pš, *šuo* W.  
 go, to *dym* Wn 169, *woyār* Wn 160,  
*drūmédol*, (*lāyol*), *tlāl* Pš, *caw* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čh*, (*h*)*im*, *par*, *wēh* P, *oy*, *šui* Y,  
*l-*, *lōyd* S, *čāuc*, *roč*, *tuk* W, *sāuc*,  
*tiž* Š; (imper.) *muč* P.  
 go, to cause to *caw* O.



go away, to *forz*- Wn 167.  
 go in, to *dēd*- S.  
 go out, to *watəl* Pš, *nis*- O, *nī*- P, *nēz*- S, *nūwiz*- W.  
 go round, to *ram*- P, *woniz*- S.  
 goat *wuza* Pš, *bākri* O, *wz* O<sup>1</sup>, *buž*, *astūr* P, *ʔzo* Y, *buz* S, W, *bēdk*, *wz* S, *tūy* W, *vaz* Š; *he-wuz* Pš, *buz* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *narbuž* P, *feryān*z, *nar-bəz*, *woza* Y, *čut*, *kata*, *narwəz* S, *bučak*, *nar-tūy* W, *bučak* Š; young *črpiš* W; young *he-čēšān* Pš; young *she-rojot* W. Cf. kid.  
 goat (wild) *trouū* Y.  
 goats and sheep *prizačak* Y. Cf. cattle, small.  
 goat's down *marylam* W.  
 goat's hair *očyūne* (v. *wuz*) Pš, *dāš*, *wužyən* O<sup>1</sup>, *lirs*, *vəz-yūnəy* Y, *šōdər* S, *buzmūi*, *črrs* W, *šōč* Š.  
 goat's pen *špəl* O<sup>1</sup>, *taryo* Y, *šād* W.  
 goatskin *wēšən* (v. *wuz*) Pš. Cf. skin.  
 goatskin bag *yūndai* (v. *yūnde*) Pš, *izē* Y.  
 Cf. skin, inflated.  
 goat-track *roy* Y.  
 go-between *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.  
 god *xudāš* Pš, O, P, Š, *Allā* P, *Xədā(i)* Y, *xədd* S, *xudōi* W.  
 going *čh* P, *rawēn* Š.  
 goitre *yur* Pš.  
 gold *sərazar* (v. *sūr*), *ziyar* zar (v. *ziyar*) Pš, *tola* O, *sūr-zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *zar* P, *zincorum* Y, *till* Y, S, W, Š.  
 golden *bəlāf* P.  
 gold coin *ašerafi* Y.  
 golden oriole *čkalpio* Y.  
 good *š* Pš, *šir(y)* O, *sir* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakār*, *kāri* P, *nək* P, S, *xəb* P, S, W, *baf*, *yašē* Y, *fri* S, *bašant* Š.  
 goodness *kārigi*, *xūbi* P.  
 good, to appear *ywarš-wək* O.  
 goods *māl* O, Y, *asbāb*, *sāmān* P.

goose *zāya* Pš, *mullākəriya* Y, *kār* S, *qəz* W.  
 gourd *kašū* S.  
 governor *ākim* O, *hā°* P, *ākum* S.  
 government service *sarkāri* P.  
 graceful *xərlmān*, *xīrāmān* P.  
 grain *yalld* O, S, W, *yalb* O<sup>1</sup>, *blz* P, *xəsto* Y, *yū* Y, S, *dūnik* S, *šān* W; (single) *dānā* O, *phōr* P, *nānoyē*, *tuym* Y, *tūy(š)m* S, *tučm* W; (parched) *nine* Pš, *talxə* P, *put* S, *pišt* W; (remaining on threshing floor) *rištalai* Pš; (unthreshed) *paixə* Y. Cf. seed.  
 grain (of wheat) *sepyak* Š.  
 grain-bin *dubul* P, *čāro* Y, *ambār*, *yōv* S, *žūv* W.  
 grandchild *nucəsa* O<sup>1</sup>, *nawā* P, *nəwəz* S, *nəpūs* W.  
 granddaughter *nucəsa* Pš, *nəwəzə* Y, *nəbəs* Š.  
 grandfather *nikə* Pš, *zalpyē* O, *čiz* O<sup>1</sup>, *bābā*, *ghəq* b°, *kaffabān* P, *pap* Y, *pūp* W, *bāb* Š; (paternal-) *bəb* S; (great-) *yarnikə* Pš.  
 grandmother *anā* Pš, *zalmāw* O<sup>1</sup>, *ghəq* *māč* P, *māmo* Y, *bibi* S, *mūm* W, Š.  
 grandson *młesa* Wn 162, *nucəsa* Pš, *čai* O, *nəwisa* Y, *nəwəz* W, *nəbəs* Š; (great-) *kəyucəsa* Pš.  
 grant, to *baš*- O.  
 granting *čln-č* Š.  
 grape *mēwə*, *syūy* O, *syōy* O<sup>1</sup>, *dərāk* P, *angūr* P, Y, S, *agidro* Y, *angūr* W, *angūrd* Š; (wild) *kwar* Pš.  
 grape-juice *buyməz* Y.  
 grapes, cluster of- *yōro* Y.  
 grasp *gir* P. Cf. seize.  
 grass *uš* Wn 167, *marya*, *wāš* Pš, *ywāš* O, *ywāš* O<sup>1</sup>, *gihāf* P, *sauza* P, W, *wuš* Y, *giā*, *səvza* S, *wiš* W, *wāš* Š; (a kind of) *sābah* Pš, *alafi* P, *sewuzuk* Y, *alaf* Š.

grasshopper, v. locust.  
 gratis *wiṭlā* Pš.  
 gravel *ṣayl* Pš, *xiriz* W.  
 graveyard *qabristān* O, P.  
 graze, to *careḍal* (v. *car*), *powul* Pš, *ceraw*, *pay*, O, *carēw* P, *bičirōn*, *loā* Y, *čarā ken*, *čarān* S; (abrade) *bloṣedāl* Pš.  
 grazing ground *tobalā* W. Cf. pasture.  
 greasy *čarbi* P. Cf. fat.  
 great, v. big.  
 greater (elder) *xuči* Y.  
 green *šin* Pš, *šin* O, *sābz*, *saw* P, *sāuzē* Y, *sāwz* S, W, *sanja*, *sāwz* Š. Cf. blue.  
 green plant growing in ponds *obṣai* Pš. Cf. slime.  
 grey *spērā*, *xər* Pš, *yurūiraxg* Y, *bər* S, *būr* W; (blueish) *xing* S; (greenish) *xaki* Y, *xokl* W.  
 griddle *tāwē* S.  
 grief *zawr* Pš, *armūn* P.  
 grieve, to *parṣedāl* Pš.  
 grind, to *aṣl* (v. *gr*) Pš, *mar* O, *ēl* O<sup>1</sup>, *yāy* Y, *yūn* S, [*yān* Š].  
 grindstone *andra* O<sup>1</sup>, *yurzuṣo* Y. Cf. millstone.  
 grip *gir* P.  
 grizzled *yeč* W.  
 groan *okak* Y.  
 groan, to *kyof* Y.  
 groin *myāna* Pš, *yoṣut* W.  
 groom *māčtar* P.  
 ground *bummā* O, *khep*, *dharam* P. Cf. earth.  
 ground (hollow piece of) *pāwā* O.  
 ground (open) *dašt* S. Cf. plain.  
 ground, ptc. *hīn-čək* O.  
 ground, to be *sūledāl* Pš.  
 grow, to *scaxš* Y, (intr.) *gūken* S, *gē car* W.

guard *paira* P.  
 guard, to *dharēw* P, *pūy* W. Cf. protect, watch.  
 guardian *pairadār* P.  
 guest *mēmūn* Wn 162, *melmā* Pš, *mēmān* O, Š, *mehmān* P, S, *mi*° Y.  
 guest-house *kōsxāna* P, *mīmān-xāna* W.  
 guilty *nāya* P.  
 guitar *rubāb* P, *tubūr* Y.  
 gum *šelmək* S.  
 gums *oraī* Pš, *wriyē* O<sup>1</sup>, *ṣūš-e danānika*, *pindar*, *peṣṣar*, *wērā* P, °ē S, *soṭkē*, *zōmbo* Y, *dān-pāḍf* S, *šendik*, *wērā* W, *kōm* Š.  
 gun *maltey* O, *miltey* O<sup>1</sup>, *tofang* P, *tfak* Y, *miltoq* S, *mā*° W, *can* Š; (European) *farang tfak* Y; (German) *jarmanī* P; (cannon) *tūp* P.  
 gun-powder *dārū* P, S, *dārui* Y, *dārē* W, Š.  
 guts *kulma* Pš, *lirā*, *yīṣrī*, *wōr* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūt* Y, *guhūrā*, *rūda*, *šagṣer* W. Cf. entrails.  
 gutter *nāuca* Pš.

## H

hail *žalai* Pš, °iē O<sup>1</sup>, *jālī* O, °a P, Š, *šeggerī* P, *mōyiki*, *žilo*, *žalabārān* Y, *žāla* S, W, *mušak*, *šaxək* W, *mašak* Š.  
 hair *ūst* Wn 159, *učiṣto* Pš, *dri* O, *d(ə)ro* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōš*, *gīnō*, *jāl*, *mūi* P, *yūniā*, *kuzki* Y, *ženək* S, *yanī*, *šafš* W, *yūnj* Š; (single) *tār* P, *tāra* Y, *mūi* Š; (cut) *yōš* P; (long) *puṣo*, °stūy Y; (plaited) *ngašai* Pš; (fringe of) *pal*° Pš; (on the body) *yūna*, *zumba* Pš, *mūi*, *rip* W; (of the pubes) *dērf* W; (woman's) *čupjē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. lock of hair.  
 hair (goat's), v. goat's hair.  
 half *nemai* Pš, *nim* P, W, *neṣp* P, *ant-məf*, *parkand* Y, *kānd* Š.



- half-full *lomalen*, *malen*, *nimkalo*, *nimopir* Y, *nēmē* S.  
 half rupee *kirān*, *rhuš* P.  
 halter *kamand* P, *ingut* Y.  
 halting-place *manzil* W.  
 hammer *čukūs* O, *čakək* O<sup>1</sup>, *bālukā* P, *baləko*, *košinē* Y, *baləkē* S, *bələqa*, *xeyaz* W, *pulk* Š. Cf. sledge-hammer.  
 hamstring *Šta-izikan* Y, *čargtling* S.  
 hand *lās*, pl. *lāstə* Wn 162, *lās* PŠ, *dest* O, *dīs* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōst* P, *last* Y, *dēst* S, *dast*, *lāst* W, *dust* Š; (back of) *čamba* Wn 167 (< Sl.).  
 handful *muffai* O, *farzam*, *bamēa* P; (double) *mič* W.  
 handkerchief *rūimāl*, *dāmāl* P.  
 handle *lāstai* (v. *lās*) PŠ, *destā* O, °*ai*, *kabzai* P, *dəsto*, *lastē* Y, *wāš* W, *dastā* Š; (of a spinning wheel) *čar-xānuk* Y.  
 hand-mill *mečan* PŠ<sup>1</sup>, °*in* O<sup>1</sup>, *mučīn* O, *garūf* P, *baḡax*, *lingōn*, *yurzu-jo* Y, *karkəng* S; (small, for salt) *yežio* Y; (wooden, for pounding gun-powder) *baḡaxēnzo* Y.  
 hang, to *jaredəl*, *zangəl* PŠ, *lala-* O<sup>1</sup>, *širōv-* W.  
 hang up, to *lamēw-* P.  
 hanging *auzān(d)* O, *āwēzān* P, S, *lamō*, *tāla* P, *owezōn* Y, *awējān* Š.  
 happiness *xušāli* O, *xušwaxti* O, P, *xušanē* Y.  
 happy *xuš*, *xušāl* O, *xušhāl* P, *xušwaxt* P, W, *xušan* Y, *xoš* W.  
 hard *ney*, *šax* PŠ, *šing* O<sup>1</sup>, *yāweri* P, *saxt* P, Y, S, *šax* Y, *kullax*, *šox* S, *šux*, *tox* W, *xax* Š.  
 hardness *saxti* P.  
 hare *soč* PŠ, *xargōš* O, °*ōš* P, °*ūs* Y, W, *sikak* O, *sa*° O<sup>1</sup>, *khōrogū*, *sahōk* P, *siy* Y, *sūi* S, *sīl* W, *šitum* [š°] Š.  
 harlot *kandān-* O, P, *yar* P, *kumā* Y.  
 harsh *bož* PŠ.  
 harvest *dəryok* S, *cāw*, *kijēt* Š; (wheat) *yadəm-lərovo* Y.  
 hash *kurma* P.  
 hashish *čars* P.  
 haste *bicari* P.  
 hat *tōpiē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 hate *kinā* S, °*a* W.  
 hate, to *boyz kən-* S, *boyz cār-* W.  
 have, to *larəl* PŠ, *dar-* O, *dēr-* P, *lār-* Y, *dēr-* S, *wēder-* W, *dēr-* Š.  
 haversack *nāxta* Š.  
 hawk *bāšd* O, P, °*ē* S, *bašō*, *bāz*, *kirz-yał*, *lumeišt* O<sup>1</sup>, *šāyin*, *sayūrē* Y, *cā-cušt* S, *čup* W, *karcapai* Š.  
 hay *wāš* PŠ, *xēr* P, *yorj(?)* Š.  
 hay-stack *xərdān* P, *uščeno* Y, *uštū* S, *wuštōn* W.  
 head *sar* PŠ, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *kał*, *sər* P, *pusur* Y, *sər* S, *kāl* Š.  
 head, top of v. top.  
 headman *ausakāl*, *malek* P, *arbab*, *čār-wəl* Y.  
 headstall *avzāl* S.  
 healthy *roy* PŠ, *bal* O, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *salāmat* P, *landrust*, *tāzo* Y, *bəfirīšta*, *sihat* W, *jōr* Š.  
 heap *kat* PŠ, *rāš* Y; (of grain) *riyāša*, *wāḡa* PŠ. Cf. stack.  
 heap (of sheaves) *sošē* Y.  
 heap up grain, to *sər kən-* Š.  
 hear, to *aur-* Wn 167, *ārwedəl* PŠ, *amar-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *haric-* P, *nəyuy-* Y, *apaxš-*, *šud* S, *kšay-* W, *šen-* Š. Cf. listen.  
 heart *zrē* PŠ, *zli* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zur* P, *zli* Y, *šuzni* S, *dil*, *pəzōv* W, *zārō* Š.  
 heat *bəš*, *γarma* PŠ, *garmi*, *šundri* W.  
 heat, to *tāb-* P.  
 heaven *bešt* S, *behišt* W. Cf. sky.  
 heavy *drūd* PŠ, *wazmind* O, *grān* O<sup>1</sup>,

- girān* P, *γary* Y, *wazmān* S, *γ<sup>3</sup>rūgg* W, *wazmen* Š.  
 hedge *wārd* PŠ; (thorn-) *paršini* Y.  
 hedgehog *ziŕgāi* (v. *ziŕ*) PŠ, *jarya* O, *sizgāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xarpuštak* P, *šū*, *šayur* Y, *šayor* S, W, *xarpuštak* Š. Cf. porcupine.  
 heel *pānda* PŠ, *°o* O<sup>1</sup>, *pāšna* O, *°no* Y, *khuri*, *pēšpā* P, *pāyio* Y, *pānu* S, *pōšna* W, *pērnak* Š.  
 heel-rope *pul wāša* PŠ.  
 heifer *γunāji* O, *rōgūm* W.  
 height *qadd* P.  
 height-sickness *sudγ* W.  
 hell *dozax* PŠ, *dā°* S, W.  
 helmet *taγ*, *xol* PŠ.  
 help *kumak(i)* P, S, *γārē* Y.  
 help. to *kumak cār* W.  
 helpless *nāildāj* P, *bičāra* Y, *bē°* Š.  
 hem *laman*, *mayzai* PŠ, *dāmon* O<sup>1</sup>, *°an* S, *avilānd*, *dāmōnē*, *lamdo*, *madiri* Y.  
 hem, to *nimil* W.  
 hemp *čars* P.  
 hen *čirga* PŠ, *kiri* O, *°zi* O<sup>1</sup>, *kury* P, *kirio* Y, *kurēūn*, *mākak* S, *kerk*, *mōk* W, *čai* Š; (wild) *kury-e dhāri* P.  
 henchman *jellāt* P.  
 hence *indawū* O, *mēn* O<sup>1</sup>, *ēcend*, *enhāki* P.  
 hen-house *γōst* W.  
 herd *ramma* O, P, *romo* Y; (of cows) *pāda* O, *čārvā*, *galagāu* S; (of goats) *ramē* S; (of horses) *galla* O, P.  
 herd cattle, to *čardān* S.  
 here *dale*, *rā* PŠ, *inda* O, *čk(enhāk)*, *ekestak*, *enhāk* P, *molo* Y, *mōš(ak)* S, *dōram* W, *udē*, *γūdand* Š.  
 hermaphrodite *šajūnak* (v. *šzja*) PŠ.  
 hero *maṛanai* PŠ, *pālancūn* P.  
 heron *tašia* Y.  
 hiccough *silgiē* O<sup>1</sup>.
- hidden *yalai* PŠ, *γolē*, *γūn(d)* O, *γaili*, *peŕ* P.  
 hide, to *frana-* Y, *pāi va ken-* S; (oneself) *xaz* P.  
 hide, v. *skin*.  
 high *hask*, *hear*, *uēat* PŠ, *čig* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pabēga* O, *beland(i)*, *rust*, *uakkē* P, *brlānd* Y, *°and* S, W, *wāē* W, *andēb(?)* Š.  
 hill *bok*, *topa* Š. Cf. mountain.  
 hillside *sasto* Y, *pušta* W; (steep) *paifar*, *viščo* Y.  
 himself *xusōr* P.  
 hinderance *ar* PŠ.  
 hindmost, the *peština* P.  
 hindpart (of animals) *špāčkera* Y.  
 hinge, of a door v. doorhinge.  
 hip *suji* O, *sujo* O<sup>1</sup>, *sēlji* P, *pēro* Y, *suŕi* S, *gūysk*, *marai(?)*, *šujij*, *šūnj* W, *sēveje*, *šūn* Š.  
 hip-bone *šna* PŠ, *haqč-e mēnikā* P, *mižistē*, *brōk*, *da piščan bļok* Y.  
 hire *kerā* P, *ki°* Š.  
 hit *zarb* P.  
 hither *rā* PŠ, *idal* O<sup>1</sup>, *mā-bō* S, *toram* W, *γida* Š.  
 hoar-frost *asaī* PŠ, *porx* Y, *šak* W.  
 hoe *kazai*, *saspār* (v. *spāra*) PŠ, *kulagg* O, P, *kafān* O<sup>1</sup>, *šaspār* P, *kaland* S, *°do* Y.  
 hold, to *laral* PŠ, *ūr-uk* O, *dēr* P, *uēdər* W. Cf. have.  
 hole *kōlak* Wn 168, *sūrai* PŠ, *kē* O, *thōŕ* P, *sure* Y, *rus*, *sēre* W, *čāk*, *kōuγ* Š; (of the ear) *γār* O<sup>1</sup>, *iēroγ*, *sombōk* S.  
 hollow *čie* O, *gor* Y; (below the sternum) *kafēl* Y.  
 hollow piece of ground *pūcō* O.  
 holly oak *banj* Y.  
 home *kālē* (v. *kōlāi*) PŠ.



honest *muztā* S, *af-karkān*, *māfāndār* W.  
honey *aggin* Wn 159, *gabina* Pš, *pīn*  
O, O', *xāra-i zambūrika* P, *ag'min*  
Y, *šāt* Y, S, W, *asāl* S, W, Š.

honey-comb *pyāsa* (v. *zmay*) Pš', *piāco*  
O'.

honour *ezat* P.

hoof *noa* Pš, *sumb* O, P, Y, Š, *kaḡawo*  
O', *čoguli*, *šeflōč* Y, *samb* S, *som* W;  
(cloven) *šongarai* Pš, *šilē* W.

hook *šāltē* Y.

hoopoe *denula* S.

hope *šmāš* P, Y, *amēšād* S, W.

hopeful *bānār* S, *amēdvār* W.

hopper of a mill *dāl* P, Y.

horn *šukār* Wn 162, *škar* Pš, *šōx* O,  
P, S, W, *sukar* O', *šī* P, *šū* Y, *šōn* S,  
*šau* W, *xāš* Š.

horse *āš* Pš, *yāšp* O, *yāšp* O', *čap* P,  
*yasp* Y, *vōrōk* S, *yāš* W, *vārāj* Š;  
(red) *šēran* P. Cf. mare, stallion.

horse-clothing *prigā* W.

horse-dung, v. dung.

horse's load (half of) *būy* Š.

horseman, v. rider.

horse-neck *škyui* Y.

horse-race *paga* Y.

horseshoe *nāl* O, Š.

hospitality *melmastyā* (v. *melma*) Pš.

hostage *yošt* W.

hot *tān* Wn 160, *toč* Pš, *tqk* O, *tōk* O',  
*dam*, *tapō* P, *prc*, *suzōn* Y, *garu*  
Y, S, W, *šōrm* S, *šundr*, *šin* W,  
*kaš* Š.

hour *sāt* O, P, Š, *gari* P, *sāt* W.

hourī *kūr* P.

house *borjal*, *kor*, *mena*, *mešta*, *xāna* Pš,  
*nār* O, *nār* O', *γus*, *kala*, *xāna* P,  
*kvei* Y, *xān* S, *xān* W, *čād* Š; (two  
storied) *šipš* Y.

housewife *merman* (v. *mena*) Pš, *ceštēna* O'.

houseowner, position of a *kataudāt* S.  
how [corang Pš], *carang* O, *tanēng* P,  
*čamān* Y, *cānā* S.

however *scalē* P.

how much/many? *cā* Pš, *cūn(d)* O, *čā*,  
*čeka* P, *čand*, *čamān* Y, *čamān* S,  
*cum* W, *cūnd* Š.

howl, to *varūy* W.

humble-bee *boburē* Y, *zəzəfog* S.

hump *keab* Pš, *kōpān* P, *kyfo* Y, *kif* S,  
*kap* W.

hump-backed *čūyai* Pš.

hundred *šī* Wn 160, *sal* Pš, *šp* O, *šū* O',  
*pōnē* *yuštak*, *šō* P, *sad* P, Y, W, Š,  
*pānšciat*, *šōr* Y, *šād* S, *šād* Š.

hunger *leaža* Pš, *gušnagl* O, *šurčagl* P,  
*čondok* S.

hungry *šurča* Wn 161, *wažai* Pš,  
*xrunuk* O, *xōranuk* O', *šurča* P,  
*waharav*, (*w*)*ušlyo* Y, *šcondok* S,  
*mōz* W, *mašdān* Š.

hunter *pālaodn* S, *pālaodn* W.

hunting *škār* O, *škār* P, *škār*, *waina* Y,  
*šiv* Š.

hurt *augār*, *jak* O.

hurt, to *māč* P.

husband *māp* Wn 159, *meš* (v. *maš*-  
*nāš*), *čāstan* Pš, *ce* O, *māti* O, O',  
*xā(i)* P, *šife* Y, *māš(ōk)* S, *šāl*,  
*šaukar* W, *čār*, *šūmā* (?) Š.

husks *pokv*, *sabūstaf* Y.

hut (on a mountain pasture) *xarvo* Y,  
*ktic* W, *kric* S.

hyena *kaš* Pš.

## I

I *mā*, *rā*, *zə* Pš, *az* O, O', S, *mun* O, P,  
*ān* P, *man*, *zə* Y, *māk* S, *uuz* W, Š.  
ibex *čičik*, *γukš* W; (male) *naxčir* Y, Š,  
*šūmān* Y, *vāng* W; (female) *naxčir*

- 1320 Y, *but*, *mery* W. Cf. mountain-goat.  
 ice *yāx* O, O', Š, *karraz* O', *ix* P, *lax* 1320 Y, *yax* S, *yiē*, *yax* W.  
 ice-house *gazdān* P.  
 idiot *lūc* S.  
 idol *but* P, *bot* S.  
 idol-temple *butxāna* P, *bed* S.  
 idolatry *butparasti* P.  
 if *agar* P, Y, *ka* O, *iahgām* Y.  
 if not *nē ēc* P.  
 ignoble *bisā* P.  
 ignorant *jel* PŠ.  
 ill (sick) *nājer* O, P, Š, *ranjūr* O', *bēstō*, *bimār* P, *bē* S, Š, *chayō* P, *hurē* Y; (from fever) *kuf* S.  
 ill-advised *nalaxt* W.  
 illness *Provo* Y, *bēmāri*, *kassal* S, *bēmōri* W.  
 immediately *pašt* Y.  
 immersed *arūp* O.  
 impale, to *čormix* P.  
 impatient *bluar* P.  
 impatience *bluār* P.  
 impendent *bilayām* P.  
 impolite *bladab* S.  
 impossible *šanda* PŠ.  
 imprisoned *band* P.  
 in *či* Wu 161, *kē* PŠ, *nē* O, *tar* P, S, Š, *ba* Y, *da* Y, W, *ma* S, *dar* W.  
 in all *xullas* P.  
 incite, to *ažiyil* PŠ.  
 indigestion *ayēf* PŠ.  
 in front of, v. before.  
 in order that *tā* Y.  
 in time *bajāl* P.  
 inch, an *banča* P.  
 inconsiderate *biyauri* P.  
 incrustation *kpar* Y.  
 indeed *zu* P.  
 independent *xudextiyār* P.  
 individual *šauca* PŠ, *nafs* Y.  
 inflamed *xurīn* PŠ, *šūm*, *xpīnd* O.  
 inflammation *phuyjō* P; (of the lungs) *šūš-dard* W. Cf. swelling.  
 inflated skin, v. mussuck.  
 informed *xabar* O, P, Y.  
 information *xabar* Y.  
 inheritance *mirās* S, W.  
 injustice *haif* P, *zulm* W.  
 inkhorn *dewet* P.  
 innocent *bēyaib* S, *bēgunā* S, W.  
 innumerable *askarār*, *bihisāb* P.  
 insect, n. of an *icangū* O, *čalkirmo* Y, *xauzt* W.  
 inside *xdare* Wu 169, (*danana* PŠ), *darūn* P, S, (*nādrum* Y, *darūnya* Š, insipid *škaš* Y.  
 instead of *hēcaz* P.  
 instep *rašan*, *šfina* Y, *puband*, *pušt-i* *pā* S, *ce* (*pūšd kaf*), *pāš-i-pā*, *tsaken* W.  
 intelligence *wūš* O, *aql* P.  
 intelligent *poh* PŠ, *nūyār* O. Cf. wise.  
 intention *benā*, *qast*, *mudā*, *niyat*, *xatir* P.  
 into *kl* O, *dar* P, *darūn*, *tro* Y.  
 intoxication *kaif* P.  
 inundation v. flood.  
 investigation *bibāxāst*, *surāy* P.  
 invisible *yaib*, *yaibat* P.  
 invocation *dued* P.  
 iron *šepand* Wu 161, *osplna* PŠ, PŠ', *āin* O, *rō* O, O', *āken*, *rū* P, *rispēn* Y, *āhūn*, *xpōn* S, *tis* (?), *yīšn* W, *sepen* Š; (made of) *āken* P, Y, *āhanta* S.  
 iris *margas* Y; (of the eye) *cām-mordikty* S.  
 irrecognisable *našan* Y.  
 irrigate, to *čād* Y, (*veki*) *deh* S, *worac* W.  
 irrigated *xarob* PŠ.



irrigation *arzino* Y, *ar-diok* S; (first) *zākoča* Y, *zākāv* Š; (second) *dūča*, *liedē* Y, *dāhāv* Š.  
 irrigation-channel *wāla* PŠ, *jōi* O, *yoāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *trog-wēliko*, *wēliko*, *wolo* Y, *jovār*, *nār* S, *čornu*, *wād* W, *wēš* Š. Cf. stream.  
 irrigation furrow *k'ij* Š.  
 irritate, to *zorāl* PŠ.  
 is, v. be.  
 itch, to *kei* W.  
 itching *buxār* O, *garg* P, *lyoxē*, *zuri*, *xārišē* Y, *xurūš* S.

## J

jackal *giday* [PŠ], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šayāl* O, P, *šoyol* S.  
 jacket *kurti* O, P, *korē* Š; (woollen) *mācar* P.  
 jar *kūza* Y, *kōzi* S, *nolād* W; (earthen) *kolālī* P, *sofo* Y.  
 jaw *wāča* Wn 169, *zāma* PŠ, *alašd* O, P, W, *zāmba* O<sup>1</sup>, *kwiliko* Y, *alašē* S, *lišā* Š.  
 jaw-bone *kelidak* P.  
 Jay *menākū* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 joint *mer* W, *bānd* Š.  
 joke *wašta* PŠ, *mazāk* P.  
 journey *plā* PŠ, *sofar* Y.  
 jowar, v. maize.  
 joy *šūdgāri* P. Cf. merriment.  
 Judas-tree v. arghawan.  
 judge *mumaiz* P, *qāzi* P, W, *kāzi* S.  
 jujube-tree *szalyo* Y. Cf. *Senjet Darra* P.  
 jump *per*, *trap* PŠ, *xēz* O, *tōp* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 jump, to *wrātāl* (v. *wurzedāl*) PŠ, *xist* *kan*-P, *ustuše* Y, *araz*-S.  
 juniper *govurso* Y, *arča*, *wajt* S, *yārs* W, *kambače* Š.  
 just *insafdar* S, *ādil* W.  
 justice *adīlat* P, *insāf* S, *ādīl*, *insōf* W.

## K

keep, to *sātāl* PŠ, *ār*-O, *dharēno*-P.  
 kernel *zayai*<sup>1</sup> PŠ, *mayz* P, Š, *širmālē* Y;  
 (pine-nut) *zwayak* O; (rice) *šamāx* O.  
 kettle *sofo tāl* Y. Cf. cooking-pot.  
 kettle (porridge) *kaḡkafo* Y.  
 key *kili* O, *kiliyāšt*-P, *kwēn* Y, *uskaz* S, *wušik* W.  
 khan *xān*, *xāwān* P.  
 kick, a *pišpāi* P.  
 kid *pšarlai*, *waryūmai* PŠ, *buzāld* O, *gurū* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čey* W, *gtē* Š; (newborn) *čana* Y, *špāok* S; (one year old) *sēr-lāi* [PŠ], O<sup>1</sup>, *takačār*, *šusapa* P, *čānoyo*, *frayomiy*, *narčān* Y, *rižuk*, *takē* S; (female during first year) *šten* P; (female, one year old) *frayingo*, *prenjio* Y, *šoryom* S; (two years old) *šusapa*, *taka* P; (three years old) *šusapa* P.  
 kidney [*bašofāi* Wn], *pušta-warga* PŠ, *gurda* O, P, W, *yulkak*, *zlikak*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *sculpa* Y, *gul*, *wofk* S, *walkk* W, *šinj* (*wāšē*) Š.  
 kill, to *wēzen*-Wn 160/6, *wa-šlāl* (v. *šlāl*) PŠ, *užnaw*-O, *wāzn*-O<sup>1</sup>, *už*-*mēr*-P, *mōz*-Y, *kāl*, *šan*-S, *čāč*, *šay*-W, *kaž*-Š.  
 killed *kušta* P.  
 kiln *wēzn* PŠ.  
 kind, sort *qism* S.  
 kindle, to *šilaw*-O, *bala*, *šil*-O<sup>1</sup>, *lagēw*, *thēw*-P, *šfoe*-Y, *pešin*-S, *plcew*-W, *pešēn*-Š.  
 king *bādšā* O, *pādšā* P, Y, S, W, *mištor* Y.  
 kingdom *pādšāhī* P, *malik* Y.  
 kingfisher *mačixor* Y.  
 kinsman *ulus*, *xāi* P, *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.  
 kiss, a *mača* PŠ, *pāč* O, *mač* P, *boh* S, *bā*, *bām* W.

kiss, to *kjūl* Pš, *čūs* P, *boh*-, *gof*- Y.  
kite *cār*, *kalmay*, *karčeyai* W.  
kitten *prākeze* Y, *pāšbatgi* S, *pišzəmān* W.  
knead, to *āyāžl*, (*kjē*mandl Pš, *maṣ*-,  
*mušaw* O, *gūy*- Y, *tan*-, *wert*- W.  
Cf. rub.  
knee *zūng* Wn 169, *zangūn* Pš, *zangrak*  
(v. *zānū*) O, *zānū* O, P, *geyji* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*zik* Y, *zung* S, *bṛin*, *zōnū* W, *zānō* Š.  
knee cap *parvažtn* Y, *yēnak* Š.  
kneeling *duzānū* P.  
knife *čāpa* Pš, *čārtkai* O, *kāligak* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čākū* O<sup>1</sup>, W, *kūcanōk*, *pškaus* P,  
*kayō* Y, *kīlēl* S, *kāž*, *tasma-kāž* W,  
*čēd* Š.  
knit, to *jōpa*- O<sup>1</sup>, *uor*- Y.  
knock, to *brazā*- Y.  
knock against, to *štrax*- W.  
knocking at the door *taxtax* O.  
knot *giriya* O, *yungdō* O<sup>1</sup>, *gerē* P, *gṛea*,  
*yurāž* Y, *gṛē* S, *jīrex*, *žerāž* W,  
*girē* Š.  
know, to *paran*- O, *pān*- P, *diš*-, *vṛān*- Y,  
*uozūn*- Š. Cf. recognize.  
know thou *bedān* P.  
knowing *‘āgū* O, *āmucta*, *dāninda*, *hi*-  
*lata* P.  
knowledge *elm* P.  
known *zda* Pš, *mālūm* O, *ayān* P, *mālūm*  
P, W, *mālēm* Y.  
knuckle *brok*, *čotē*, *krox(i)-yaste* Y, *mer* W.  
knuckle-bone (used in a game) *aryund*  
Pš.  
kran (coin) *kirān* P.

## L

labour *kiō* Y.  
labourer (agricultural) *duhqān* Y.  
ladder *zarzač* O<sup>1</sup>, *ulān*, *šor* P, *zind*  
P, S, *afšīnjo* Y, *šātūn* S, *waxār* W,  
*narevūd* Š. Cf. stairs.

ladder, rung of a *pokor* Y.  
ladle *avzano*, *avzaniko*, *narkufēi* Y.,  
*kāfē* S, *uozūm* W. Cf. spoon.  
lagging behind *fṛind*, *partāuci* S. Cf. left.  
lake *čand* O, *kānz* P, S, *haud* Y, *zōi/e*  
Y, W, *kāl* Š. Cf. pond.  
lakh, 100 000 *lak* P.  
laub *icrai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lrai* O, *lyērāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*yarč(čūca)* P, *icari*, *icārū* W, *wārg* Š:  
new born- *wārya* Y; female *icarak* S;  
f. one year old *wōryō*, *wōryiko* Y;  
male *worok* S; m. one year old *nar*-  
*worya*, *prasilanē* *icārē* Y.  
lame *xūž* Pš, *guš* O, *gušai* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kuffō* P, *šut(t)* P, Š, *lang* P, S, W,  
*šel* Y, *šal* S.  
lament *feyan* P.  
lamp *paltā* [: wick] O, *čeray*, *fānūs* P, *čiruy*  
Y, *čiraylān* S, *corāne* Š. Cf. lantern.  
land, v. country, field.  
landslip *šot* W.  
lane *čdla* (v. *kolai*) Pš.  
languange *lauz* P, *vāžn* Y, *zavūk* S. Cf.  
tongue.  
lap *žēž* Pš, *dāmen* P.  
lapis lazuli *lāžvor* Y.  
large, v. big.  
lasso *kamand* P.  
last *axir* O, *axerē* P.  
last year [parēša Wn], *paros* Pš, *prasul* O,  
*al* O<sup>1</sup>, *parāsur* P, *prasāl* Y, *parsāl* S,  
*pārd* W, *pārsāl*, *parčās* Š; belonging  
to- *pardingī* W; -but one *inzasol* cān O<sup>1</sup>.  
late *dēr* O, *nāwact* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *yir* P,  
*dōš* S, *deš* W.  
later *bē* O, *ga* Š.  
laugh, to *xandl* Pš, *xan*- O, *khan*- P,  
*zoud* Y, *xānd*- S, *kānd*- W, *šānd*- Š.  
laughing *khanči* P.  
laughter *xandā* (v. *xandl*) Pš, *xani* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kanda* W.



law *teriet* Y, *qānūn* W.  
 lawful *rawā* P, *halāl*, *halar* Y.  
 lawless *bltamiz* P.  
 lawn *sarza* S.  
 lazy *kahal* Y.  
 lead *surup* Pš, *surb* P, *arziš* Y, *serb* S.  
 lead, to *rā-w-* Wn 166, *kutāl* Š.  
 lead away, to *botlāl* Pš.  
 lead down, to *ān-* P.  
 leaf *pāna*, *paza* Pš, *bārg* O, Y, S, Š, *paš*, *puza* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōn* P, *pošek* Y, *palē* W.  
 lean *narai* Pš, *qangar* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *hāgar* P, *dolk* Y, *xarāb* Y, W, Š, <sup>2</sup>*bē* S, *lān* W.  
 lean against, to *pāruz-* W.  
 leaning on *takia* P.  
 learn, to- *yāra-* Y, *pāzin-* S.  
 learned *zda* Pš.  
 learning *hilata* P.  
 leather *tūn* Y, *pūst* S, *mandik* W. Cf. *skin*.  
 leather-belt *karapēi* Š.  
 leave n. *ruzaat*(i) P, Y, W, *ro* S, *ruzaat* Y.  
 leave, to *ān-* Wn 160/1, (*pre-šodāl* (v. *prā-*) Pš, *g-* O, *z-* O<sup>1</sup>, *uast-* Y, *la ken-* Y, S, *la-cer-* W.  
 leaving *rawān* P, *rahi* Y.  
 leech *šawara* Pš, *šuluk* O.  
 left (hand) *kly* Pš, *člp* O, P, S, W, Š, *člā* C, *člā* O<sup>1</sup>, *čop* Y.  
 left behind *pāte* Pš, *qzok* O, *mānda* P.  
 left behind, to be *ūzch-*, *daruzch-* P, *foris-* S. Cf. *remain*.  
 leg *šānga* Pš, *legg* P, *ling* S; of a bed *šupāliko* Y.  
 lentil *nask* P.  
 leopard *prāng* Pš, *palāng* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *prōng* O<sup>1</sup>, *parōn* P, *āzāda-palang* Y; (a kind of) *xar-palang* Y; white- *pōs* W.  
 leprosy *prang* Pš.

less *dās* Š.  
 lesson *sabak* P.  
 lest *bādū*, *bādāt*, *nē ec* P.  
 let loose *xalās* O, *ālā*, *yala* P, *hafe*, *yalē* S.  
 let loose, to *ān-dret* Wn 160/1, *la ken-* Y. Cf. *leave*, *release*.  
 letter *xatt* O, P, *kāyaz* P, W.  
 liar *daryāl* Pš, *durūygūi* P, <sup>2</sup>*yi* W, *durūygū* S.  
 liberated, v. *let loose*.  
 lick, to *caš-* [Pš], O, *las-yek* O, *lis-* P, *neriz-* Y, *lēs-* S, *liž-* W, *šak* Š.  
 licking *čaša* O.  
 lid *baryōlai* Pš; (of wooden trough) *xino* Y.  
 lie n. *daroy* Pš, *drišt* O, *drēki* O<sup>1</sup>, *durūy* P, S, W, *čōpt*, *fyeli* Y.  
 lie down, to *cemul-* Wn 160, *camlāstāl*, *yazedāl* Pš, *nuč-astak* O, *dugur-*, *rhiž-* P, *lōyn-*, *woliz-* Y, *nesi-* W.  
 life *šioāk*, *šwandūn* Pš, *umr* O, P, *omy* W.  
 lift up, to *riyawdāl* Pš, *škōb-* Y, *zenz-* S.  
 ligature on bow *pād* W.  
 light (adj.), v. *bright*.  
 light (not heavy) (<sup>2</sup>)*spuk* Pš, O, *subak* O, P, *su* Y, S, Š, *si* W, *alukai* O<sup>1</sup>, *rānjik* W.  
 light n. *ruqā* Wn 161, *ruqā* (v. *rūq*) Pš, *nūr* O, P, S, *ruqal* O<sup>1</sup>, *rhtnē* P, *ārunqo* Y, *rušān(i)* Y, S, *šnāt* S, *nūr*, *rošānāi*, *vōin* W, *mēden* Š; (lamp) *čirāy* S. Cf. *brightness*.  
 light a fire, to v. *kindle*.  
 lightning *brejnd* Pš, *barq* O, Y, S, *brus* O<sup>1</sup>, *balk*, *jabalak* P, *veliwō* Y, *ātāšek* S, *āte* Š, *āptak* W.  
 like *yānde*, *laku* Pš, *padak* O, *dhir(ang)* P, *gnik* S. Cf. *resembling*.  
 like, to *šāyāl* Pš.

- limb *hadama* Y.  
lime *čupa* Y.  
limp, to *ngišedəl* Pš.  
line *karša* Pš.  
lined *qalami* W.  
linen son, *zər* S, *ködnök* W.  
linseed *imoç* Y, *katānək* S.  
lion *ēr* P, S, W, *štr* Y, *babr* S.  
lip *sū*, *sūy* Wn 161, *šuyč*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *lab* O,  
P, S, W, *šuyč* O<sup>1</sup>, *lavč* P, *poršik* Y,  
*ričlav* S, *lavč* W, *šand* Š.  
list *čitra* P; of names *pešk* P.  
listen, to *nyutəl* Pš.  
little, a *lač* Pš, *dukl* O, *kop*, *yila* Y, *čov*,  
*vekiak* S, *andak*, *kam* W.  
little, too *yəso* P.  
little finger v. finger.  
live, to *zindəgəni kən* S, *zindəgəni*  
*car* W.  
livelihood *guzarən* P, *guzarən* Y.  
liver *yina* Pš, *jāšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jigār* P, Y, S,  
W, Š, *yəyon* Y.  
living, v. alive.  
lizard [*samsara*, *karboçai* Pš], *kiruāš*,  
*latək*, *šūsmār* O, *samsəri* O<sup>1</sup>, *karuāš*,  
*šilāyč* P, *karbasa*, *šalāku*, *yūnčilyā* Y,  
*korvčik* S, *karbāš*, *θēt* W, [*čarbāšk*  
(Sk.) Š].  
load *bər* O.  
load, to *leçəl* (v. *leçəl*) Pš, *dačvek* O,  
*vira* Y.  
lobe of the ear *kayik* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lock *jandra* (v. *žaranda*) Pš, *kulf* O,  
P, Š, *kolf* Y, S, *kulp* W.  
lock, of hair *wərbał* Pš, *kākul* P.  
locked *qil* O, *šox* S.  
locust *malax* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *məç* W,  
*mēx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *fuxfestiya*, *yaspa* Y, *mūr*(?)  
W, *čidžik*, *tid* Š.  
log *pəčə* Y.  
loins *pəšt* S.  
long *šid* Pš, *dray* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *blitš* P, *vāy* Y,  
*darāz* S, Š, *vəčduk* S, *vəz* W.  
long way *frax* W.  
longing *cicab* Pš, *armān*, *yōra* P.  
look, to *has* S, *dediç* W. Cf. *see*,  
*regard*.  
look here *ma* S.  
looking about *diāre* Y.  
loom *saxčərən*(?) Y.  
loose *yapand*, *xor*<sup>2</sup> Pš, *xalās* P, Š.  
loosen, to *avutəl* (*arav*) Pš, *mč* O,  
*nyuz* O<sup>1</sup>, *lascio* P, *wien*, *yucan* Y,  
*ucūy* W.  
loosened *həf* S, *xalās* Š.  
lose, to *harēu* P, *gvič* Y, *apanis* S,  
*nis* W, *bence* Š.  
lose the way, to *rapic* W.  
loss *talaf* O.  
lost *wruk* Pš, *barbāt*, *çin(d)*, *yark* O,  
*gum* P, *gvič* Y; (in gambling) *pər* Pš.  
lost, to be *har* P, *api* S.  
louse *çānzi* Wn 162, *spala* (ç) Pš, *spai* O,  
*spul* O<sup>1</sup>, *ispa* P, *spio* Y, *çapal* S,  
*šis* W, *soçal* Š; (small, red) *icraje* O<sup>1</sup>.  
Cf. *tick*.  
love *nina* Pš, *ānuq*, *ciq*, *dəsti*, *muhəbəl*,  
*mehər* P.  
love, to *bilār* Y.  
lover *mayan* (v. *mina*) Pš, *ānuq(bāz)* P.  
low *post* Pš, Y, *layçai*, *çuf* O<sup>1</sup>, *icəchan*,  
*xamba* P, *past* S, W, *nəš*(?) Š.  
lower *lara* Pš, *toru* Y, *çər* Š.  
lucerne *špešta* Pš, *irçəçə*, *prçio* Y,  
*yurik* S, *wičerk* W, *çorç*(?) Š.  
lungs *šəza* Wn 161, *parpūs*, *soçai* Pš,  
*šus* O, *qay* O<sup>1</sup>, *papə* P, *pāpəs*, *šus* Y,  
*çəl*, *šəç* S, *çilç* W, Š.  
lupine *taftal* Y.  
lying down *mlāst* Wn 162, Pš, *gal*,  
*nuçastak* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lying on back *stān* Pš, *stānyo* Y.



## M

- in, the letter *mīm* P.  
*mađ lewanai* (v. *lewa*) Pš, *dičān(a)* O, P, *tağ* P, *dəvonž*, *lāw* S. Cf. stupid.  
 madness *mastī* P.  
 magic *jādūš*, *seher* P.  
 magpie *kuṇyo* Y, *kyēzāk/g* S, *kiršepē* W, *kišēb* Š.  
 maid *peyla* Pš, *čimikeryo* Y. Cf. girl.  
 maize [*jiār* Pš], *šuta* O, *dujār* O<sup>1</sup>, *jōcārī* O, P, *ju*<sup>o</sup> Y, *zitaī* P; ear of *lūfaki* P; straw of *kuso* Y; beard of *hambofi* Y.  
 majesty *huzūr* W.  
 make, to *rāz* P, *gax* S. Cf. do.  
 make water, to v. urinate.  
 male *nar* Pš, P, Y, W, *nerinā* O, *nērōk* P, *yoš* W.  
 male child *jura* P.  
 malice *yārat*, *šaitāni* P.  
 malicious *šaitān* P.  
 man *sayai* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ādam* P, W, Š, *māneš*, *mēr* P, *maṛa*, *mīr* Y, *ādam*, *māfok* S, *šāi*, *mardina* W, *ma*<sup>o</sup> Š, *adlg* W, *čārik*, *mardina* Š.  
 mane *šai*, *wraš* Pš, *gāl* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *čalo* Y.  
 manger *auxur* O, *šaxr* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, <sup>o</sup>or S, *rūz-āxur* W, *venir* Š.  
 mangy *paman* (v. *pam*) Pš.  
 manner *šān* Pš, *zail* P; in this *hērangī* P; in what *carang* O, *kērangī* P.  
 mantilla, a woman's *pakol* S.  
 measure, v. *duṅg*.  
 many *zud* O, *šal*, *yalaba* P, *šahānd* Y, *fai* S, *taki* W, *bāz* Š. Cf. much.  
 many, how *čūn(d)* O.  
 many, so *pa* O.  
 marching *kūš* P.  
 mare *aspa* (v. *ās*) Pš, *myāndeni* O<sup>1</sup>,

- <sup>o</sup> *madiāna* P, *mayoyo* Y, *bāital* S, W, *mādiyān* S, *madāš* W, *vērj* Š.  
 markhor fem. *mārxēr* O, *bāz*, *črang-vəzo*, *mašoyo* Y; male *črañ* Y, *janwar*, *šuk* S, *waxā* W. Cf. mountain-goat.  
 marmot *dała(?)*, *wūy* Y, *icinek*, *wundok* W. Cf. weasel.  
 marriage *nikā* O, W, *nekā* P, *icāda* S, *kataudāi* Š.  
 marriage procession *wā* Pš.  
 marriageable age *icāda* S.  
 marrow *māzə* Pš, *māyz* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, W, Š, *moyz* S. Cf. brain.  
 marsh *šura* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bog.  
 marten (pine-), v. pine-marten.  
 master *caštan* Pš, *bādār*, *čēštan* O, *sāheb*, *šāwān*, *šāwānd* P, <sup>o</sup>und Y.  
 mastigate, to v. chew.  
 match *gūgird* Y; of a gun *pilla* S.  
 matchless *hazini* P.  
 match-maker *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.  
 matter *kāl* P, *trik* Y.  
 matter, v. *pus*.  
 mattock, v. *hoe*.  
 mattress *tēšak* P, *waṛaṇ* Y, *kirpačā* W; filled with cotton *puram* Y. Cf. bedding.  
 may be *formi* Y.  
 meadow *wurto* Pš, *tāla*, *mar-yutūr*, *ulag* P, *mīryo* Y, *mēry*, *sarza* S, *gōz* W. Cf. pasture.  
 measure (of grain) *ošai* Pš.  
 measure, to *mā*- Y, *kač*- O<sup>1</sup>; (liquids, etc.) *pyamal* Pš.  
 meat [*ywaše*, "zarāh" Wn], *ywaša* Pš, *gūka* O, <sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, *yūš* P, Y, *gušt* S, W, *pošf* S, *yūt* W, *gūš(w)š* Š; roast *kabāp* P; — or fish *ngolai* Pš.  
 medicine *dawā* O, *elāč* P, <sup>o</sup> Y, *dārū* P, <sup>o</sup> Y, *darmān*, *dāwāi* P.  
 meeting *jalsa* S.

melon *khôrêbuj* P, *lârû* Y, *xarêz(a)* Y, *š*,  
 °bûz *š*.  
 melt, to *fro-* Y, °au *sâw-* *š*.  
 memory *yâd* O, Y, *dêtar*, *god* W.  
 mending *mahalan* Y.  
 merchant *saudâgar* O, P, °*ager* Y, °*ogar*  
 S, W, *saudagar* Y, *bâzârgân* S.  
 merriment *xušâlî* O, *masî*, *xutxazî* P,  
*icaly* Y. Cf. feast, joy.  
 merry *xušwazt* P. Cf. happy.  
 messenger *astâjai* (*âstâwul*) Pš, *kâset* P.  
 middle *myanj* (v. *mlâ*) Pš, *mânz* O, *nesp* P,  
*miyân(e)*, *nezm* S, *mêlung* W; in the—  
*makhâr* P.  
 midnight *nimiš* O, *barâbar xâro* Y,  
*nimshab*, *nezmehar* S, *brobarnâjêd* W.  
 milk *šqz* Wn 160, *pal*, *saudz* Pš, *pâk* O,  
*štpi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pê* P, *xêira* Y, *xôm* S,  
*îârê* W, *šwêd* *š*; (sour) *šamê* Wn 169,  
*trôšp* S, *triŋ*, *trîš* W, *maska* (incorr.  
 for butter) *š*. Cf. buttermilk, curds.  
 milk, to *çek-* Wn 161, *lucâšêl* Pš, *dûš-* O,  
*dus-* O<sup>1</sup>, *dûč-* P, *lûč-* Y, *dêš-* S, *dic-* W,  
*duj-* *š*.  
 milk-cup, (wooden) *xêir-kêca* Y.  
 milk-pail *lawayûna* (v. *lucâšêl*) Pš, *kizapê*  
 P, *lipêa*, *vašê* W.  
 milk-rice *çirgrinj* Y.  
 "Milky Way" *çarx i falak*, *wârwan* Y,  
*kâkâšon* W.  
 mill *taranda* Pš, *âsyi* O, *jendro* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*xêra* P, *xêrzo* Y, *xušâri* S, *xêdorg* W,  
*xêdârij* *š*. Cf. handmill.  
 mill-broom *fâru*, *rašiko* Y.  
 mill-race *trêbi* Wn 169, *xêrâpî* O<sup>1</sup>, *na-*  
*woyê* Y, *nowêk* S, *nin* W.  
 mill-stone *pal* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *xêragir* P, *xur-*  
*sago* Y, *xêdorg-jâr*, *wêrt* W.  
 mill-wheel *carx* O<sup>1</sup>, *wêrdân* W.  
 millet (*Panicum millaceum*) *êzdon* Wn\*161,  
*îdan* Pš, *arzan* O, *âlun* O<sup>1</sup>, *ârzon* P,

*yurzon* Y, *wuždân* S, *arzan*, *yîrzn* W,  
*pînj* *š*; (*Panicum italicum*) *yošt*  
*(âzažêl)* Pš, *gâš* P, *çavarso* Y, [*jâwau*  
*Sk., š*].  
 mimic, to *putmûi-* W.  
 mind *hêš* S.  
 mine *lînan* W.  
 minister *icazir* P, Y, S.  
 mint (plant) *welanaî* Pš.  
 mirror *šîna* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *âhena*, *šîsa* P,  
*âino*, *šîšoyo* Y, *ainek* S; looking-glass  
*šîša* S.  
 miser *baxil* S, *bâyol* (?) W.  
 miscarrying *speyâza* Pš.  
 missing *bičâ* P.  
 mist *dund*, *lara* Pš, *manyâr* P, S, *miš-*  
*âyiko* Y, *ar-tagâv-yat* ("it came  
 down"?) *š*.  
 mistress *bibi* P.  
 mix, to *lar-* [Pš], O, *vedâz-* Y, *alalaz*  
*kên-* S, a° *car-*, *šând-* W.  
 mixed *gaš* P, *kati* Y.  
 moat *xandak* P.  
 mockery *tûna* P.  
 mode *zail* P.  
 modesty *hayâ* P.  
 moist, v. wet.  
 moisten thoroughly, to *niçod-* Y.  
 moisture *nêb* Y.  
 mole *xâl* P.  
 moment *lâza* P, *faal* S.  
 money *hûy* Y, *pâisâ* Y, *š*, *çarri*, *pûl* S, *pîl* W.  
 monkey *maimûn* S.  
 month *mâst* Wn 159, *miyâst* Pš, *mâi* O,  
*mêhî* P, *mê*, *max* Y, *mâ* S, *š*, *mîj* W,  
*mîst* *š*.  
 month, n. of a *hamal* P, *asad*, *simbulâ*,  
*lmîš* W, *kaus* *š*.  
 monthly *mêhîn* P.  
 moon *miyâst*, *wašmai* Pš, *spošmai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*maryêk*, *mâtan* O, *mahêk* P, *imoço* Y,



- māton*, *wulmāk* S, *mōtob*, *izmak* W, *mīst* Š; the new *kēlāl* P.  
 moonless night *laroʿmāi* (v. *spoʿmāi*) PŠ, *trašmāi* O'.  
 moonlight *raḡaḡa* PŠ.  
 moraine *ābūya* Y, *ambol* S, *šui* W; heap more *digarī* S. [of stones *xōris* Y.  
 moreover *balkim* O.  
 morning *sār* O, P, *saxar* O', *ručān* P, *sāhar* P, Y, S, *suboliyo*, *sārpagā*, *wāšē* Y, *rašt*, *sub* S, *ruz*, *sārake*, Š; in the *subdamik* W. Cf. dawn.  
 morning-meal *pičāni* W.  
 morsel *mačarāi* PŠ, *uḡrī* O, *lōk* P.  
 mortar *ḡur* P.  
 moslem *musulmān* P.  
 mosque *mazdik* O, *mašit* Y.  
 mosquito *mēsa* Wn 159, *ḡumašā* (v. *ḡiā*), *māšai* (v. *mač*) PŠ, *paša* O, P, *pa*° W, *myāšai* O', *griblenikē* Y, *kurpaša* Y, S, *mazīe*, *paša* Y, *joz* S, *kanek*, *piḡn* W, *čagḡin* Š.  
 moth *parušāna* P, Y, W, *paruinekog* S, *ieḡ* W.  
 mother *mor* PŠ, *māwāl* O, *mo* O', *ai*, *mā(č)*, *māma* P, *nān* Y, *māh/dar* S, *nān* S, W, Š, *māl* Š.  
 mother and daughter *māwehā* P.  
 mother-in-law *xwāša* PŠ, *ḡyūy*, *xušai* O, *eyy*, *xwāšā* O', *xuš* P, *xušo* Y, *xoš* S, *xušdōman*, *ḡaš* W, *xuš* Š.  
 motor-car *mōtar* P.  
 mount, to *ḡak* P. Cf. rise.  
 mountain *ḡar* PŠ, Y, *giri*, *kē* O, *gri* O', *dhār*, *khandi* P, *ḡar* Y, *kū* Y, W, Š, *ātax*, *kūh*, *taxa-ḡer* S, *tāx* Š. Cf. hill.  
 mountain-ash *tūr* Y.  
 mountain-goat *yarcanaī* PŠ, *ān* O, *ḡir-canaī* O', *mēšak*, *načēr* Š; female *sur* P, *ḡuncār* W; male *tāy* P. Cf. deer, ibex, markhor.  
 mouse *mašak* PŠ, *bašār*, *kawār*, *danān-carā* P, *pōry* Y, *mūs* S, W, *pōrk* S, *pork* W, *pūrg* Š. Cf. rat.  
 moustache *byt* Wn 159, *brēt* [PŠ], O', *brūt* O, Y, *bu*° P, *bā*° S, *weršt* O', *x-rut* Y, *šābrut* S, *b-rūt* W, *birut* Š; large *brutčapar* W.  
 mouth *xula* PŠ, *dān*, *pōz* O, *pyōz* O', *lōy* P, *p-korē*, *yure* Y, *fōc* S, *ḡaš* W, *ḡē* Š.  
 mouthful *inda* PŠ, *teka* P.  
 mouthpiece of bellows *belulo* Y.  
 move, to *xwāšedāl* PŠ, *č(h)im* P, *maš* Y, *tač* W.  
 move, to v.tr. *čimēc*, *jučēc* P, *muša* Y.  
 movement *yūn* PŠ, *arakat* O, *malak*, *šār* P.  
 moving *ramān* S.  
 much *zūt* O, *ferimān*, *ḡulū*, *ḡalaba* P, *ambox*, *boh*, *ḡipi*, *žahānd* Y, *fai*, *lip*, *ziat* S, *biḡār*, *foi*, *ḡafai*, *ḡafci* W, *ḡn* O; so- mind, *yenda* Y; complete *biḡas* Y.  
 mucus *roma* PŠ, *baḡam* Y, *ḡaš*, *lišp* W, (from nose) *nezyo* Y, *xolm* S; (from mouth) *baḡam* S.  
 mud *ḡel*, *maḡa* P, *feri* (?) W.  
 muddy *xer* PŠ, *xatralōy* Y.  
 mulberry *tuca* Wn 160, *tūt* O, O', Y, S, W, *ti* P, *m'req*, *tūi* Y, *tūd* Š.  
 mulberries, dried *maš* P, *kišori* Y.  
 mulberry-flour *pišt* Š. Cf. flour.  
 male *kačar* O', *ḡāter*, *ḡilā* P, *kačēr* Y, Š.  
 mulla *mullā* O, P.  
 multicoloured, v. piebald.  
 multitude *ḡalabagi*, *ḡulāgi* P.  
 murderer *ādankuš* P, *šādak* S, *šitk* W.  
 murmur *kučur* P.  
 mushroom *romba* PŠ, *ciḡgerē* Y; (a kind of) *pušānek* Y; (white) *warpūst* Y.  
 music *sur* P, *mašis* Y, *šāziḡe* Š.

musk *tātār*, *mušk* P.  
 mussuck, v. skin, inflated.  
 mutilating *nasak* P.  
 muzzle *frušē* Y.  
 my *jmā* Pš, *manān* P, *mon* Y, S, *zu* W.  
 myself *maxašr* P.  
 mystery *ramūz*, *serr* P.

## N

nail *mēx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *kūk* P, *mīx* Y, W; wooden *šārg* Š; (finger-) *nūk* Pš, *taxt tā aggušt* O, *našk* O<sup>1</sup>, *nōrk* P, *anaxno* Y, *nāxšn* Y, Š, *no*° W, *nar-xōk/g* S, *dager* W.  
 naked "oon" Wn [= ūn < \*bagna-].  
*laṣar* [barbaṣar] Pš, *išē* O, P, *šilax* Y, °ax S, W, °ak Š.  
 name *nōm* Wn 158, *nūm* Pš, Š, *nām* O, P, Y, *nīm* S, *nong* W.  
 narrow *narai* Pš, O, *lang* O, S, W, Š, *taṣ* O<sup>1</sup>, *čind*, *luṣṣa* P, *togo*, *trok* Y, *būrk*, *tan'k* S: street *langl* P.  
 natural *xudān* P.  
 nature *šūn* Pš; condition *tab* P.  
 navel *nōr* Wn 159, *nū(m)* Pš, *nefak* O, *nāf* P, S, Š, *nif* Y, *nāf* W.  
 near *paxē* Wn 168, *zarma* Wn 169, *caxa*, *našdē* Pš, *bōg* O, *bōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *da*, *dāl* P, *karib* P, S, Š, q° Y, *nāzdik* P, *na*° Y, *tari*, *turlar* P, *talo*, *šut* Y, *šū* W.  
 nearest to the village *narbōi* Pš.  
 necessary *lāzim*, *mūnāsib* O, *waṣip* P, *zarūr* P, Y, *bakor* S, W; *is-bōya* Pš, *bāyad* Š.  
 necessity *zarūi* Y.  
 neck *ṣāra* (v. *ṣarāl*) Pš, O, *maṣrai* (v. *māṣṣā*), *warmez* Pš, *gardan* O, *ma-kaydāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *manṣū* P, *škyuā*, *šilē* Y, *gardak*, *ṣorōk* S, *gerdān* W, *māk* W, Š, *tor* W.

necklace *oṣai* Pš, *ghana* P, *garai*, *ma-druṣē*, *xafabande* Y, *perg* W; silver *mušli* Y.  
 neckrope of yoke *saberanṣ*, *samlasiko* Y, *riṣk* W.  
 need, to *širar*° W.  
 needle *sunṣen* Wn 162, *stōn* Pš, *šini* O, s° O<sup>1</sup>, *šičin* P, *šinjō* Y, *šān* S, *šic* W, *sej* Š; (packing-) *ṣorēm* Wn 168, *sparxai* Pš, *tēbana* O, *zaršūn*, *juāl-dūz* Y, °oz S.  
 needy *šilax* S. Cf. poor, naked.  
 Negro *habašī* P.  
 neigh, n. [šāšṣai, haṣ Pš], *iggās* O, *hengas* P.  
 neigh, to *šisin* O<sup>1</sup>, *ušun*- Y.  
 neighbour *hamsāya* P, a° Š, *ṣār* P, *amsāyo*, *grambeṣu* Y, *amāsyi* S.  
 neither-nor *nāi-nāi* S.  
 nephew (brother's son) *urūz* Pš, *rāṣrai* O, *rāṣṣi* O<sup>1</sup>, *biṣṣayurōk* P, *vraipūr*, *vṣṣri* Y, *vṣṣṣ-man* S, *vṣṣṣṣṣ* W; (sister's son) *xorayai* (v. *xor*) Pš, *ṣṣayurōk* P, *xuri* Y, *xir* S, *xuriyōn* W.  
 nerve *pala*, *wuṣa* Pš.  
 nest *manjolo*, *šān* O<sup>1</sup>, *yēšio* Y, *parenda*, *xān*, *yēca* S, *yoṣ* W, *yēṣ* Š; bee's *šōr* Pš.  
 net *uruz* Wn 169, *tor* Pš, *dām* O, P, *alki* S, *tor* W, *peṣ* Š. Cf. snare, trap.  
 nettle *xulxadā* Y.  
 never *heē kala* (na) (v. *kala*) Pš, *šṣṣ* W.  
 new *naicai* Pš, *nūu* O, *nyōu* O<sup>1</sup>, *nō* P, *nouoṣo* Y, *nūuok* S, *šṣṣ* W, *nū* Š.  
 news *xabara* O<sup>1</sup>, *auhāl* P, *xabar* P, Y, W, Š; good *zerai* Pš.  
 New-Year festival *nauroz(c)* S.  
 next year *šāsar* P.  
 next world, finally *āxerat* Y.



niece (brother's daughter) *werera* (v. *wērāw*)  
Pš, *rāšra* O, *rāšro* O', *wērigo* Y;  
(sister's daughter) *xorja* (v. *xor*) Pš,  
*xurigo* Y.

nice, to look *warš-vek* O.

night *špa* Pš, *šō* O, *šyōn* O', *wšyār*,  
*xawān* P, *xšlowo* Y, *faršou*, *šab* S,  
*nāyō* S, W, *šab* Š; part of *šūma* Pš;  
-s halt *šūp* W; this very *wyārawyār* P.

nightingale, v. *bulbul*.

nightmare *xapasa* Pš, *rāyō* S, W.

nine *nōh* Pš, *nā* O, *nō* O', *nō* P, *nōn*  
Y, S, *nān* W, *nāw* Š.

nineteen *nūtax* (v. *nōh*) Pš, *nēs* O, *anēs*  
O', *nams*, *nūda* P, *nūda* Y, *nawōš/das*  
S, *daxnab* W.

ninety *nawc* Pš, *nincē* O, *nawcō* S.

nipple, v. breast (female).

nit *riča* Pš, *rško* O', *rško* Y, *šāgg* W.

no *na* O, *nā* P, *nai* W; (adj.) *hāc* Y.

noble *hōkt* P.

nobleman *mirzā* P.

noise *špa*, *yar*, *šxwal*, *šay*, *šwaš* Pš,  
*šūr/y* P, *awcāz* Y.

nook *cōwda* Pš.

noon *yārma/ō* Pš, *ō* O', *nūmrāš* O, *ōz* P,  
*ōz* W, *mižen* Y, *ōšt*, *maikent* S.

noose *parwandai* Pš.

noon *mādir* W.

north *šamālī* O, P, *ōl* W.

nose *pīza* Wn 159, *paza* Pš, *ōak* O,  
*nini* O, O', *damāy*, *nāšl* P, *šsko* Y,  
*šusk*, *nic* S, *mīs* S, W, *nej* Š.

noseless, etc. *būrai* Pš.

nose-ring *percōn* (v. *paza*) Pš, *nati* P.

nostril *šemšō* Wn 169, *špašma* Pš, *par-*  
*xāna* O, *šūmal* O', *bīnšān*, *damāral*  
P, *ššakšurw* Y, *dimāy*, *ššōk-pōcē* S.

not *nā* Pš, P, S, Š, *nak* O, *ēi*, *ēc*, *ēu*, *ē*,  
*no*, *nā*, Y, *ne* W; is not *nīšta* Pš,  
*čēš* Y, *nest* S, *nīst* Š. Cf. *don't*.

nothing *ēuca* Y.

nourish, to *nmānjāl* Pš.

now *os* (*osedāl*), *no* (v. *nan*) [*< nor*] Pš,  
*pērī* O, O', *badī*, *yē*, *yāri* P, *wos* Y,  
*diga*, *iggē*, *nakso*, *psāt*, *ōō* (?) S, *nīc* W,  
*šic* Š.

numb *kuš* Y.

number *šumār* P, *imāš* Y.

nurse *dāya* S.

nurturing *parvarīš* S.

## O

O! *ai* O, *ā*, *ai*, *ō*, *āyā*, *wō*, *yā* P, *āi* Y,  
*e*, *o*, *wa* S, *allō*, *ēi*, *waī* W.

oak *bālāt* O, Š, *yan* P.

oar *fe* Š. Cf. *spade*.

oath *war* O, O', *kasam* O, *q* P, Y, S,  
*qurān* P, *wōr* Y. Cf. *sweat*.

oats *šaudar* O', *dāstn* S, *lao* Y.

obey, to *nyutōl*, *manōl* Pš.

observe, to *thār* P.

obtain, to v. get.

object *māxrad* P.

occupied *maggir* P.

occult knowledge *panjbēd* P.

of *ya* Wn 163, *da* Pš, *tar* O, *ta* O'.

off, away *badār* Y.

officer *hafsar* S.

oil *tēl* P.

old (living things) *zor* Pš, *zāl* O, O',  
*kaffō* P, *zōr* Y, *xyār* W, *pīr* Š;  
(inanimate things) *kōna* P, *kō* W,  
*kuhno*, *tēl* Y; (man) *šhašadhāri* P,  
*mūšafēd* S, W, *šafēdān* Š; (woman)  
*pīrazāl*, *pīrakt*, *zāl* P, *zōro* Y, *kam-*  
*pīr* S.

old age *kaffōi* P.

olive-tree [*šona*, *šawana* Pš], *šowan* O',  
olive-coloured *spīšē* Y.

on mind *Wn* 163, *bānde*, *pa* Pš, S, *jer*, *sar* O,

zār O<sup>1</sup>, ba P, bar P, Y, po, sko, tro Y,  
 rū, sōr S; da, rū-i, sk W, pi Š: at  
 the top of sār P.  
 once jal, kala PŠ, warti W.  
 one yau PŠ, iē O, so O<sup>1</sup>, tu P, yū Y,  
 wok, yak S, lu W, yir Š: (of several)  
 yūyo, yukwego Y.  
 one another (h)alamān W.  
 one each lgon lgon W.  
 onion plāz O, S, pkyāz, teka P, piy Y,  
 piuk, piyōz W.  
 only guj O, fakat P.  
 aerial mēš-i kiškōr S; (male) miya, nazēir-  
 pozāiē Y, kuskār, mōq, wār W (cf.  
 ram); (female) saša PŠ, sūš<sup>o</sup> O,  
 mēšak W.  
 open arat, wit [ $<$  \*wi-šita] PŠ, xē P,  
 wulai Y, hēf S, of W, yēt Š.  
 open, to prānatel, spardel PŠ, gabdā- Y;  
 (the eyes) yapa- O.  
 opened xor<sup>1</sup> PŠ, yalē S.  
 or yū P, Y, Š, H(?) Y.  
 orange nāranj Y.  
 order, to v. command.  
 order, in—that tā Y.  
 oriole, golden- ēkālpio Y.  
 ornament [anjar PŠ], fazi P, sarfrāze Y.  
 orphan yatim O, sayir Y, so<sup>3</sup> W, sayir S.  
 other bi, bōl Wn 160, bōl, nor [ $<$  \*an-  
 tāra-] PŠ, bē, bēga O, bi O<sup>1</sup>, iā P,  
 dir Y, digar S, W, yan W.  
 otter sagglau Y, saglavi S, sagāwi,  
 šūpiš(?) W.  
 out panēšta O.  
 out of breath honadiy Y.  
 out of place bijā P.  
 outcry ūq P.  
 outside panēšta O, -nēšta O<sup>1</sup>, bōr, bērin,  
 maḥōr P, biawān S, baḥr, vičung W,  
 raiza Š.  
 oven tanūr O.

over par PŠ.  
 overflowed toē PŠ.  
 overturned, to be parzedel PŠ.  
 overturning čopa S.  
 Ovis Ammon yār-yali Š (v. mountain  
 goat).  
 Ovis Poli rūš W; male wroks W.  
 owl lagō O<sup>1</sup>, bif P, būm P, W, Š, bū Y,  
 qim W.  
 own xpal PŠ, xui O, xueni O<sup>1</sup>, xukan P,  
 xoy Y, xē S, žūnen W, xu Š.  
 own, to dar- O. Cf. have.  
 owner bādār O, sāheb P. Cf. master.

## P

pace pal<sup>1</sup> PŠ, wiyang W, gām, qadam S.  
 pack-saddle, v. saddle.  
 pad nyorai, namla (v. lamcaī) PŠ.  
 padlock jandra (v. žaranda) PŠ. Cf. lock.  
 pain zair PŠ, dard P, S, Š, jam, tāb P;  
 in the ribs brīšik O<sup>1</sup>.  
 pain, to dīm- O, bēs- P.  
 palace dargā, sarāi P.  
 palate kūmai PŠ, kām O, P, Y, S, kōm W.  
 pale rangzard S.  
 palm (of hand) waryowai PŠ, °we, talai  
 O<sup>1</sup>, kaf O, P, kaf-e dōst P, °dest S,  
 °dast W, peno Y, p'ū(ə)n W, bēn Š.  
 paradise behešt, jannad P.  
 parched, v. grain (parched).  
 parents-in-law qadd W.  
 parrot toft O<sup>1</sup>, tōh P, tūti S, sauztūti W.  
 partner šarik P.  
 partridge tanzarai, zarka PŠ, kank O,  
 sōc(?) , zrzj O<sup>1</sup>, bōdana, žirež P, žoržo Y,  
 wēšžir S, čkōr W, zarij Š.  
 partition xam PŠ.  
 party ferkā P.  
 pass n. hān P, kutal P, Š, yar Y, panuk  
 S, wiyin W.



pass, to v. cross.  
 passed *ter* Pš, O, O'.  
 passing *guzar* P.  
 passion *cioab* Pš.  
 pasteboard *vernoyo* Y.  
 passtime *sâatter* P.  
 pasture *car* Pš; mountain-*gâz* Š; summer-  
*yêl* Š. Cf. meadow.  
 patch of cloth *paspon* Y.  
 patience *sabr* P.  
 patient *sabr* S, *togaidôr* W.  
 path *sima* Pš. Cf. road.  
 pay *muzhar*(?)  
 peas *maruk* P, *deriy*(?), *k'êr*, *paleko*,  
*surmuy* Y, *kardâ*, *muftik*, *vazad*,  
*paftak* S, *k'roft*, *palek*, *fa'x* W. Cf.  
 beans, lentils.  
 peace *gicâj* Pš, *âstâ*, *sulu* P.  
 peach *kâftâlû* O, O', P, Š, °*le* Y, °*ala*  
 S, W, *kadrax* P.  
 peacock *myawar* Pš, *myawurjân* O'.  
 peak *peza* (v. *paza*) Pš, *khandi* P.  
 pear *nâk* P, *nâkpâti* P, W, °*e* Š, *abrûo*,  
*ambrâz*, *narrowi* *çoggô*, *kyogô*, *nâ-*  
*potiy*, *tok* Y, *piu* W, *marâd*, *nâk* Š.  
 pearl *maryalara* Pš.  
 pedal (on a loom) *pâliko* Y.  
 pedestrian *palai* (v. *pal*) Pš, *piyâda* Š.  
 peddler, v. merchant.  
 peg *mo'ai*, *sparxai* Pš, *ma'wai* O', *cûr*,  
*max* Y, *mêx* S; (wooden, on pellet-  
 bow) *zangtâk* S.  
 pellet-bow, v. bow.  
 pen *kalam* P.  
 penis *yên* Pš, *yênj* O, *yên* O', *êdl*, *lâwç* P,  
*y'êk* Y, *êdl*, *dûr* S, *çor* S, W, *paç* W,  
*êlak*(?), *jus* Š.  
 people *xalag* O, *mardum* P, Š, *xalk* P, S,  
*maxluk* S, *xalq* W.  
 perfection *kamâl* P.  
 perfume *rutbû* P; (a kind of) *kalânûr* P.

\*perhaps *fâyî* Pš, *magum* P, *albatt* S, W.  
 perishable *fânî* P.  
 period *manum* P.  
 period of two years *lohsazu* Y.  
 peritonenum *spejta* Pš.  
 permission *riarsat* Y.  
 permit, to lam *dah* P.  
 perplexed *hairân* P.  
 person *çawai* Pš, *nafar* P, W, Š, *tau* S,  
*xâlg* W; (a certain) *felâna/i* P.  
 perspiration *xenla* Pš, *arâq* O, Y, S, W,  
*xêla* O, *xalb* O', *arâk* P, Š, *xal* Y,  
*xair* S, *âil* W.  
 pestle *lawar* Pš, *çursang* O, *bayriê*,  
*molâi* O'.  
 pheasant *pâtaêdr* Y.  
 piece *paiza* P.  
 pick, to *bâz* O, *êu* Y, *çew* S, *çip* W.  
 pick up, to *çpêw*, *kherêw* P.  
 pick-axe *kulang* P, *giçê* Y.  
 picture *negâr* P.  
 piebald *gaç* (v. *âçâçl*), *prâng* (v. *prang*)  
 Pš, *ablag* P, *kaç* Y, *êdl*, *rangâ-i*  
*gûnagûn* S, *ar xêl*, *êûç*, *hard* W.  
 piece *tok* P. Cf. morsel.  
 pieces, in small *viza* P.  
 pierce, to *kif* S.  
 pierced, to be *sâyedl* Pš.  
 pig *mats*, [sarkûzai] Pš, *nâlat* O, *xâg*  
 S, Š, *xêg* W.  
 pigeon *kauntar* Pš, *kaftar* O, *kabûtar* P,  
*korio* Y, *koriê* S, *kibit* W, *êbûd* Š.  
 pillau *palâw* P, *palau* Y.  
 pillow (a kind of) *dampêk* P.  
 pile up, to *yâd* W, *tâl*(?) Š.  
 pilgrimage *markad* P.  
 pillar, v. post.  
 pillow *takpâ* O, *bâlist* O', *bânapi*,  
*taisêri* P, *tagio*, *virzanê*, *vrazidînê* Y,  
 \* *têk-sari*, *êçêl* S, *têkiyâ*, *vêrz* W,  
*mutaka*, *vîçjêj* Š.

- pin (of a spindle) *śāṣa* Y.  
 piners *ambār* O, W, Š, *uro* Y, *or* S, *cepio* Y.  
 pinch *škulak* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 pinch, to *cēb* Y, *cērup* W.  
 pine-cone, edible *zānyezai* (v. *zānai*) Pš.  
 pine *wāziyā* Y, *dram*, *nāstar* S, *pit*(?) Y, *yirya* W; edible *bedr* W.  
 pine-marten *juū* Y, *yūyik* (prob. marmot) S.  
 pine-nut, kernel of the *zayak* O.  
 pistachio *pista* O<sup>1</sup>, *postā* Y, S.  
 pit *čayul* Y, *glac* W; (for storing butter) *hanjui* W.  
 pit-ocal *kemur* S.  
 place *yālai*, *tin* Pš, *jāi* O, P, Y, Š, *jāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *čaya* Y, *jā* S; (to this) *eken-hāk* P; (in that very) *ōkân* P; (for putting pots) *čif* W; (where the horse is bound) *pš-āzər* S.  
 place, to (*kje*) *čedl* Pš, *g*, *nūc* O, *yuh*, *lam dah*, *nhen* P, *wāst* Y, *nezdər* W, *lā k* Š. Cf. put.  
 plain n. *awāri* O, *maidān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *on* W, *mērə*, *samə* O<sup>1</sup>, *dāk*, *pušta* P, *dašk* Y, *dast* S, W, *dāst*, *medān*, *pušta* Š.  
 plait n. *bray* Pš.  
 plait, to *lāw* P, *paruef* W. Cf. weave.  
 plan *tagbār* P, Y.  
 plane, oriental. v. *chenar*.  
 planet *wezə*(?) S.  
 plank *frūn*, *tax-rū*, *taxta* S.  
 plant *huta* P, *nābūt* S, *nabūt* W, *čūdm* Š; (n. of a) *wezina* Wn 169, *ōmə*, *xer-ywaf* (v. *xar*) Pš, *pičilt*, *šiyiko*, *šax* Y. Cf. shrub.  
 plant, to *njatai*, *zanl* Pš, *niyā* Y, *nēnd* S, *nēnd* W.  
 plaster, to *axerəl* (v. *xər*) Pš, *šift* Y.  
 plastering *šogār* S.  
 plate *kāsa* O, *ē* S, *šdyi* O, *majma* P, *lūčak* Š.  
 platform *dārsir*, *raša* Y, *rēž* S, *raž* W.  
 plateau *turp* P.  
 play *loba* Pš, *bāzi* O, *ē* S, *šlomi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xediya* Y, *naž* S, *štik* W.  
 play, to *nūcāz* Š.  
 please, to *šāyəl* Pš, *rām* Y, *bešār* S.  
 please God *emšalla* P.  
 pleased *xuš* O. Cf. agreeable.  
 pleasure *xicand* Pš, *zubi* O, *aš* P, *xošānē* Y.  
 Pleiades ["*pairmoni*" Wn], *perūnc* Pš, *bəl*(?) Y.  
 plenty *yalabagi* P. Cf. much.  
 plough *yax(a)* Wn 169, *yawē* Pš, *xpār*, *yūx* O, *xpārə*, *yucē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kulba* P, *kugo*, *kışca*, *katā*, *sporo* Y, *kālba*, *kiriğ* S, *kīrən* W, *xpār* Š; (peg in the) *šarxār* Y; (part of) *čakyə* Y. Cf. ploughing, ploughshare.  
 plough, to *karəl* Pš, *kīr* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *mēlēc* P, *kīr* S, *wild* Š.  
 plough-bullock *gašōi* O.  
 plough-handle *hostaganu* Y, *yalak* S, *yizək* W.  
 ploughing *kiriš* S, *čērij* Š.  
 ploughman *čērijgār* Š.  
 plough-pole *āwusp* Y, *āwisp* S, *hešt*, *wəšp* W.  
 plough-share *xpāra*, *tiyāšə* Pš, *šārixpār* O, *karkiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kando* Y, *xpər* S, *xpūndr*, *xpər*, *šōrs* W.  
 plough-wedge *ačardine*, *yuvazgo* Y.  
 plug *mūyāi* (not *mūnai*) Pš.  
 plum *ālū* Y.  
 plunder *ulja* P.  
 pocket *šibak* P.  
 podex *yara*, *kūna* Pš, *kūn* O, *kunāšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *tunc-c kuwrika*, *šōyōk* P, *yumino*, *pro*, *šakkōt* Y, *šen* S. Cf. anus.



poet *šāher* P.  
 poetry *šāherī* P.  
 point (of a knife) *nāk* O, P, *nēs* P, *nāl* Š.  
 poison *weš* Pš, *zār* O, P, S, W, Š, *tar-*  
*kaš* P, *saykiyo*, *zahar*, *zaro* Y.  
 Polar Star *qab* W.  
 polish, to *zloyal* Pš, *say* O. Cf. rub.  
 polite, v. courteous.  
 polo-ball *kipa* Y.  
 polo-stick *hāla* Y.  
 pomegranate *anār* P, Y, *punjuk* O'.  
*alāno* Y.  
 pommel of a saddle *ngūbai* (v. *keab*) Pš.  
 pond *wešta* (v. *weandanai*) Pš, *anz* O,  
*dayl* O, O', *talān* O', *hauz* P. Cf.  
 lake.  
 pony *yābū* Y.  
 poor *yarib* O', P, Y, S, W, *sidat* P,  
*ājiz* Y, *bēdōra* S, *nātudān* W, *weān* Š.  
 poplar *gulramen*, *ramen*, *tarik* Y,  
*safelidōr* S, W, *wurmik* S, *piyāz*,  
*ritabary* W.  
 porcupine *suggūn* Wn 162, *skon* Pš,  
*sukał* O, O', *šuyar* P. Cf. hedgehog.  
 porridge *pōz*, *xastār* O', *ašlē* Y, *ōš* Y W,  
*pašār*, *sodik*, *xāšpa* S, *āš*, *xušpa* Š;  
 (barley-) *dāllē* S.  
 portion *firē* O, *baxš* S.  
 possessor *xāwand* P.  
 post *stōn* Pš, *sufun* O, *we* Š, *styōn* O',  
*ustūn* P, *ustunō* Y, *stīn* S, *is* W.  
 postman *pōstīn* O, Š, *pōstaki* P, *bēšak* S.  
 pot *xumb* Š; (large, earthen) *maš* O'.  
 Cf. cooking pot.  
 pouch (for gunpowder) *kamār*, *kutiā* Y.  
 pound, thump *šak* O.  
 pound, to *fikane* O.  
 pour, to *z'ear* Y; (into) *kaš* W; (out)  
*sanjāl* Pš, *andūz*, *yarzēn* P, *dri*,  
*na*, *zu* Y.  
 poverty *yaribi* P.

power *hoqūf*, *jabr*, *qūwat*, *tāb*, *xudrat*,  
*zūri* P; (having this much) *hawekai* P.  
 Cf. strength.  
 powerful *jabār*, *qūcaldār*, *nāk*, *muta-*  
*bar*, *zūrwār* P. Cf. strong.  
 praise, to *stāyal* Pš, *stau* W,  
 praising *tārif* P.  
 prayer *amūnj* Pš, *ducā* O, P, *munājāt*,  
*numāz* O, *māz* O', *salāt*, *namāz* P,  
*na* Y, S, *duā*, *namōz* W.  
 precipice *yurp* Y.  
 pregnant *brālba*, *warla* Pš, *umūdeār* P,  
*waro* Y, *hamāl* P, *amēdeār* S, *varenj*  
 W; (animal) *āwešt* P, *vazāšo* Y.  
 preparation *zerma* Pš, *sarišta*, *tayār* P.  
 prepare, to *vēz* P, *gar* S.  
 prepared *jōr* O, *jōr*, *puxta*, *vāst*, *tayār* P.  
 presence *nēla* O.  
 present n., v. gift.  
 present (adj.) *hāzer* P.  
 press down, to *drābol* Pš, *wordenz* W.  
 previous *tarheāl* P.  
 price *baya* O, *bhāi*, *nirx* P, *kimat* Y,  
*qummat*, *wey* W; (paid for bride)  
*tūyāna* P.  
 prince *kāzāda* O.  
 princess *bēgum*, *xānem* P.  
 prison *bandixāna* P.  
 prisoner *yasir* S, W.  
 proclaimed *ayān* P.  
 produce *hāsel* P.  
 produced *paidā* P.  
 promise *lauz* O, *ād*, *wāda* P.  
 prop *araw(oi)*, (ar) Pš.  
 propel, to *nikiz-vek* O.  
 proper *munāsib* P.  
 property *māl* O, P, Y, S, *daulat* O, P, Y,  
 Cf. riches.  
 prophet *pāyūmbar* O, *paš* Y.  
 prostrated, to be *parzedāl* Pš.  
 protect, to *sātāl*, *z'orāl* Pš. Cf. guard

protection *parvaris* Š.  
 protector *nigūcān* P.  
 proud *sarferāt* P.  
 pudenda *šarm* Y.  
 puerperal *langa*, *zaryāla* Pš.  
 pull, to *kān*- Wn 161, *kšol* Pš, *kaš kan*- P.  
*xoš*- Y, *xas*- S, *xāš*- W; (out) *neṣ*- P,  
*nig*- Y; (up weeds) *šimeš*- Y.  
 pulse (vein) *mešār* P.  
 pulse (crop) *yāmu* Y, *mašorj* Š.  
 pulverized *hinl-vek* O.  
 pumpkin *kodūw* W.  
 pungent *tekku* P.  
 pupil *šāgird* P; of the eye [*kasai*], *torai*  
 (v. *tor*) Pš, *yrāsi* O, *dukā* O<sup>1</sup>, *šui* S,  
*mardik* W.  
 puppy *kūšuk* O, *ek* W, *gurji*, *kūšuk* P,  
*ekena*, *ekonakē* Y, *škonok* S, *eken* W,  
*čaxbuč*(?) Š.  
 pure *noš* Pš, *pākišā* O.  
 purpose *maḏlab*, *maxšūd*, *niyat* P.  
 pursuing *rūf* P.  
 pus *zauca*, *raš* Pš, *rū* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīm* P, *narzū* Y.  
 pustule, v. blister.  
 put, to *ban*-, *g*-, *nūc*- O, *nūc*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ecēw*- P,  
*ščinā*- Y, *nūš*-, *wēd*- S, *šā*-, *nēš*- Š.  
 Cf. place, make to sit.  
 put fire to, to, v. kindle.  
 put on, to, v. dress.  
 put to flight, to *tišaw-šk* O, v. flight.  
 puttees *paitawo* Y.

## Q

quail *maṣaraz* Pš, *bašār* O<sup>1</sup>, *worjo* Y,  
*worc* S, *wēlē* W.  
 quarrel *dāwā*, *guštigū* P.  
 question *puštana* (v. *puštadēl*) Pš,  
*poštān(n)a* O, *puštān* P, *puštān* W.  
 quick *zyar* Wn 169, *šir* Pš, *čabuk* O,  
*šer*(o) O<sup>1</sup>, *tünd*, *zak* P, *jald* S.  
 quickly *dastl*, *rau*, *raw*, *talicaša* P, *šut* Š.

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quiet *šman* Pš, *karār*, *tal* P.  
 quilt *zopē* Y. Cf. clothes.  
 quince *behi* P.  
 quite *xūb* S.  
 quiver *šicalai* Pš, *našun* W.

## R

radish *turb* O, *sārē* Š.  
 rafter, v. roof-beam.  
 tag n. *šimj* O, *latai* P, *lūg* W.  
 rain [wor], *pašakāl* Pš, *bārān* [Pš], O,  
 O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, Š, *auyār*, *yār* P, nte,  
*wāriyo* Y, *nowek* S, *bōron*, *wōir* W,  
*dinyā* (cf. Sköld *dinya*) Š; (heavy-)  
*šeba* Pš.  
 rain, to *warēš*- Wn 166, *woredol* Pš, *yōr*-  
 O, *yār*-, *wāš*- P, *nov*- Y, *bōr*-, *nav*- S.  
 rainbow [da *buḏai tāl*, *sra-ušna* Pš],  
*kamān-i Rustām* O, S, W, Š, *sūrkino*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *kamāni*, *nāxčuri*, *tofang-i Rustām*  
 P, *mira-avlasto* Y, *nerau* W.  
 rainy *ozgū* P; (season) *pašakāl* Pš.  
 raise, to *riḡwedol* Pš, *wustaic*- O, *uštēw*- P,  
*škob*- Y.  
 rake *namuriz* W.  
 ram *maš* Pš, *aurai* O, *kuca*, *mandk* P,  
*požžir* Y, *jāndār*, *koškār*(?) S, *poš*-  
*k'ela*, *k'ala*, *pūs*, *tux*, *watōx* W,  
*mešij*, *nir* Š; sheep. male- *nārē* S.  
 ram in, to *lūš*- W.  
 ramchikor *šerz* W.  
 ransack, to *šanol* Pš.  
 rat *maža* (v. *mažak*) Pš, *golak* O, *gi*<sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gurbamūš* P, *mirmušān* Y.  
 ration *širē* O.  
 raven *erōy* [Afr. *worōy*] Pš, *xun* Y, *xarn*,  
*šūy* S, *šind* W.  
 ravine *pal*<sup>1</sup>, *xwar* Pš, *kurri* P, *yor*-,  
*karum*, *širāv* W, *darra* Š. Cf. valley.  
 raw *ēm* Pš, *xāmē* O, *yām* O<sup>1</sup>, *hāmō* P,  
*xām* P, Y, S, *yīg* W.



- ray *mārīj*, *palōša* Pš.  
 razor *pāki* O.  
 reach, to *awās* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
 read, to *heastōl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *aw-* O, *γwās*, *haw-* O<sup>1</sup>, *xān-* P, *buxān-* Y, *belav-* S, *joy-* W, [*joy-* Sk.] Š.  
 ready *hāzer* P, *tayār* P, Y, S.  
 reap, to *rēb-* Wn 167, *raedōl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *dīr-* O, *lōr-* Y, *derūy-* S, *drāw-* W.  
 reaping *lau* Pš, *drau* O, *Provo* Y, *daryōk* S, *dirau* W, *cāw* Š.  
 reason *sabap/b* P, S, *sāen* P.  
 recent *yānd* W. Cf. new, young.  
 recite, to *xān* P.  
 reciter (of tales) *qessaxān* P; (of prayers) *fātehaxān* P.  
 reckoning *isāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. calculation.  
 recognize, to [*pēzn-* Wn], (*pe*)*zandōl* Pš, *pazan-* O, *pazdan-* W. Cf. know.  
 red *sūr* Pš, *iūš* O, *sūš* O<sup>1</sup>, *hīndakōš*, *sūrkh(š)* P, *gulgūn*, *sūrx* Y, *sərx* S, *wkr* W, *rūšt* Š light *vūr* Y.  
 reed *šar-yakāi* Pš, *nai* O, P, Y, S, *qumb* P, *nāl*, *xāleniyo* Y, *niyōk* S, *nālčrk* W, *kirūšt* Š.  
 reflection *yaur* P.  
 refreshed *tāza* P.  
 refutation *radd* P.  
 regard, to (*par-*), *thār-* P. Cf. look.  
 regarding *pari*, *sail* P.  
 regiment *paltan* P.  
 regret *pešmān* P, *pšaimān* S.  
 regretful *pšaimōn* W.  
 reject, to *šayōl* Pš.  
 relation, blood- [*xpul*, *xēš* Pš], *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.  
 release, to *xalāša-* O<sup>1</sup>, *hāl kan-* P.  
 released, v. let loose.  
 religion *dīn* S.  
 remain, to *ūrch-* P, *fəris-* S, *toš*, *wəwəš-* W. Cf. left behind.  
 remaining *pāte* Pš, *qzūk* O, *bāki*, *mānda* P.  
 remedy *elāj*, *darmān* P.  
 remembering *awē* P.  
 repair *adel* P, *patun* W.  
 reproof *malāmat* P.  
 repulsion *radd* P.  
 request *āra* Pš.  
 requesting *dādxān* P.  
 resemble, to *mōnō kan-* S, *mōnō car-* W  
 resembling *mesl*, *misāl* P, *gnik* S. Cf. like.  
 resin *šāwla* Pš, *širxēšt* P, *širwāšk*, *wāziyā* Y, *šelmok* S.  
 respite *mātal*, *thāl* P.  
 rest of a matchlock *degazayē* Y.  
 resting *karār* P.  
 restless *bīcar* P.  
 retirement *stana* Pš.  
 return *byarē* Pš.  
 return, to *tōw* Wn 167, *jār-watōl* Pš, *šyū-* Y, *pišaw-* W.  
 returned *stūn* (v. *stana*) Pš.  
 revetting wall *wāšk* W.  
 revolve, to *šar-* O.  
 reward *mujrā* P.  
 rheum *xkēm* W. Cf. mucus.  
 rhubarb *čukri* O, *čugurē*, *šiko* Y, *rūw* S.  
 rib *puštāl* Pš, <sup>o</sup>*iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kabōryā* O, <sup>o</sup>*uryā* P, <sup>o</sup>*aryē* S, *kaql-e kaburpātkā* P, *alixā*, *porāyē* Y, *ostok*, *kamar*, *wəfoz*, *parik* S, <sup>o</sup>*ak*, *purs* W, *pērs* Š.  
 ribs, the place under and between *sar-r-dil* Y.  
 rice *wēzē* Pš, *rezan* O, *rizan* O<sup>1</sup>, *berenj* P, S, *rahō* P, *burinj* Y, <sup>l</sup>*o* W, <sup>bi</sup> Š, *gōrinj* Y; (unhusked) *mai* Pš, *šole* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lōl* O, *šēl* P, *šālē* Y; (a small grain of) *mākn* P; (kernel of-) *šamāx* O; (milk-) *čirgrinj* Y; (with dhal) *xuško* Y; (with meat) *šulo* Y.

- rich *dāk* O, *daulatmand*, *mutabar* P, *akābur*, *bāi*, *dauladār*, *kuatīn* Y, *māldār* S, *bōi* S, W.
- riches (wordly) *dungā* P. Cf. property.
- ride, to *viđāw* W.
- rider *swor* Pš, *š(u)wār* O, Y, W, *so°* P, *sa°* Š, *surār* S.
- riding *nucari* P.
- ridge *lerai* (v. *lor°*) Pš; (between irrigation plots) *wirg* W. Cf. border, embankment.
- ridicule *peše* Pš.
- rifle, v. gun.
- rifles, fighting with *tofangjangī* P.
- rifleman *tufang(d)ār* P.
- right *durust* O, *adel* P, *rāst* P, Š, *raed* P, *urzu* Y.
- right (hand) *šca* Wn 169, *šai* Pš, *zwai*, *zwairinc°* O, *zurēnc°* O<sup>1</sup>, *urzu* Y, *rōst* S, W, *worag(?)* W.
- rightly *rastē* Y.
- ring *harkāra* P, *murdak* S; (finger-) *calai* (v. *calai*), *gūta* Pš, *nguštīrī* O<sup>1</sup>, *anguštārī* O, P, S, *yuātī* P, *parguštē* Y, *čelik*, *ingitok* S, *anguštara*, *plōngōšt* W, *čila* Š.
- ring-dove *paxtak* O, *fāxtar* P, *fāxtaga*, *migva* Y, *fāxtā* S, *°a* Š.
- ring-worm *spōnai* Pš.
- rinse, to *puru* W.
- rip up, to *riž* W.
- ripe *pōx* Wn 168, *pox*, *xurīn* Pš, *alzōk*, *puxōk* O, *kikyīi*, *pšāi*, *šām* Y, *pēx*, *šer* Š.
- ripen, to *peš* W.
- ripple *makē* W.
- ripped *čir* P.
- rise, to *xatēl* Pš, *wust* O, *šak*, *ušt*, *xist kan* P, *šib* Y, *xaz* S, *giz* W, *andez* Š.
- rival *stāl* Pš.
- river *toe* Pš, *daryā* O, P, Y, Š, *°āb* O<sup>1</sup>, *°ai* S, *wēkxāna* O, *daryāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *daryō* W.
- rivulet *laštai* (v. *lašta*) Pš, *šī* P. Cf. stream.
- road *lār* Pš, C, *rāl* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *panān* P, *pādo* Y, *rā*, *sarāk*, *šoval* S, *vadek* W, *pünd* Š; (steep) *paranyiko* Y.
- roar, to *arras jan* P.
- roast, to *alwocyl*, *teyl*, *writawul* (v. *writ*) Pš, *paṛa* O<sup>1</sup>, *wroč* Y.
- roasted *writ* Pš.
- rob, to *čūr* P.
- robber *rahzan* S, *rah-zan* W.
- rock *parša* Pš, *kamar* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *yər* S.
- rock-crystal *belaur*, *kūti* S.
- rod *šipk* W.
- roll, to *layar* O, *wahže* P, *yaltan* Y.
- roll down, to *ryaštēl* (v. *yaštēl*) Pš, *du-gur* P.
- roll together, to *palēw* P.
- roll up, to *yārēl* (v. *yaštēl*) Pš, *zwāy* W.
- rolling *yāl* P.
- rolling-pin *zifkyān* Y.
- roof *čat* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *čtu*, *pōn* O, *pōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *kš* P, *iščy* Y, *kiskūš* S, *iskakut*, *kūt* W, *dišit* Š. Cf. ceiling.
- roof-beam *bainš* (v. *wēša*), *wēša* Pš, *°o* O<sup>1</sup>, *destak* O, *da°* S, *xar*, *mowēši*, *tirpāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *wē* P, *gaš*, *frāšpēy*, *nax-daru*, *pārsē*, *patarē*, *wāy* Y, *tir*, *walē*, *wōš* S, *bōin*, *pārwās*, *patari*, *wipash*, *was* W, *sepāšc*, *wūs* Š.
- roof-board *mīxān* O<sup>1</sup>, *destak* P, *Peoro* Y, *taxta* S, *bit*, *taurič* W.
- roof-gutter *nāx* P.
- room *xūna* Pš, *ṛara* Y.
- room, to find *wuc* S.
- root *wēx* Pš, *bēx* O, W, *myūcan*, *wulič* O<sup>1</sup>, *bēx*, *ṛix*, *kōrdi* P, *cōn* Y, *wēx* S, *wiūx* W, *wrēša(?)*, *wūs* Š.



root-fibre *ariye* Wn 160, *zela*, *wula* Pš,  
*rišā* P, Y, *wozo* Y, *rāftē* S, *rišta*,  
 • *wādn* W.  
 rope *wandar*, *biyāsta*, *wāš* (v. *wandanai*)  
 Pš, *bēš* O, *bās*, *pīriē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bās* P,  
*tanou* Y, *rasan*, *vōš* S, *šiven* W,  
*vāš* Š; (fastening plough-pole) *čēr* W;  
 (made of willow-bark) *tiyo* Y. Cf.  
 yoke-rope.  
 rose *gulāb* P; (white) *phul-wārai* Pš.  
 rot, to *pu-* S.  
 rotten *axā*, *werost* Pš, *šri-būk* O, *litu*,  
*pio* Y, *pusidā* S, *pišk* W.  
 rough *zēraš* Wn 159, *lačē*, *hwār*, *ziš* Pš,  
*diz* O<sup>1</sup>, *društ* Y, *dorūšt* S, *dirist*,  
*skurf* W.  
 round *yūqđ* Pš, *girđai* O<sup>1</sup>, *girđo* -Y,  
*peš* W.  
 rub, to *muršen*- Wn 161, *mušal*, *zdoyal* Pš,  
*mušaw*, *say-* O, *muza-*, *xal-* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*astar*, *menth* P, *lēmōn*, *māgv*, *sā*- Y,  
*māngē*, *saw*, *šak* S, *mānd*, *ānc*,  
*suwz* W. Cf. smear.  
 rub to powder *vizam*- W.  
 rubbing (of a new-born child) *wearyānai*  
 (āyāšēl) Pš.  
 ruby *lāl* P.  
 rue *spānda* (v. *spalanai*) Pš; (seed of)  
*spalanai* Pš.  
 rug (knitted) *kālin* P, *palās* P, W, *pe*<sup>o</sup> S,  
*kaliyo*, *qalin* Y, *peles* Š; (woven)  
*gillm* O, Š, *°dm* P, S.  
 ruin *jazir* Y.  
 ruined *per* Pš, *širan* P.  
 rumour *gap* P.  
 ramp, of horse *sejori* W.  
 run, to *zāstēl*, *paredēl* Pš, *dang-čk* O,  
*dhāw dah*, *halā(š) kan*, *halka kan* P,  
 : *bedaway*, *yāz*- Y, *araz*, *yuz*, *ziš*- S,  
*gafo*- W, (nāstij-), *šāz*- Š; make to-  
*dhāwēw*- P, : *razawd*- Y.

run away, to v. flee.  
 rung of a ladder *šurbāšak* Š.  
 running trap O<sup>1</sup>.  
 rupee *rīpē* O, *čāfai*, *rūpat* P, *°āyo* Y,  
*°i* S, *°iā* W, *°iya* Š.  
 rust *zangar* Y, *zang* W.

## S

sacrifice *qurbān*, *satka* P.  
 saddle *zin* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *zind* O<sup>1</sup>, *palan* Y,  
*paling* S, *pōdā* W, *bōdān* Š; (donkey-)  
*korān* S, *mūlā*, *taqūm* W; (cloth)  
*jalāz*, *laštokun* Y, *telik* Š; (-girth)  
*trok* Y.  
 safe *salāmat* O, P.  
 safety *amān* P.  
 saint *buzurg*, *pīr* P.  
 saline efflorescence *rēz* W.  
 saliva *lāza*, *tūk*, *wužgyē* Pš, *putu* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*āwa-i šunđika* P, *tuf* P, W, Š, *pižoro*,  
*tfo* Y, *taf* S, *ylig* W.  
 salt *mālga* Pš, *nimēk* O, *n<sup>o</sup>mēk*, *mēk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*namā* P, *nēmālyo* Y, *nēmēd* S, *nə-*  
*muk* W, *namak* Š.  
 salutation *salām* P, Y, W, *salāmat* Y,  
*mūbarak* W.  
 sand *sāga* Wn 159, *šaga* Pš, *rēg* O, S,  
 W, Š, *siyo* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīg*, *seya* P, *seyo* Y,  
*lucāre* W, *šāš* Š; (grain of) *sista*  
 Wn 169.  
 sandal *capli* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 satan, v. devil.  
 satisfied *moš* Pš, *čak* O<sup>1</sup>, *šir* P, *šēr* S,  
*satk* W.  
 satisfied, to be *bāz*- Y.  
 savoury *mazadar* Y.  
 saw n. *arō* O<sup>1</sup>, *arra* Y, Š, *gir* Y, *arrē* S.  
 sew, to *ganđ*- O<sup>1</sup>.  
 say, to, v. speak.  
 scab *gam*, *pax* Pš, *garg* P; (of a wound)  
*war*, *zeš* Pš. Cf. scar.

- scabbard *ɣələft* O, *ɣələf* P, Š, *heho*, *tupiva* Y.  
scales *tarāzū* Y, °*zē* S, Š, *t̪rāzū* W.  
scar *dāy* P, *hoḳ* Y, *work* W. Cf. scab.  
scare away, to *pūtrūm(b)-* W.  
scarf *luḡi* P.  
scatter, to *hwastəl* PŠ, *phā-* P.  
scissors *ka'iiti* P, *qačio* Y, *qaiči* S. Cf. shears.  
seald, to *hunaš-* P, *vrōn-* S.  
scorpion *laḡam* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *gaḷdum* O, P, Š, °*umba* Y, *čayardum* P, *kurmo*, *škraḡla* Y, *gāzḡmb* S, *gāzdim*, *ɣəndəl* W.  
scrape, to *skoyəl* PŠ, *kawēr-* P, *zərend-* W.  
scratch, to *skoyəl* PŠ, *grānc-* O, *khā-*, *kawēr-* P, *drūp-* W; (oneself) *xūr-* S.  
scream *baydra* (v. *ɣaredəl*) PŠ, *nāra* P.  
scream, to *žiriḡ-* Y.  
scrotum [*xoḡa* PŠ], *lauḡa* O, *xōyā* P, *ḡyurḡa* Y, *xāyī* S, *yumənək* W, *ɣarīn* Š.  
scum, v. foam.  
scurf *xwar* PŠ.  
sea *daryā* O.  
sea-monster *nahāḡg* S.  
seam *ngtada*, *skoe* PŠ.  
search, to *šanəl* PŠ, *luḡ-* P, *kōs-* Y, *čalg-* W. Cf. seek.  
searching *talab* P.  
season *mausūm* S, °*im*, *fasl* W.  
second (adj.) *bəl* PŠ, *dīm* O.  
second irrigation, v. irrigation.  
secret *rāz* P.  
security *amān* P.  
see, to *ko-* Wn 167, *gorəl*, *katəl*, *lidəl* PŠ, *wīn-* PŠ, Y, S, W, Š, *juḡ-* O, *jūn-* O<sup>1</sup>, *buč-*, *dhōḡ*, *tuḡ-* P, *ko-* S, *čes-* Š.  
seed *toma*, *zaḡai* PŠ, *tuxem* P, *t̪iḡ(°)m* S, *ḡng*, *taḡom* W, *tōym* Š. Cf. grain.  
seek, to *dhēne-*, *luḡ-* P, *tela-*, *wuikuj-* Y, *škar-*, *talap-* S, *škiḡḡ-* W, *tūšb-* Š. Cf. search.  
seer (weight) *str* P.  
seize, to *na* Wn 160, *n̪wul* PŠ, *nas-* O, *āles-*, *guri-* P, *fār-*, *ɣxol-*, *ɣur-*, *ɣtrənd-o* Y, *nas-*, *zenz-* S, *durz-* W, *anjā-* Š. Cf. take.  
select, to, v. choose.  
self *xpal* (*jān*) PŠ, *jān* O, P, *xui* O, *xuəl* O<sup>1</sup>, *xud-* (xu)ru P, *xoyo* Y, *xadak* (v. *xē*) S, *čāt* W, *xu* Š. Cf. own.  
selfwilled *xudrūya* P.  
sell, to *proḡəl* PŠ, *prāy-* O, *prānc-* O<sup>1</sup>, *pharāt-* P, *plār-* Y, *par-ḡe-* S, *pūriud-* W, *parḡā-* Š.  
send, to *āstawul*, *leḡəl* PŠ, *šidanc-* O, *wesej-* P, *škor-*, *xuzd-* Y, *āstay-* S, *s̪tūy-* W, *bāz-* Š.  
sense *aql* O, *huš* P.  
separate *byal* PŠ, *akāhida*, *judā*, *žahi* P, *wōḡḡo* Y, *jidā* W.  
separate, to *wār-* Y.  
separation *judāt* P.  
sepulchre *markad* P.  
serpent, v. snake.  
servant *nūkar* O, P, *nau°* S, W, *maz-dūr* P, *šadar* Y, *ɣələm*, *marām* W.  
service *xizmat* O, P, *xed°* P, *xis°* Y, *nūkarī* P, *muzdur(°)* Y.  
sesamum *kunzala* PŠ.  
set, to (about the sun) *riš-* Y, *wis-* W.  
settled *lai* P.  
seven *ow* PŠ, *hō* O<sup>1</sup>, *wō* O, *hōt* P, *awdo* Y, *ōvō* S, *hūb* W, *ūvō* Š.  
seven months, a period of *afmahā* S.  
seventeen *awēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *habda*, *hattōs* P, *awda* Y, *ōvōḡōs* S.  
seventy *awā* PŠ, *awailu* O, *awāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *šinim* *ɣuštak* P, (*h*)*aftāš* S.  
severe *ɣāwerī* P.  
sew, to [*gaḡḡəl* PŠ], *undərnc-* O, *andarf-* P, °*ere-* S, *žūy-* Y, *d̪rev-* W, *ancār-* Š;



(with large needle) *yandr iēcan*(?) O<sup>1</sup>.  
 Cf. darn.  
 shabby, tattered *tēlt* Y.  
 shade *siyā*, *sōrai* (v. *siyā*) Pš, *syāka* O,  
 °o O<sup>1</sup>, *sēy* P, *sayo* Y, *sāye* S, *sāya* W.  
 shady side of a valley *nišōr* P, *ničay*,  
*nosiy* Y, *nišorm* S, °irm W.  
 shake, to *drabōl*, *šanedōl* Pš, *xultau-ōk* O,  
*jukēw*, *jumbēw* P, °ēn-š, *firšōn*,  
*muža* Y, *tšp* W; (apricots) *walun* W;  
 (dust) *cīcan* O, O<sup>1</sup>; (the head) *čukēw* P;  
 (a sieve) *pariē* P.  
 shaking n. *dagas*, *jūlē* P.  
 shallow *rangai* Pš, *tunuk* Y.  
 shame *šarzm* O<sup>1</sup>, *šarm* P, Y, S, W,  
*ššarm* Y, *ayd* S, *šarmindagi* W.  
 shame, to put to *šarmēw* P.  
 shameless *binangō* P.  
 shampoo, to *muta* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 share *hišāb* P, *asē* S.  
 sharp *terē* Pš, *tendura* P, *tēz* P, S, Š,  
*trzy* Y, *tiž* Y, W, *tyzd* W, *ciš*, *nēza* Š.  
 sharpness *brūš* O.  
 shave, to *tožōl* (v. *taršaj*), *xriyōl* Pš,  
*rtu* O, *thā* P, *tuyd*, *xird* Y, *tūl* S,  
*tiš* W, *tēš* Š.  
 shawl *šāl* O, P, *sariē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. blanket.  
 sheaf *cašai*, *tāngāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *larzē*, *mišca* Y.  
 shear, to *skastōl* Pš, *kuyta* O<sup>1</sup>, *šax* Y,  
*varin* W.  
 shears *bāstiko* Y.  
 sheath, v. scabbard.  
 sheep *yarō* P, *gəpand* W, *šācendār* Š;  
 (ewe) *maš* (v. *maš*) Pš, *mēl* O, *mai*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, W, *mo/āyōrūk* P, *mūo* Y, *mēl* S,  
*maš* Š; (fat-tailed) *ghān*(f) *yarō*,  
*guapand* P. Cf. ram.  
 sheep, wild, v. orrial.  
 sheepskin *munyo* Y.  
 sheep-pen *špōl* Pš, *paršin* Y. Cf. goat-  
 pen.

sheepskin coat, v. posteen.  
 shelf *rūn* W.  
 shepherd *špō* Pš, *čupān* O, Y, Š, *čō* S,  
*šwān* O, *špān* O<sup>1</sup>, *xunān* P, *xōš(u)*  
*wān* Y, *špūn* W, *šibōne* Š.  
 shield *kaggal* O<sup>1</sup>, *šepar* P, *kayē* Y.  
 shin-bone °icōzai (v. *wāzō*) Pš, *wōzēi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nəliko* Y, *kāke-ling* Š.  
 shirt *kēs* O, *kēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāz* P, *pirahān*,  
*yoktaha* Y, *šari* S, *pirān*, *yaktā* W,  
*korčē*, *kurta*(?) Š.  
 shirtband *gireān* Y, *kaitān* P.  
 shivering *parjaz* Pš. Cf. tremble.  
 shoe *dīči* O, *dučē* O<sup>1</sup>, *šasta*, *kausarā*,  
*mōza*, *paizār* P, °ār W, *kofšē* Y,  
*kāfš* S, W, *kāfš* Š; (Kafir) *tučingē* Y.  
 shoe-string *yursiliko* Y, *bānd* S.  
 shoot, a young *nehāl* P.  
 shoot, to *wēštōl* Pš, *čfak daka* Y.  
 shooting, v. hunting.  
 shooting-ground *šekārjāi* P.  
 shooting star *likeyohā* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 shop *dukān* P.  
 shopkeeper *dūkāndār* O, P, Y.  
 shore, v. bank.  
 short *lanč* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *yanōkō*, *kōf*,  
*huyju* P, *kūkva* Y, *kuš* S, *kaš* W,  
*k'ut*, *pašt* Š.  
 short breasted *šat* Y.  
 shoulder *wulō* Wn 161, *oča* Pš, *dōš* O,  
*galy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *lānd* O, P, *špō*, *wulāl* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pēsūna* P, *šurdo* Y, *šrōd* S, *šōna*,  
*yisr* P, *šrōd* Š; (-blade) *walai* Pš,  
*vuljōr*, *yārmē* Y, *šūk*, *šōna* S, *šiak* W;  
 (back of) *šyak* Š; (top of) *iskacusk* W.  
 shouting *kīci* O, *šayē* O<sup>1</sup>, *yauyā* P.  
 shovel, v. spade (wooden).  
 show n. *šāils* Y.  
 show, to *wiyār* Wn 167, *šowul* Pš,  
*nišān dah* P, *nišāl* Y, *nəmay* S,  
*šisic* W.

showing *šām* O, *šām* O<sup>1</sup>, *nešān* Š,  
*nišān* W.

shroud *kafan* O.

shrub *buta* P; (n. of a) *balak* P, *áričo*,  
*aiasto*, *bām-sezio* (Jujube?), *Privā*,  
*vuryakōndi*, *wulyeyo*, *xio*, *yūmenā* Y.  
shut, to *xambēn* Š; (one's eye) *numuf* S.  
shuttle *rešpuak* W.

sky, to *bugnədəl* Pš, *šūrox* Y, *woitrin* W.  
sick, v. ill.

sickle *lor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *dās* O, *dāš* O<sup>1</sup>, *dēs* P,  
*Pruyus* Y, *dūr* S, *šitr* W, *šerf* Š.

side *zarma* Wn 169, *carma* (v. *carman*),  
*lor*<sup>2</sup>, *xwā* Pš, *palau* O, *dūbara*,  
*kenāra* P, *pālū* S; (from that) *phāri* P;  
(from this) *phyāri* P; (to that) *pū* P,  
*vrāčo* Y; (to this) *pī* P, *mīr čo* Y.  
sieve *pezna* (v. *pezal*) Pš, *čeyel* O, *yalbēl*  
O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *prazn* O<sup>1</sup>, *elak*, *paričōn* P,  
*frāybil*, *yarbil*, *kūlak* Y, *frasbilz*,  
*yalbil* W.

sieve, to *porell* Y.

sigh [*asuelai* < \**a-s(u)uāhita-ka* Pš],  
*sā* O<sup>1</sup>, *āhū* P, *hāzer* Y.

sigh, to *kašew* P.

sight *nandāra* Pš.

sign *išarat*, *nemāyān*, *nišān* P.

silence *xap* S, *qarōr* W.

silent *yalai* Pš, *karār* O, *čub* P.

silk *werešam* (v. *wrešol*) Pš, *aurušum* O,  
*pīlo* O<sup>1</sup>, *birišum* P, *vri*<sup>o</sup> Y, *abri*<sup>o</sup> W,  
*foršomē*, *kač* Y, *arcēšum* S, *abrēšum* Š.

silk-worm *kač-kurma* Y.

silver [*spīn zar* Pš], *nōkra* O, *no*<sup>o</sup> W,  
*spīu-zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *čafai*, *nuqra* P, *no*<sup>o</sup> Š,

*šim* P, *droxum*, *nukrā* Y, *nokrē* S.

similar *cer* Pš, *mesl* P.

sin *gunā* O, P, Y.

sinew *wuža* Pš, *lagge* O<sup>1</sup>, *rag* S, *yēr* W.

sinful *geš* P.

singing *darkūp*(?) P.

single *wlr* W.

sink, to *gribō* Y.

sinner *gunagār* O, P.

sip, to *šām* O. Cf. drink.

sister *xor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *xwār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *xī* P, *ixō*,  
*ixiko* Y, *yaxōai* S, *šūi* W, *yax* Š.

sister-in-law *xifinjek* P, *antōrē* W;  
(brother's wife) *werandār* Pš, *er* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*biyāfinj* P, *zrxō* Y, *erūdud* S,  
*erikōnd* W, *xitūn* Š; (husband's  
brother's wife) *yor* Pš, *ja* O<sup>1</sup>, *ixčogo*,  
*yūi wulo*, *yana* Y, *yūd* S, *bakš-kōnd* W;  
(husband's sister) *nandror* Pš, *xšint*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *nanū* P, *daxetandār*(?) S, *xūyūn* W;  
(wife's husband's sister) *xuyēyeno* Y;  
(sister's brother's wife) *xuifdāuman* S;  
(wife's sister) *xošina* Pš, *bājā* O,  
*xuyēyeno* Y, *šasirz* W.

sit down, to *čīn* Wn 160, *nāstəl* Pš,  
*spūcau* O, n. O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nšin* P, *niž* Y,  
*nšō* S, *nezd* W, *nešō* Š.

sit down! *yal*(?) W.

sit down, to make *čīnau* Wn 166,  
*nau* O, *na* O<sup>1</sup>, *nšin* P, *nāilā* Y,  
*bašān* S.

six *špāš* Wn 168, *špāš* Pš, *šū* O, *šō* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*xī* P, *uxšō* Y, *xuāš* S, *šād* W, *xūuš* Š.  
sixteen *špāras* (v. *špāš*) Pš, *šūlēs* O,  
*šwalēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *šāzda*, *xudōs* P, *šonzda* Y,  
*xuāšdos* S.

sixty *špeta* Pš, *šūštu* O, *šwēštu* O<sup>1</sup>, *šū*  
*uštak* P, *šast* P, S, *šuroiscist* Y.

sixth day *xuručina* P.

skin *corman* Pš, *cin* O<sup>1</sup>, *xwar* Pš, *pōst*  
O, Š, *wzan* O<sup>1</sup>, *pūst*, *pūst*, *xām* P,  
*karūst* Y, *korōst*, *pāsk* S, *pīst* W.  
Cf. goatskin.

skin, inflated *šai* Pš, *iz* O<sup>1</sup>, *mašk*, *san-*  
*darā* P, *dril*, *maška* Y, *dēcāk*, *wūz-*  
*nuk*, *xēšē* S, *šōck*, *šūš-nūč*, *kolvār*,  
*yāzn* W, *zenāc* Š. Cf.:



skin-bag (for flour) *xalfān* Y; (small) *laxčō* Y, *kuleđr* S, *pičēdr* W.  
 skull [kaparai Pš], *kəməlyo* Y, *kal*, *kapāl* S.  
 skull-cap, v. cap.  
 sky *āsmān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *falak* O, *āyēš* P, *asmino* Y, *osmān* W, *ās* Š.  
 sky, clear, v. clear sky.  
 slander, to *šār* W.  
 slate *sūl* Y.  
 slave *mrayai* Pš, *mrig* O, *mrel* O<sup>1</sup>, *γulām* P, *bande*, *hadē*, *ida* Y, *andag* W. Cf. servant.  
 slave-girl *icinja* [\*bandači] Pš, *icin* O<sup>1</sup>, *idiko* Y, *indigunj* W.  
 slaughter, to, v. kill.  
 sledge-hammer *būđir* Y. Cf. hammer.  
 sleep *xūb* (*xōb*) Pš, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *minduk*, *misuk*, *xāb* S, *γūnuk* (v. *γinūt*) *režūpom* W, *xāud*, *xūdm* Š.  
 sleep, to *mīn*-, *mis*- S, *režup* W.  
 sleep, to go to *no-astak* O, *rhiz*- P.  
 sleeve *lastūnai* (v. *lās*) Pš, *avēlsto* Y, *zōl* S, *drōst* W.  
 slender *narai* Pš, *bārtk(ōk)* P.  
 slide, to, v. slip.  
 slime, green—on standing water *γōb-naduk* S. Cf. green plant growing in ponds.  
 sling *mačōyna* Pš, *falaxmān* S, *škupn* W.  
 slip, to *šmuš-šēk* O, *laxš*- P, *suxuy*- Y, *laxš*- S, *liv*- W, : *senēid* Š.  
 slip, to make to *belišmān*- S.  
 slippery *šwai* Pš, *šwaya* O<sup>1</sup>, *lhand* P, *riūga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y. Cf. smooth.  
 sloc *amaxno* Y.  
 slope *pečūmai*, *zawar* Pš. Cf. hillside.  
 sloping down of a field *lamarz* W.  
 slowly *iero* Pš, *der* O, *wirkye* O<sup>1</sup>, *marōk* P, *molāim* Y, *āstia* S.

*sūllall konkai*, *wur* Pš, *zāri* O, *zēri* O<sup>1</sup>, *čind* P, *rixa* Y, *čōf*, *čōc*, *māida*, *rizyāk* S, *zəkalai* W, *jəlik*, *katrāik* Š. Cf. tiny.  
 small-pox *gul* Y.  
 smear, to *axerai* Pš, *mar*-, *menth*- P, *dā*-, *labakow*- Y, *māl*- Š. Cf. rub.  
 smeared with *yark* P.  
 smearing *axer* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 smell *būl* O, P, Y, W, Š, *bhām* P, *vāl* W; (good) *būi* S, *xužbūi* Y; (bad) *ganda-būi* P, *ioah* S. Cf. stinking.  
 smile *tabasum* O, *pūsrand*, *tamassum* P.  
 smoke *dund*, *lā* Pš, *dūd* O, *lugai* O<sup>1</sup>, *dāt* P, *k<sup>2</sup>šūn*, *lūi* Y, *diš* S, *dit* W, *duš* Š.  
 smoke, to *čing*- (not č-!) Wn 167, *čilim xuš* W, *čəf*- Š.  
 smoke-hole *daricačā* O, *rišy*, *sārū* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūčōn* P, *rūžen* Y, *teurcūn* S, *ričn* W, *rūz* Š; (covering of) *dārxušto* Y.  
 smooth *post* Pš, *riūga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y, *sušy* W, *širn* Š. Cf. slippery.  
 snake *mangār* Pš, *or* O<sup>1</sup>, *mār* O, *hač-dār*, *kirm* P, *iz* Y, *woxs* S, *fukz*, *mār* W, *devūsk* Š; (black & white) *kapča mār* O; (slightly poisonous) *šuturmār* O.  
 snare *lūma* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *heina* {< *mlūnař*}, *tor*<sup>2</sup> Pš, *lōmago*, *pāš*, *pečiko* Y, *alki* S, *dāng* W, *pēd* Š. Cf. net, trap.  
 squeeze *nəai* Pš, *čiya* O<sup>1</sup>, *atsa*, *pan* P, *γənigo* Y, *axse*, *sakāu* S, *aqsa* W, *aksan*, *piršak* Š.  
 sneeze, to *kəirf*- Y, *teriš*- S, *ferx*-, *pōrš*-, *šterf*- W.  
 snipe *noyuž* Y.  
 snore, to *xorūθ* W.  
 snout *teurbūz* Pš.  
 snow *weuwa* Pš, *γōš* O, *γōš* O<sup>1</sup>, *yarp* P, *wārfo* Y, *barf* S, W, *warf*, *im*(?)<sup>2</sup>, *zem* W, *šonij* Š.

snow-storm *kūriš* P.

snuff *nasođr* Y.

so much *do-mra* (v. *mra*) Pš, *hega*,  
*hōweka* P, *alo*(?), *ind*, *mind* Y, *dunda* S.

soap *sābūn* S.

sod, v. clod of earth.

soft *post* Pš, *nārm* O, S, Š, *nōšr* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*mařō* P, *polēm* Y, *mēlāim*, *sost* S,  
*mulaīm*, *narom*, *xošk* W, *mēlāyim* Š.

softly *mařōk* P.

soil *kheř* P, *šot* S.

soldier *supā* O, *fauj*, *nākar*, *sipāi* P,  
*spāhi* Y, *fauji* S, *sallot* S, W, *pel-*  
*tanē* Š.

sole of the foot *kaf-e pā* P, S, *stānūn*  
*polo* Y, *nūlsōr* S, *šatta* W, *kaf-e*  
*pāš* Š.

some *co*, *jone* (v. *co*) Pš, *cūn(d)* O, *cā*,  
*cāwar*, *khāin* P, *čand* Y, S, Š.

somebody *kūi* W.

something *ca* O, *zā* P, *čti*, *štiva* Y,  
*člzt* S, W.

somewhere *kāwun* P.

son *zoe* (v. *zouul*) Pš, *klān* O, *kulān* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pūš*, *zāy* P, *pār* Y, *zōt* S, *pořr* W,  
*puc* Š; (only-) *kašai* (v. *kašr*) Pš. Cf.  
step-son.

son-in-law *zōm* Wn 168, *zām* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*dāmād* O, W, Š, *nāsai* O, *zām* P,  
*zamai* Y, *dōmōd*, *zēmūd* S.

song *badela* O, *ila* O<sup>1</sup>, *bait* O, P,  
*faggyikē*, *naxš* Y, *sāz-luf* (imper.?) Š.

soot *kalzy* Y, *katšit*, *riřem* W.

soothing *dilāsāt(i)* P.

sorcerer *šādūgar* P.

sorcery *šādū* P.

sore, v. boil.

sore-eyed *lōš* Pš.

sorrel *selxiko* Y.

sorrow *nūl*, *paxsūk* (v. *parsedl*) Pš, *řēm*  
S, W, *k'in* Š.

sorrow(ful) *řamgin* S.

sort *qism* S, *šōřd* W.

soul *jān* P, S, *nafs* Y, *jōn* W.

sound n. *šay* Pš, *awāz* O, *řax* P; (of  
falling water) *řaryard* P.

sound (adj.), v. health, in.

soup *zicamna* Pš, *širicā* O, *si* O<sup>1</sup>, *šu* P,  
*šo* S, *ša* Š, *plawā* P, *šurcāi* Y,  
*ed* W.

sour *terwē* Wn 169, *trūe* Pš, *trūš* O,  
*toř* O<sup>1</sup>, *sit*, *hurā* P, *trīřp* Y, *terāř* S,  
*trēřp* W, *tuřp* Š.

sour milk, v. milk.

south *junūb* O, *jn* S, *jan* W.

sow, to [*kōr* Wn], *karāl* Pš, *kar* O,  
*nikiz* O<sup>1</sup>, *phlā* P, (*tēym*) *deh* S, *šōš* W,  
*wēš* Š.

space (below the ribs) *tuřak* O<sup>1</sup>; (between  
fingers) *grut* Pš, *gruft* O<sup>1</sup>.

spade *krōz* Wn 168 (cf. 'korotung' to dig),  
*yūn* Pš, Pš<sup>1</sup>, *bēl* O, S, W, Š, *kurāti*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *pī* P, *bīl*, *bilco* Y; (wooden)  
*bhambi* P, *fia*, *fīyiko*, *kvārāzo*, *suniko*  
Y, *fī* S, W, *pēi* W.

span [*gōřti* Wn], *wēšt* Pš, *jusp* O, *jbasp*,  
*zbast* O<sup>1</sup>, *belist*, *kučōk* P, *wulēyo*,  
*wojon* Y, *wuđit* S, *wajāb* S, W, *avārt*,  
*haret*, *wolēt*, *xarik* W, *wiđēd* Š; (from  
thumb to fore-finger) *gekū* Wn 168  
[< Lhd. *gokhā*], *wuzai* [*alang*, *langor*  
< \**ā-ānga*] Pš, *gurbizak* O<sup>1</sup>, *loho-*  
*gušco*, *pīx* Y, *bolis*, *čārangelt*, *pēx* S.  
spark *škaricařa* (v. *škor*) Pš, *bacirāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*corox* Y, *ax* W, *trāxnik* Y, *čirjazeč*,  
*ša'la* S.

sparkle, to *lapōir* Y.

sparrow *murjāt* (v. *maryā*) Pš, *gunjāš* O,  
*gi* S, *mīrga* O, *o* O<sup>1</sup>, *murcē* P,  
*brāyiko* Y, *meryčēk* S, *mingas* W,  
*videč* [w-] Š.

sparrow-hawk, v. hawk.



- speak, to *wāy*: *wāi* Wn 160/7, *lawdāl*,  
*wāyāl* Pš, *γuš* O, *γuwa* O<sup>1</sup>, *jar* P,  
 (gab) *daha-* *z*: Y, (gab) *deh*, *γēz* S,  
*žān* W, *lūc* Š.  
 spear *sāng* O<sup>1</sup>, *naiza* P, *nāizo* Y.  
 special nature *xāsiatān* P.  
 spectacle *sāila* Y, *tanāsā* Š.  
 spectacles *ainake* P.  
 speech *wrāša* Pš, *lauz* S.  
 spicery *masāla* P.  
 spider *γaṇa* Pš, *buzwā* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *jālā* O,  
 °*āk*, *dīwurūk*, *γafak* P, *dorzkuryuz*,  
*ustada*, *zariškyo* Y, *žilayok* S, *ustōdek*,  
*sop*, *šāmbāf* W, *gilimbāf* W, Š, *γen-*  
*dāl* W, *γa*°, *tanābak*, *tanizak* Š. Cf.  
*tarantula*.  
 spike (of grain) *laša* Pš, *kišār* Y.  
 spill, to *haγ kan* P.  
 spin, to *γaγol*, *wrešol* Pš, *ras* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*mūza* O<sup>1</sup>, *γi* Y, *yev* S, *žip* W.  
 spindle *cājai* Pš, *čarzā*, *wahāwāld* P,  
*čart* Y, *ife* Š, *citr* W, *šib* Š; (pin  
 of the) *čarmak* Y; (wheel of) *duk* Y.  
 spinning-wheel *čērx* Y, S, W, Š, °*x(ā)* O,  
*tiz* O<sup>1</sup>; (piece of wood on the foot-  
 board of) *pūsura* Y; (side plank of)  
*zigaki* Y; (threads on) *tandeneū* Y;  
 (wheel of) *parwāžšn* Y.—V, III.  
 spine *murā i puš* P, *harko-yastē* Y,  
*kamak* S, *pērs* Š.  
 spit n. *čamursū* Y, *kabābszē* Š.  
 spit, to *fars* Y. Cf. *saliva*.  
 splash, to *šilāp* W.  
 splashed up, to be *strās* W.  
 spleen *torai* Pš, *γrās*, *spulak* O<sup>1</sup>, *nina-*  
*māšē*, *sporz*, *ššpāzok*(?) Y, *špōrz*,  
*sūyūk* S, *sik*, *šipurz* W.  
 splendid *wakhō* P.  
 splendour *jalī* O, *žulcā* P.  
 splint in the leg of a horse *oba* Pš.  
 split *daṛa* Pš, *kəpəl* O.  
 split, to *čāwul* (v. *čāwēd*) Pš, *tār* P. Cf.  
*burst*.  
 spoil *tār* Pš.  
 spoil, to *natəl* Pš.  
 spoke of a wheel *špištai* Pš.  
 spoon *kāšuk* O, *camco* O<sup>1</sup>, *čamčā*, *durē* P,  
*kafčio* Y, *kapč* W, *šib* Š. Cf. *ladle*.  
 spot (place) *šaya* Y.  
 spots (of leopard) *širs* W.  
 spont *cošai* Pš.  
 spread, to *γwāpēdāl* Pš; (manure) *uriz* Y.  
 spring (season) *šwarla* Wn 159, *šwarlai*  
 Pš, *wəpai* O, *rhayām* P, *bohor*, *šidro* Y,  
*baūr* S, °*hor* W, °*hār* Š; (early)  
 [°*čarmūna* Wn], °*čarmūnai* Pš, *čir-*  
*mūnai* O<sup>1</sup>; (late) *wāpūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *sombolā* Š.  
 spring (source) *kāp*, *xōzi* Wn 108/9,  
 [°*čina* Pš], *cini* O, *xāko* O<sup>1</sup>, *čāma* P,  
 °*e* S, *teč* P, *xūyo* Y, *kik*, *žūc* W,  
*čāma*, *žāc* Š; (hot) *čāma* W. Cf. *well*.  
 spring from one seed, to *pitōrē* W.  
 sprinkle, to *pruṇaw*, *pāzdaq* O, *čai* Y.  
 sprinkling *pūš* Pš, *šupšūi* O, *čarfandegī* S.  
 squatting *dizo* Y.  
 squeeze out, to *naštejəl* Pš, °*špilaw* O,  
*wəzem* W.  
 squeezed *pendi* P.  
 squirrel *xarpāndāi* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 stab, to *zanəl* Pš.  
 stablesturya O, *āxur*, *kamand* P, *aspolan* Y,  
*štaxāna* Y, W, °*xūna* Š, *artxānā* S,  
*taell*, *wunir*, *šabd*(?) W, *pasāk* Š.  
 Cf. *manger*.  
 stable-boy *mitrāxūr* W.  
 stack [°*dalai* Pš], *yeu* Y, *šū-i* W, *čāšris* Š  
 (Notes on Shgh. incorr. °*wis*). Cf.  
*heap*.  
 staff, v. *stick*.  
 stag (elk) *gawcaz* Pš.  
 stair *šai* Pš, *šulān*, *šor*, *žinā* P. Cf. *ladder*.  
 staircase *nəγūl* P.

stale *baranai* (v. *parün*), *spor* Pš.  
 stallion *narāsp* P, *ynain*, *narasp* S.  
 stand, to *daredəl* Pš, *ašt* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dar* O,  
*fsā(y)* Y, *ast*, *wərafə* S, *wərafə* W,  
*wirəvd* Š.  
 standing *walār* Wn 169, *walār* Pš, *apā*,  
*papā* P, *aletk* (v. *āl*) W.  
 standing, to be t O, *ertad* Y, *at* S.  
 star *storai* Pš, *silāra* O, P, *ār* S, W,  
*starrak* O<sup>1</sup>, *estēc* P, *stāre* Y, *ustərūk* S,  
*štērz* Š; (evening-) *\*stur-zoyə* Y;  
 (morning-) *kərcənkuš* Y.  
 starling *mainā* P, Y, *činuŋyo* Y, *bad-*  
*xaruk*(?), *mayon*(?) W.  
 starting *rāhi* P, Y, *rawān* P, S.  
 stature *qadd* P.  
 stay, to *dhar* P.  
 steal, to *Prif* Y, *təraf* S, *ðeviy* W.  
 steam *wažm* Pš, *tafta* O, *bařās*, *tāu* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*tāf* P, S, W, *tux* Y, *textzē*(?) S,  
*tef* W, *manyār* Š.  
 steel *pōlād* O, *pū* Y, *fūlād* P, S, *pūlād* W,  
*kārē* Š.  
 steep *čund* P, *pasminaka* Y, *tənd* S,  
*lašn*(?) Š. Cf. slippery.  
 stem (of a tree) *mənza* O, *muqđū* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gayjā* P, *kundī* S, *tana* Š.  
 stench, v. smell.  
 step *yün* Pš, *qadam* P, W, *k* Y, *layat* S.  
 steppe, v. plain.  
 step-father *plandar* (v. *plār*) Pš.  
 step-mother *maira* Pš, *māendar* P.  
 step-son *bən-zai* (v. *bən*) Pš, *bačandar*,  
*winjok* O, *wēn-kālān* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 stick n. *largai*, *lařta* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bhōnt*, *dōstikōr*, *dezbhōnt*, *kōr* P,  
*křinsar*, *mōžē* Y, *ašd*, *durk*, *vōnd* S,  
*ašoi*, *baqđ* W, *đarg*, *māb* Š.  
 stick, to *nžet* Wn 166, *buřtedəl*, *nžatəl*  
Pš, *časp*, *lag*, *mač* P.  
 stiff *ziř* Pš. Cf. rough.

still (adv.) *lā* Pš, *mən* O, *digari* S.  
 still more *fai* S.  
 sting *lařa* Pš.  
 sting, to *gas* P.  
 stinking *řribūk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *wačhanbhām* P,  
*būigən* Y, *badbūt* Š.  
 stir, to *lař* O, *kəřsav* Y, *pirkit* W.  
 stirring-stick *tucanij* Y, *māl* Y, W.  
 stirrup *rəkāb* O, *re* O P, *ri* S, Š, *křeb*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *čaulil*, *rikau* Y, *rikeb* W.  
 stirrup-strap *tasma-rikāb* Š.  
 stitch *skoc* Pš, v. seam.  
 stitch, to *pezəl* Pš.  
 stocks of offenders *kunda* P.  
 stockings *kufčiliy*, *řirabē* Y, *řerāb* S,  
*ji* W, *řrib* Š.  
 stolen *řlō* O.  
 stomach (of kid) *siyalai* Pš. Cf. belly.  
 stone *sāzə*, *zgar* Wn 169, *kānai*, *stāja*,  
*tiřa* Pš, *gap* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gir* P, *gar*, *kūiko* Y,  
*song*, *yər* S, *řār* W, *k'imb*, *řir* Š;  
 (crushing-) *yurzujo* Y.  
 stoneliid (for the *čārō*), *čār-pāyūlo* Y.  
 stool, to *xarəl* (v. *xər*) Pš, *řerx* Y.  
 stop, to *mān* Wn 166, *āredəl* (ar) Pš.  
 stopping band P, *karār* S.  
 store-room *guđōm* S, *zedūn* Š; (on a roof)  
*māra* W.  
 stork *laklak* P.  
 story *naql* Y.  
 stout *čāk*, *lānqđ* P. Cf. fat, thick.  
 straight *sař* Pš, *durust* O, *đo* S, *rāst* O,  
*six* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōst* S.  
 straight (to be) *daie* P.  
 strait, v. narrow.  
 straitness *taggī* P.  
 strange *nařan* Y.  
 strap *piāřma* Pš, *tazma* P, *soy* Y, *kasyōk*,  
*tazma* S, *řndāy* W; (of pellet-bow)  
*pukara* Y; (for binding bull to plough)  
*sārāřt* O.



straw *kaf* O<sup>1</sup>, *dilmzi*, *palē*, *xāstē* Y, *wuṣ* S, *wiṣ* W; (of maize) *paṭṭi* O<sup>1</sup>; (of wheat or maize) *ganaskē* Y. Cf. grass.

stream *toe*, *trai*, *wāla* Pš, *tāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *sind* O<sup>1</sup>, *zi* P, *baxšipō*, *šōxōv* Y, *šāxāb*, *xarāv* S.

street *kučto*, *sū* Y.

strength *bram* Pš, *qūcat*, *sitam*, *tāb*, *tāyat* P; (of the arm) *bāzūl* P.

stretch, to *zaredel* Pš, *kaš kan* P, *urzu* Y, *rūr* W; (the warp on the loom) *wār* Y.

strew, to, v. scatter.

strike, to, v. beat.

string *spanjai* Pš, *sarbān* Š; (of an instrument) *jēl* W. Cf. bow-string.

string, to *pesdel* Pš, *pi-yēk* O.

strip *cira* Pš.

striped *naxšān* S. Cf. piebald.

stroke n. *hawāla* P.

strong *mazai* Pš, *qābel* Y, *bāqūmeat*, *qwatdār* S, *zūr* W. Cf. powerful.

stubble *drūza* Pš, *druja* O<sup>1</sup>, *aṭām* Y.

stubble(-field) *stau* Y.

stumble, to *blavsedel* (v. *blōs*) Pš, *yoṭt* Y.

stamp of a tree *kondē* S. Cf. stem.

stupid *jaban* Pš, *bāqī* O, *bi*<sup>o</sup>, *nādān*, *sāda* P, *biaqī* Y, *ablā*, *armaq* S, *ah*<sup>o</sup>, *mūg* W.

successful *wor* Pš.

such *hēkezm* P, *zi* S.

suck, to *jbeṣel*, *raudedl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *lip* O, *fšuv*, *šuv* Y, *šāp* W; (trans.) *šuvā* Y.

suddenly *bixabar* P.

suffer, to *zyamēl* Pš.

suffocation (bleeding from the nose) *aspa* Pš.

sugar *qānd* O, P, *šoker* Y.

suitable *barābar* P.

sulphur *gūgurt* Y, *gūyrd* S, *pīlta*(?) Š.

sūltan *sultān* O, P.

summer *dobai* (v. *toḍ*), *toṭai* Pš, *tamūs*, *tāveistān* O, *tāve*<sup>o</sup> S, *tābi*<sup>o</sup> S, Š, *xāra* P, *tōvratōn* Y, *toḥo*<sup>o</sup> W, *wāro* Y.

summon, to, v. call.

summons to prayer *azān* O.

sun *mīr* Wu 182, *γarma*, *nuear* Pš, *mēš*, *tāa* O, *mēšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruē* P, *mīra* Y, *ormōzd* S, *aftob*, *yīr* W, *xīr* Š.

sunny side of a valley *paitowai* Pš, *parašāf* P, *pīlōu* Y, *āu* S, *au* W.

sun-rise *pōlōstuk* S. Cf. dawn.

sunshine *tōw* O<sup>1</sup>.

supine *stūn* Pš, *stingō* Y.

supper *šūma* Pš, *xšēma* Y, *šot* W.

surprise *duḍār* P.

surrounding *ter* Y.

suspicion *gumān* P.

swaddle, to *bičēdel* Pš. Cf. wrap.

swallow *mirndeliē* W.

swallow, to *nyardel* Pš, *wangēw* P, *yuridā*, *nuṣoz* Y, *nešyar* W.

swallow-wort *spalmat* Pš.

swear, to *yecāš* O.

sweat, v. perspiration.

sweep, to *rūy* P, *istōr* Y, *astar*, *zdar* S, *višie* W, *zedār* Š. Cf. wipe.

sweeper(s) *makān-rūyak(ān)* P.

sweepings *reph* W.

sweet *xūrē* Wu 161, *xoṣ* Pš, *xwāš* O, *xwāšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *xīrō* P, *širin* P, S, W, Š, *xšīrud* Y, *xātok* S, *xūšg* W, *xīš* Š.

sweetness *xwāšrawl* O<sup>1</sup>.

sweets *xīrai* P, *halicā* P, Y; (given at a feast) *bat* S.

swell, to *šus* O, *pidōmeš* W.

swelling *parsob* Pš, *phuyjō* P. Cf. inflammation.

swollen *xīrind* O, *lmoīya* Y.

swift, v. quick.

swim, to *zenay* Y.

swimmer n. *aubáz* O.  
 swimming [*ilmbó*, v. *nünd* Pš]. *aubázi*  
 O, P, *áv°* S, *lambó* O<sup>1</sup>, *šənbəcarē* W,  
*šənd°* Š.  
 swine, v. pig.  
 swing, to *zəngəl* Pš.  
 sword *tey*, *tūra* Pš, *°o* O<sup>1</sup>, *selāba* (?),  
*talwār* P, *šəmsēr* P, Y, S, *xəgər* Y,  
*xəngār*, *šəməšēr* W, *šāp* Š; (double-  
 edged) *bēbidi* W. Cf. dagger.  
 swordsman *šəmsēri* P.  
 syrup *zoša* Pš.

## T

table *mēs* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *mīz* Y, W,  
*mēx* (?) S.  
 tadpole *kauležik* S.  
 tail *ləm* Pš, *dumb* O, P, W, *likis*, *la-  
 kaqđim* (?) O<sup>1</sup>, *dēra* (?), *dəyund* P,  
*ləm* Y, *dəmb* S, *bickā* W, *šum* Š;  
 (of fat-tailed sheep) *mudyal* O; (end  
 of) *curcun* W.  
 take, to *u-u-nš* Wn 167, *āristəl*, *nīcūl*  
 Pš, *wur* O<sup>1</sup>, *nas* S, *durz* W, *parjiv*,  
*čēz* Š.  
 take away, to *u-r* Wn 167, *wyəl* Pš,  
*g* O, *gl* O<sup>1</sup>, *zend* W, *yās* Š.  
 take on one's back, to *derz* P, *renz* S.  
 take out, to *nawar* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nis*, *nəvər* Y,  
*zewēd* Š.  
 take care *xəbərđār* Š.  
 tale *kissl* O, *qissa*, *naql* P, Y, *suyiko* Y,  
*finda* W, *nakl* Š.  
 tallow *wəst* S. Cf. fat.  
 talon, v. claw.  
 tamarisk [*yaz* Pš], *henju* Y, *gāz* S.  
 tambourine *dāf* Š.  
 tame *watani* P.  
 tar *rānjara* Pš.  
 tarantula *sizalyo* Y.

target *nīšān* P, *numəy* Y.  
 taste *xwənd* Pš, *mazāl* P, *maza* P, Y, W,  
*xāl* Y.  
 taste, to *čəš* P.  
 tasteless *bolmang* (not *bəš*!) (v. *mālga*)  
 Pš, *wəxān* Y.  
 tasting *nūs* S.  
 tasty *mazanāk* P, *mazadār* Y.  
 taught *āmuxta* P, *yāšk* W.  
 tea *čāl* P, Y, Š.  
 teach, to *foxəl* Pš.  
 teacher, religious *xāja* Š.  
 tea-kettle *čəižus* Y.  
 tear *oša* Pš, *hēncē* O, *yēscək* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwə-i*  
*didaika*, *audida* P, *awē°* Š, *yāšk* Y,  
*āšk* S, *yāšk* W, *yūšk* Š.  
 tear, to (v.i.) *hearedəl*, *wəredəl* Pš;  
 (v.tr.) *ray* O, *cir* O<sup>1</sup>, *dalēw* P, *fəč*,  
*patišā* Y, *kuqđār ken* S, *čuč car* W,  
*šičend* Š. Cf. break.  
 teat, v. breast.  
 tedious *xəq* W.  
 tell, to *naql kən* S, *naql car* W; (one's  
 beads) *širāw* W. Cf. speak.  
 temperament *mēlās* P.  
 tempest *tufān* O.  
 temple *bədxəna* S.  
 temples (anat.) *heeganda*, *məryat* Pš,  
*kiliak* O, *yāsə spiēu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čūki*, *šaki-  
 kata* P, *yurpaks*, *porayak*, *šəwək-i-  
 sar* Y, *čakka* W.  
 ten *las* Pš, *das* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dəs* P, *da*, *los* Y,  
*dos* S, *das* W, *dis* Š.  
 tendon *pala* Pš, *pai* S, *rāg* W.  
 tent *kiždaš* Pš, *xaima* O, P, *čatir* Y.  
 tenth *dəsumi* P.  
 terrace, upper, of a house *pən* O.  
 terrify, v. frighten.  
 test *āzmāš* P.  
 test, to *izmau* O.  
 tether, horse's *škel* Pš.



than *kade* (az . . . *kade*) Š.  
 thanks (to God) *šukur* P.  
 that (*ha*) *aya* Wn 194, *ha*-a Pš, *af* O,  
*afa* O<sup>1</sup>, *ān*, *hu*, *hōwī*, *mundē*, *ōkū*,  
*udē*, *ē* P, *yō*, *wo* Y, *aš(a)*, *ē* S, *ayāu*,  
*yau* W, *yū* Š; (-very) *hawī*, *mundhēk*,  
*udhēk*, *ōkēciyak* P; (rel. pron.) *ka* O.  
 that (conj.) *ce* Wn, *ēi* Pš, *ka* O, *ē* P,  
*ke* Y, Š, *ki* S, W; (not-) *nēce* P.  
 that way, in *hauerang* P.  
 theft [*lā* Pš], *čūrt*, *jušt* P, *šūdi* W.  
 then *nōr* Wn 162, *man* O, *eka* P, *weo* Y,  
*bāz*, *diga*, *iggē*, *psāt* S, *bād* W, *dāde*,  
*tam* Š.  
 thence *uēnd*, *unhāki* P.  
 there *haltā* (v. *dole*) Pš, *uēal* O, *āk*,  
*okēi*, *okistak*, *unhak* P, *huro*, *olo*,  
*weko* Y, *weō* S, *dra* W, *yēmand* Š.  
 therefore *jaka* (v. *j-*) Pš, *nakma sabab* S,  
*cām-jēnūb* W.  
 thick *luār*, *taf* Pš, *estōrō* P, *weōk* S,  
*bāj* W. Cf. *fat*, *stout*.  
 thick milk, v. *milk*.  
 thief *yal*, *tor* Pš, *yal* O, *čūr* P, *durd*  
 Y, W, *yal* Y, *durd* S, *šūd* W, *durd* Š.  
 thigh *rūn*, *patūn* Pš, *rān* O, P, (*yuf-*)  
*langāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *munḡarān* P, *pištan* Y,  
*potūn* S, *rān* S, W, *bištūn* Š.  
 thigh-bone *mištistē* Y.  
 thin *rangai* Pš, *mahtn*, *tunuk* P, *bārik*,  
*tādār*, *zarāb* Y, *bārik*, *tanik* S,  
*sēnōr* W, *nāznk* Š.  
 thing *čir* O, P, *šai* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zā* P, *trik* Y,  
*čir* S.  
 think, to *diš* Y.  
 third *štom* P.  
 third day of the week *šuručina* P.  
 thirsty *tōrān* Wn 161, *tafai* Pš, *trunuk* O,  
*trēnak* O<sup>1</sup>, *tan(a)*, *thān* P, *kūk*, *trušnē* Y,  
*tašna* S, *taž* W, *tužna* Š.  
 thirsty, to be *tan-* P, *šyoriy-* Y.

thirteen *darlas* Wn 159, *dyarlas* (v. *dre*)  
 Pš, *šēs* O, *šēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *šidōs* P, *šēda* Y.  
 thirty *ders* Wn, *derš* Pš, *šistu* O, *šr* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šus* P, *yūristolos* Y, *šr* Y, W, Š,  
*rus* S.  
 this *ai*, *indī*, *dā*, *daya* Wn 164/5, *dā* Pš,  
*a*, *ara* O, *ē*, *edē*, *he*, *hawē*, *mendē* P,  
*ma* Y, *i*, *am(a)*, *amin*, *in* S, *amī*,  
*yem*, *yāt* W, *de*, *ho*, *ikme*, *me*, *yam* Š;  
 (from) *acet* W; (very) *ēcēndhēk*, *edhēk*,  
*ēke*, *ekciyak*, *heuyak*, *mendhēk* P,  
*amda* S, *iyam* W.  
 this year *saž* Pš, *asul* O, *asul cān* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*āsuy*, *emsay* P, *asāl* Y, *asāl* S, *imsāl*  
 S, W, *wuserd* W; (of-) *šērdingī* W.  
 this way, in *hauerang* P.  
 thistle *xāzo* Y.  
 thither *uēal* O, *uēal* O<sup>1</sup>, *wū-bō* S,  
*tōrē* W.  
 thorn *ayzai* Pš, *sūg*, *zēš* O, *zyēšr* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kačō* P, *akadē* Y, *kandāk* S, *zāč* W,  
*šar* Š. Cf. *bramble*.  
 thou *de*, *to* Pš, *tō* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, W, Š,  
*-a*, *-au* P, *-i* Y, *fak* S.  
 thought *škr* O, W, *or*, *xiyāl* P, *andiša*,  
*xiālē* Y, *fekr* S.  
 thousand *zōr* Pš, *āzār* O, *ha* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S,  
*zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *azōr* S.  
 thread *mazai* (< \**mazja-* cf. *mayzai*),  
*spaysai* Pš, *tār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *ēlātātār*,  
*rištān* P, *loso*, *wirž* Y, *riēmōn*, *yiv-*  
*žek* S, *dārē*, *šitr* W, *pedyāc*, *wūrž* Š;  
 (cotton-) *paxtaš*, *wušūles*, *wizinga* Y,  
*wēsi* S; (goat's hair-) *ys* W.  
 threads on spinning-wheel *landeneū* Y.  
 thread, to *peidēl* Pš.  
 three *dre* Pš, *šō* O, *šr* O<sup>1</sup>, *ši* P, *šroi* Y,  
*rēi* S, *trūi* W, *arai*, *šē* Š.  
 three days ago, hence, v. *day*.  
 three hundred *tēr sū* Wn [Pš] 163.  
 thresh, to *xā-* Y, *xūy-* S, *kās-* W.

- threshing *zunga* Wn 169, *yobal* Pš (v. *yicā*), O<sup>1</sup>, *čuyul* O, *khamčy* P, *xāj* Š.  
 threshing-floor *xarmanjāi* O, *štamond* O<sup>1</sup>, *xirman-i-bibāt*(?), *xurom* Y, *xormən* S, *čerām* W.  
 threshing-fork *cāryašic*, *dyūyašic* O<sup>1</sup>, *čuanō* Y.  
 threshing-sledge *kulča* O.  
 threshold *pāšy* O<sup>1</sup>, (*tahē*)*alaratnē* Y, *pərnīc* S, *yīšy* W.  
 throat *yapāi* (v. *yapāl*), *marai*, *stūnai* Pš, *gulūn*, *kākurta* O, *kuryār*, *maric* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāhī*, *kamā* P, *ālq*, *stūya*, *yurro*, *kāyoko* Y, *yāl* S, *alqūm*, *kolitčy* W, *nāi* Š.  
 through (prep.) *ze* P, *tar* S.  
 throw, to *āč*, *čičst* Wn 166, *āčawul*, *pre-yastāl* (v. *prā-*), *tačawul*, *wištāl* Pš, *ban-pk*, *g-* O, *andāz*, *ččw*, *yūh* P, *čad*, *wūl* Y, *nūš*, *purta(w)-* S, (*gār*)*kač* W, *wēč* Š.  
 throw away, to *yastāl* Pš, *lāyan* Y, *saxand čər* W.  
 throw down, to *nikiz* O, *būt* W.  
 throwing *šut* P, *awāle* S.  
 thumb *n<sup>2</sup>gušā* Wn 161/8, [*yafa-gūta* Pš], *yūšta-ngušt* O<sup>1</sup>, *šast* P, *sturoguščo*, *narangušē* Y, *katta narxāk*, *narangšit*, *šast-ingit* S, *yāšiyāngəl*, *pəluk* W, *zedār* Š.  
 thunder *yarā* (v. *yaredəl*), *tanā* Pš, *tandar* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čūr* Y, S, W, *bumburū*, *yayambas* P, *doldorok* S, *bumborīs*, *kumpīrak* W, *tundur* Š.  
 thunder, to *yambəl* Pš, *yoromb* P.  
 thus *dayal* Wn 160, *dāse* Pš, *guša* O, *hēwezail* P, *malmin* Y.  
 tick *koy*, *wrāja* Pš, *kunāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *l<sup>2</sup>royunu* Y, *xaməṇṇək* S, *kucend* W.  
 tickling *taxa* Pš.  
 tie, to, v. *bind*.  
 tiger [*qiza'ra* Wn], *mzarai* (cf. *mazai* strong) Pš, *šerzmarai* O, *muzarai* O<sup>1</sup>, *šer* P, S.  
 tighten, to *vəzb-* Y.  
 tightening-stick *čaxt* Y.  
 till pore Pš; (now) *yāl* Š.  
 time *wār* Pš, *sāt* O, *waxt* O, P, S, Š, *gāhī*, *gašt*, *kāl*, *mausum*, *nūbat*, *wil* P, *auqāt*, *wār* Y, *wāda*, *waqt* W.  
 time, in *sarwaxt* P.  
 timidity *stāra* Pš. Cf. *fear*.  
 tinder *xica* Pš, *šaxeq* Y.  
 tiny *xarmandai* Pš. Cf. *small*.  
 tired *stapai*, *stomān* Pš, *stər* O, *stirai* O<sup>1</sup>, *mānda* P, *f<sup>2</sup>rind*, *yamī*, *partāwi* S, *mōnda* W.  
 tired, to be- *wuzā-* Y; to get- *pxuf-* Y. to *la<sup>1</sup>*, *lara*, *la* Pš, *kl* O, *da*, *kun*, *pa* P, *tar* P, S, Š, *nā* Y, *be* S, Š, *ma* S, *ke* W, *ar*, *be* Š.  
 tobacco *tamākū* Y, *čōkū* W.  
 to-day *nan* Pš, *šan* O, *san* O<sup>1</sup>, *nī(hik)* P, *dūr* Y, *nēr* S, *wūdy* W, *nur* Š.  
 toe *pale* *ogūščo* Y, *pu-narxāk*(?) S.  
 together *jabla* (v. *bol*) Pš.  
 together with *hum*, *jabla* (v. *j-*), *sara* Pš, *giči* O, *gol*, *yōl* S, *mešen* W. Cf. *with*.  
 toil *xārl* P.  
 tomb *kab(ə)r* O, *gūr* P, W, *qabr* P, S, *xāk* S, *qābr* W; (of a saint) *mazār* P.  
 to-morrow *sabā* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, *sahār* S, Š, *sārək*, *v<sup>2</sup>rək* W, *ašib*, *šumnē* Š; (morning) *pogē* S.  
 tong, v. *pincers*.  
 tongue *z(ə)b* Wn 162, *zaba* Pš, *zubān* O, P, *zān* O<sup>1</sup>, *bān* P, *z<sup>2</sup>ey* Y, *zərūk* S, *zlk*, *zubōn*, *zevl* W, *zju* Š.  
 too little *dūs* Š.  
 tooth *yāš* Pš, *giši* O, *gas* O<sup>1</sup>, *danān* P, *lad* Y, *dānd* S, *dendik*, *lānd* W, *šindūn* Š. Cf. *back-tooth*.



top of the head *tālāk* O, *kakarié* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*fark* P, *kāka*, *tō-i-sar* Y, *tā°*, *farx-i-*  
*sur*, *tā-i-sar* S, *kasa-e-sar* W.

• top, of a hill *sor* Y.

top, of a wall *parcāl* P.

torch *rhīnākār* P, *diocūne*, *lavazē*, *pel-*  
*cio* Y.

torn *čir* O, P, *kəpēl* O, *xār* P, *ado* W.  
 Cf. tear, to.

torrent, v. stream.

tortoise *kašap* Pš, *škautatiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *gīrbaka*,  
*kasabaka* P, *sambaka* S, *sangbuqā* W.

totter, to *yošt* Y, *gač* W.

touch *blōs* Pš.

towards *zarma* Wn 169, *-wanō*, *ruš ba* P.

towards that *mahak* P.

tower *burj* P, *burz* Y; (loopholed) *us-*  
*dūn* W.

town *šār* O, *šār* P, S, W, *šahar* Y.

trace, v. foot-print.

trading *saudāgarī* O, P.

transform, to *pherēw* P.

trap *pāš*, *tūr* Y. Cf. snare.

travel *šum* S, *rōčom*(?) W.

traveller *musāfer* S.

tray *tāšcāk* Š; (copper-) *tasa* Y; (wooden-)  
*poško* Y.

tread down, to *naspar* W.

treasure *sāmān* P.

treasury *xazāna* P.

tree *wana* Pš, *d(a)razt* O, Y, S, W, Š,  
*uuno* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhīn* P; (n. of a) *yūštūra*,  
*zenjak* P, *sawir*, *tavdo-γo*, *xerīšē* Y,  
*yūrt* S, *arār* W; (stem of a-) *kandē* S.

trefoil, v. clover.

tremble, to *rešdedəl*, *šanedəl*, *taredəl* (v.  
*tarhedəl*) Pš, *larz* P; (to make-) *larzān-*  
*uk* O, *larzēw* P, *belarzān* S.

trembling *parγaz* Pš, *larzē* O, Y, *lazja*  
 W, *layja* Š; (-ūt) *larγe* Pš.

trench *kandraq* Y.

tribe *xel* Pš, *ēl*, *kōm* P.

trick *čāl*, *rēw* P.

trip, to *skaf* W.

tripod *cayan* O<sup>1</sup>, *špāl* P.

trotting *dəq²dəq* S, *doqdoq* W.

trouble *zahmat* P.

troubled *ranjō* P. Cf. distressed.

trough *tarnāw* Pš, *yurē* Y, *pūtšdrn* W.  
 Cf. tray.

troughs, maker of *kārga* Y.

trousers *partūk* O, *pur°* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašlūn* O,  
*baru*, *yulawāl*, *paltūn*, *tambān* P,  
*woro* Y, *šarēl*, *wāl* S, *pašlūn*, *tambūn*  
 W, *šawālak* Š.

trouser-string *waricađen* Y, *wōlvēš* S.

true *rištūnai* Pš, *rāst* O, P, *urruy*,  
*mōyāw* Y, *rōst* W.

trunk, v. stem.

truth *rištiyā* (v. *rištūnai*) Pš, *rāza* O,  
*raz* O<sup>1</sup>, *haqq*, *tāqtq*, *rāstī* P, *rōšk* S.

truthful *rāstgū* S, *rōstgūi* W.

try, to *kcazəl* Pš, *izmau* O.

tube *nāwa* Pš.

tulip *lāla* P; (-bed) *lālātār* P.

turban *dustār* O, *paškai* O<sup>1</sup>, *langōša* P.  
*čādūr*, *kalpič* Y, *salā* Š.

turn *daur*, *gašt*, *gerde*, *nūbat* P.

turn, to *aučūtəl* Pš, *gīrz*, *šar* O, *šar*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *pher*, *rēm* P, *nēl* Š. Cf. trans-  
 form.

turn over, to *wāraw* Wn 166.

turn round, to *gord* Y, *šir* W.

turnip *šalyām* S.

tusk *wāranai* Pš.

twelve *ducalas* (v. *duca*) Pš, *ducās* O,  
 O<sup>1</sup>, P, *ducāda* P, *duco°* Y, *dičūs* S.

twenty *šwi* Wn 160, *šil* [and *wešēl*] Pš,  
*jistu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *yūšt* P, *bišt* Y, W, Š,  
*weisto* Y, *wišt* S, *wišt* W, *došis* Š;  
 (-one) *sawījistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-two) *ducišt* S;  
 (-four) *čērūst* Wn 160, *cerījistu* O<sup>1</sup>;

(five) *pənjiŋistu* O<sup>1</sup>; (six) *šewiŋistū* O<sup>1</sup>; (seven) *hawŋistū* O<sup>1</sup>; (eight) *aštoŋistū* O<sup>1</sup>; (nine) *newiŋistū* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 tweezers *mūi-čino* Y. Cf. pincers.  
 twig *šax* S, *yaš* W.  
 twigs, dry *dyū<sup>o</sup>* O.  
 twin *brayūnai* (v. *bray*) Pš, *dūgāni* O, P, *dagēni*, *luānekē* Y, *juŋlakī* S, *yūm* W.  
 twist *lūic* Pš.  
 twist, to *gal* O<sup>1</sup>, *zyc* Y. Cf. spin.  
 twisted, to be *māz-žēk* O.  
 two *dica* Pš, *dē* O, *dyš* O<sup>1</sup>, *dī*, *du* P, *lo<sup>h</sup>* Y, *dou* S, *būi* W, *šic<sup>o</sup>n* S.  
 two-hundred *duš sū* Wn 163, *louciat* Y, *dašad* S, *šosād* Š.

## U

udder *γwalānz* Wn 169, (*yu*)*lanja* Pš, *pīalān* Y, *pēiten* S, *lox*, *pezin* W.  
 ugly *bodruī* Y.  
 ulcer *dāna* P. Cf. sore.  
 umpire *munaiz* P.  
 unaccustomed *nāwalāt* P.  
 unbridled *blayām* P.  
 uncle *kākā* O, *bai* Y; (paternal) *trə* Pš, *audur* O, *tā* O<sup>1</sup>, *amū*, *petē* P, *amək*, *boči* S, *boš* W, *bāb* Š; (maternal) *nūe* Pš, *māmā*, *nīyāk* O, *nyāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāki*, *māuul* P, *tāyō*, *xēlək* S, *yagga* Š; (father's sister's husband) *bojā* S.  
 unconscious *bidel*, *bihuš* P.  
 unconsciousness *bihuši* P, Y.  
 unexpected meeting *dučār* P.  
 under *lānde* (v. *lar*) Pš, *zēr* P, *štāhān* Y, *bīš* S, *bun* Š. Cf. below.  
 under-balliff *nāyob* S.  
 understand, to *pahēt* Wn 166, [*pohedəl* Pš], *fām* P, *pzin* S, *fām* Š.  
 understanding *pōi* O, *pōē* O<sup>1</sup>, *pō* P.  
 unhappy *zurgir* P.

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unirrigated *lalmī* Pš.  
 united *jiŋt* Y.  
 unjust *zolim* W.  
 unknown *nāwalāt* P.  
 unless *γaira*, *magam* P.  
 unmarried, to be *šoy* W.  
 unmixed *noš* Pš.  
 unripe, fruit *wēzak* Wn 169.  
 untie, to, v. loosen.  
 until *tā* P, Y, Š, *zān* P.  
 untimely *biŋai* P.  
 unwell, v. ill.  
 up *uakhē* P, *uolyo* Y, *uou* S.  
 uphill *šid* W.  
 upon *bānde*, *par* Pš.  
 upper bar Pš, *siri*, *woru* Y.  
 uproar *γauyā* P.  
 upside down *naskor* Pš.  
 up, to *tu-manak* O.  
 upwards *patarāj* Š.  
 urine *mātiā* Wn 168, *mitiyāzai* (v. *mitai*) Pš, *mizi* O, *miži* O<sup>1</sup>, *miz*, *kāša* P, *čkyūgo*, *mizyo* Y, *člš* S, *mizg*, *pēšau* W, *mičē* Š.  
 urinate, to *mitel* Pš, *miz* Y, *šōšē-kon* S.  
 us, v. we.  
 useful *bakār* P.

## V

valley *kōl*, *rōt* P, *darō* Y, *°ē* S, *koia* Y, *šor* W, *darra* Š; (small-) *dargāc* S.  
 value *xerāj* P.  
 vanity *uigūr* Pš.  
 vegetable *sābah* Pš, *savzi*, *soci* Y; (a kind of) *biləxka*, *kuŋyo*, *narirau*, *riv*, *šēša* Y.  
 veil *paŋūnai* Pš, *buŋra*, *parda* P.  
 veiled *rūpūš* P.  
 vein *rēg* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, W, Š, *riyo* Y.  
 veranda *muzan* Y, *dālitz* S, *dōlon*, *dirgā* W; (latticed) *hursi* P. Cf. vestibule.



very *zut* O, P, *zulū* P, *fai* S, *ʔaf*, *ʔafēl* W, *lap* Š.

verily *maḡam* Y.

vessel *loʔai* PŠ; (wooden-) *kāra* PŠ; (large, for grain) *kandū* O; (water-) *ʔudūra* S.

vestibule *dālīz* O, *dālān* P, *astano*, *piš-woz* Y, *uēx*, *pāiga* Š. Cf. *veranda*.

victorious *bar* PŠ.

victory *fata* P.

vigorous *čāk* P.

village *icagurja* Wn 169 [= PŠ *icugarai* person, people], *kolai* PŠ, *grām* O, *kilāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *deāt*, *sāt* P, *lāmo* Y, *q'isldq*, *uulāt* S, *dior* W, *kišlāk* Š.

vine *melaica* PŠ, *tāk* P, *šindik* W.

violence *haif* P.

violent *rul* Y.

violet (n.) *benafšā* P, *banafšo* Y.

violin *rabāb* Š.

voice *āwāz*, *ʔaz* P, *zadū* P, Š, (*h*)*āwāz* Š.

vomit, to *girza* O<sup>1</sup>, *kušm* Y.

vomiting *kāngem* (corr.: I vomit) O<sup>1</sup>, *bok* S.

vulture *kargas* P, *šiz* Y, *koryos* S.

vulva *kus* [PŠ], O<sup>1</sup>, Y, S, *būn*, *decoet* P, *šino* Y, *kuš* S, *kiš* W, *šam* Š.

## W

waist *mīd* PŠ, *biyān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mēn* P, *mōlān* Y, *mēdS*, *mūd*, *mōlung*, *miyōn* W, *mīd* Š.

waist-band *mēnd* Š. Cf. *belt*.

waistcoat *woškoš* O, *ʔaš* P, *woškāt* W.

wait, to *āl* W.

wait! *dhar* P.

waiting *udrāk* P, *karār* S.

walk, to *ʔorz* Wn 167, *šar* O<sup>1</sup>, *č(h)ām*, *ram* P, *tōyā* S.

walk, about, to *girz* O, *gudar*, *pal* P,

*zəh* Y, *ʔorʔort*, *ʔart*, *woniš* S. Cf. *go*, *turn*.

walking *čhō*, *čimō*, *guzar*, *guzārān* P, *sail* P, W, *gām*, *qadam* S.

wall *jár* Wn 168, *diwāl* O, *de* O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *dušt* P, *haule*, *xeyo* Y, *diwāl*, *šiz* W. Cf. *back-wall*.

wallow, to *layar* O.

walnut *ūyz* PŠ, *čārmāz* O, S, *wašk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *deze* P, *oyuzo* Y, *čārmāz*, *šor* W, *bājak* Š; (-tree) *ʔoz* Š; (-shell) *bayālē* Y.

wandering *kūd* P.

want, to *xōš* *kən* S, *for* W, *far* Š. Cf. *wish*.

wanting, to be *daruzeh* P.

war *jang* O, P, S, W, *šang* Y, *dād* Š; (belonging to the) *jangi* P.

ward *kandai* (v. *kandēl*) PŠ.

warm, v. *hot*.

warm, to *tapāw* P; (the hands) *vedo* Y.

warrior *pālawēn* P.

wart *kanayiko* Y.

wash, to *weinzen*; *wā* Wn 160/6, (*pre*)-*weinjāl* (v. *prā*), *wēl* PŠ, *ʔuʔaw-šk* O, *ʔuʔaʔa* O<sup>1</sup>, *suni* P, *wuzd* Y, *zənē* S, *wuzdi* W, *zenē* Š.

watch *paira* P.

watchman *kašai* PŠ, *pairadār* P. V. *guardian*.

wasp *ʔalbuz* Wn, *sambūr* O, P, S, W, *bamburiē*, *qambur* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhambur*, *kāftek* P, *ʔoribambur*, *woʔšlo* Y, *šus*, *rizizak* W, *cectaj* Š; (red) *surx-boburē* Y.

water *obō* PŠ, *woh* O, *wak* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwō* P, *ʔduyo* Y, *wēk* S, *gupk* W, *ʔāc* Š [*\*axudrā*].

water, to make, v. *urinate*.

watercourse, v. *irrigation channel*.

waterfall *ʔaryarā*, *šaršarā* P, *ʔre* S, *šif-čōko* Y, *šōšār* S, *jūš*, *širširā* W, *rišine* Š.

- water-fowl (n. of a) *icaryijin*, *kutā\**, *jikyā\**.
- watering, v. irrigation.
- water-melon *phyōbu* P, *tarboz* S, *°iz* W, *°ūz* Š.
- water-mill, v. mill.
- waterpipe *čilim* Y, S, *°em* P.
- water-pot *garāi* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bucket.
- way, v. road.
- way (in this) *hauwang* P; (in that) *houwang* P.
- wave *sei* W.
- we *mōš* Wn 164, *mū*, *mūš* Pš, *māx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mā*, *mākhān*, -an P, *max* Y, *amax*, *mič* S, *sak* W, *mās* Š.
- weak *nara*, *sēdal* P.
- wear, to *psolol* Pš.
- weasel *dala* P, *dela* S.
- weave, to *ūdāl* Pš, *gal* O, *γaf* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *uāf* Y, *if* S, *ūf* W, *uāf* Š.
- weaver *dūr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jolā* P, *gilambāf* S, *dorzkurγuz* Y.
- weaving *dōrz* Y.
- wab *londa* Pš.
- wedding *xudba* Y, *nikā* S, *tūi* S, W, *serištā*, *sūr* Š. Cf. marriage.
- wedding guest *tozeza* (v. *terā*) Pš.
- wedge *špešta* Pš, *pōrsif* W; (for plough-share) *šiq* W.
- Wednesday *čāršambē* P.
- wedding *lalūn* Pš, *°ān* O<sup>1</sup>, *xešāwa* P, *šōv* S, *nešdun* W, *šūc* Š.
- week *afta* O, S, *akēomīš* Y, *yaftā* W.
- weep, to *žarəl* Pš, *žū* O, *šōic* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruk* P, *xši* Y, *šid* S, *nev* W, *nav* Š.
- weeping *rhintō* P.
- weigh, to *tal* O<sup>1</sup>.
- weight *girāngi*, *tāl* P.
- well (adj.) *rōy* Pš, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *uōr* O, *γē*, *jōr*, *xair* P, *xīb* P, S, Š, *jōr* Š.
- well (n.) *sparya* Pš, *čā* O, P, Š, *kuwāi*, *xākō* O<sup>1</sup>, *čukuri* P, *sardawo* Y.
- west *kiblarū* O, *āfldb nišastan* S, *mayrib* S, W.
- wet *ndu* Wn 160, *nūnd*, *xušt* Pš, *šūr* O, *šūr*, *tānd* O<sup>1</sup>, *phyō* P, *xalōu*, *xusto* Y, *čal* S, *namb* S, Š, *namndk*, *lōlsk*, *tar* S, *nam*, *tari*, *xāšd* W, *xest* Š.
- wetich *mūyo* Y.
- what *ca* Pš, O, *cēn* O, *zanēgg* [\**zanahya kahya*] P, *če* P, Y, *čēti*, *čē*, *cōmin*, *ces* Y, *ce*, *ceci*, *čiz* S, *čiz* W, *ca*, *či*, *čir* Š; (of—kind) *min* Y, *zanēngi* P; (manner in) *kērangl* P.
- whatever *harči* P, *čes* Y.
- wheat *γandem* Wn 161, *γanēm* Pš, *ganum* O, P, *gu* O<sup>1</sup>, *afzirnē*, *γādm*, *pai-zanē* Y, *γōndem* S, *židim* W, *žindam* Š.
- wheel *arāba* O, *čarzak* Š.
- when *kala* Pš, *ka*, *kōn* O, *kabi* P, *kala* Y, *ki*, *kūdi* S, *cz-waxt* W.
- whence *khānjāi*, *kujēnd* P, *žukū* Y.
- where *čarta* Pš, *guda* O, *khānjāi* P, *kū* P, Y, *kužā* Y, *kunjā* S, *kumjei* W, *k'ā* Š.
- wherever *harkū* P.
- whet-stone *psūn* Pš, *muzāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *afseno* Y, *csin* S, *pisōn* W.
- whay *xinj* S. Cf. buttermilk.
- which *kam* Pš, *če*, *khān*, *khāin* P, *kvim* Y, *kuđum* S. Cf. who.
- while (n.) *gari*, *lāza*, *vil* P.
- whip *kamčēn* P, *činto*, *čawuk* Y, *rešip* W, *kamče* Š.
- whip, to *hai kan* P.
- whirlpool *γernānu* Y.
- whirlwind *gulbād*(?)<sup>1</sup>, *γorāv* S.
- whistle *špelai* Pš, *šxēlān* W.
- white *spūn* Pš, *spēu* O, *sptu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čhačō*, *čhačō* P, *spt* Y, *safed* S, Š, *(š)spēd*, *surxūn* S, *ruzn* W; (of the eye) *špēwi ta cimi* O; (of an egg) *čhačai čxika* P.
- whitebeard *čhačadhārī* P. Cf. old.



white-muzzled *rūisafed* S.  
 whittle shavings, to *tāl*-Y.  
 who *čok* Wn 161, *cok* Pš, *ka* O, P, *kək* O,  
*ki* P, *koi* Y, S, *kədi* Y, *kāi* W,  
*čədam* Š. Cf. which.  
 whole *lamām* P.  
 why *wale* Pš, *kyē* O, *čə*, *čekun* P, *nakōi*  
 Y, *cə-ba*, *čə* *bā*, *kirā* S, *cerak* W,  
*čtr* Š.  
 wicked, v. bad.  
 wide ["wurlun" Wn < \**frahana*?],  
*arat*, *plan*, *icit* [< \**wi-š(i)la-*] Pš,  
*arat* O, O', *pan* O, *hāšrat* O', *pašoy*,  
*wosa* Y, *pām*, *wasē* S, *kāāt* W, *γulā*,  
*kešād* Š.  
 widow *bəwa* O, S, W, Š, *būco*, *icosorico* Y,  
*bədoq* W.  
 widower *bek'ənd* W.  
 wife *korma* (v. *kor*), *peja* Pš, *nāk* O, O',  
*jinē* P, *wulo* Y, *kuč(i)*, *wuzinjak* S,  
*kend* W, *šin* Š.  
 wild *sor-xaš* S; (animal) *dhāri* P.  
 willow *wazā* Wn 160, *wala* Pš, *bəd* O, W,  
*wulo* O', *γi* P, *anusto*, *čilikyč*, *maš-*  
*num-bit*, *wīya* Y, *bəd*, *šikār* *bəd*,  
*šārmūk* *bəd*, *wəd* S, *tik*, *wonak* W,  
*wəd*, *wān* Š.  
 willow's bark (strip of) *lenju* Y.  
 win, to *bušā*-Y.  
 wind *wagā* Wn 160, *wo* Pš, *bād* O, O',  
*dhamān*, *γā*, *γāphunē*, *xunuk* P,  
*kamal* S, °ol W, *wūi* Y, *bād(i)* S,  
*duma*, *xūz* W, *šin* Š; (autumn- or  
 winter) *ayōs* W; (cold blast) *sūz* W.  
 windless *bibāt* Y.  
 winding-sheet *kafan* O.  
 windpipe, v. throat.  
 window *ursi* O, *calandurē*, *derbāco*, *riz-*  
*peora* Y, *rauzan*, *rōrok* S, *panjara*,  
*tāk* (niche?) Š.  
 wine *mai*, *šarāb* P, *arag* Y.

wing *wazar* Pš, *bāl* O, P, S, W, *parši*  
 O', *cūrceyo* Y, *tap* W.  
 wink, to *zambəl* Pš, *sparaw-ek* O, *jam*,  
*xurta*-O', *cipō*-Y.  
 winking *čmak* O, *nemiz* Y, *camok* S.  
 winning *weyāna*, *wəz* Pš.  
 winnow, to *heastəl* Pš, *loban*-Y, *devin*-S,  
*būn*, *gān* car- W.  
 winnowing *farmā* O, *devēnic* Š.  
 winnowing-fork *xurom-fia* Y, *apčūn* S, W,  
*būn* W.  
 winter *zimā* Pš, *zemāk* O, *zimak* O',  
*zomā* P, *zəmzəlān* Y, *zem*° S, *zemistān*  
 W, *zemistān* Š; (the coldest part of)  
*čilē* S.  
 wipe, to *astar*-, *menth*-P.  
 wire *šim* P.  
 wisdom *aql* O, *xirāt* P.  
 wise *āgel*, *aqli* P, *dānā*, *hušyār* P, S,  
*dāna*, *lānawo*, *ušyār* Y, *bāql* S,  
*bafikr*, *ušyār* W, *ušyār* Š.  
 wish *xāš* P.  
 wish, to *γəftəl* Pš, *xāi*-P, *kəmay*, *tolap*,  
*xōš kən*-S, *kəmi*, *xəhəš* car- W.  
 with *la*¹ Pš, *gišti*, *nəla* O, *bā*, *pen* P,  
*la*, *sko*, *šelo* Y, *pā* S, *pu* W. Cf.  
 together with.  
 wither(ed), v. fade(d).  
 within *mēn* P.  
 without *bī* P; (-chief) *bisōr*, *bitamiz* P;  
 (-fighting) *bijang* P; (-head) *bisōr* P;  
 (-reward) *bimūjrā* P.  
 witness *šāid* O, *kāhed* P.  
 wolf *lən* Wn 168, *lewo*, *šarmaš* Pš,  
*dāml* O, *lənū* O', *γury* P, *wury* Y,  
*wərk* S, *šapt* W, *wūj* Š.  
 woman *peja* Pš, *zārkā* O, *jarko* O',  
*zāif* P, *ziŋko*, *ziŋkiko* Y, *janj* S,  
*kend* W, *ženik* Š; (married) *maṛoša*  
 (° *maṛanaš*) Pš, *mālidari* O; (un-  
 married) *wasorico*, *icosorico* Y.

womb *tozāko* Y, *rām* S.  
 wonderful *ajab* O, P, *ašep* Y.  
 wood *largai* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *skat* Y, *ēub*,  
*durk* S, *šūng* W, *šārg* Š; (chip of)  
*frol* Y.  
 wooden *kopin* P.  
 wood-carving *aręeevde* Y.  
 woof *uawana* (*ūdē*) Pš.  
 wool *warai* Pš, *pām* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pōc* P, *pām* Y,  
*pām* S, *fer*, *paīm* W, *wōn* Š; (carded)  
*mṛkē* Y; (a kind of) *polās* O; (lambs')  
*krabęr* Y; (yak's) *ṛrōb* W.  
 woollen jacket, v. jacket.  
 word *gā(i)* Wn 168 [*< gāḍā*], *kissī* O,  
*āwāz*, *harf*, *šūy* P, *gap* P, Y, S, W, Š,  
*lauz*, *rōi* Y, *larz* S, *saxan* W.  
 work *čār* Pš, *kār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ker* P, *hory* Y,  
*arī* S, *yark* W, *k'ār* Š.  
 world *dinyā* O, *ālam* P, S, *danyā* P,  
*dō* S, *jehān* P, *ji* S; (the lower)  
*lā-duniā* Y; (next-) *āxerat* Y.  
 worm *kirm* O, *kirmāk* P, *p'čuk* S, *p'rič*,  
*paš* W, *čirēm* Š.  
 worry, to *yus* Y.  
 worse *battar* P.  
 worth *lāyiq* O.  
 worthless *binangō* P.  
 wound *parhār*, *zam* Pš, *zarm* P, Y,  
 S, W.  
 wounded \**paračelai*, *zobal*, *xūč* Pš, *jak* O,  
*zazmi* O, S, *šār* P, *zār* Š.  
 wrap up, to *nyāštōl* (v. *paštōl*) Pš, *yar*-  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *polarz* Y, *pāč* S.  
 wrestling *kušfi* P.  
 wrestling-ground *harkāra* P.  
 wring, to \**spilaw*-, *palāšt* O, *šumānd* W.  
 wrinkles *kalakęri* Y.  
 wrist *marwand* Pš, \**mand* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānd-e*  
*dōst* P, \**dest* S, Š, \**dast* W, *last-bot*,  
*uūski-ostia* Y, *ṛsngol* W, *lukak*  
 (corr.: middle finger) Š.

write, to *lṭkōn* Wn 166, *pis* O, *lik* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nuriš* Y, *nə* S, W, *nuriš* Š.  
 written *nimišta* O, *nirišta* P.

## Y

yak *juy* W.  
 yard, v. ell.  
 yarn *ancai* Pš.  
 yawn [*aswelai* Pš], *arjumi* O<sup>1</sup>, *fāza* P,  
*niaske* Y, *damsfālek* S, \**je*, *zim* W,  
*fāza* Š.  
 yawn, to *kašēw* P, *tōm* Y, (*axse*) *deh* S,  
*istind* W.  
 year [*kāl* Pš], *dān*, \**sul* O, *cān* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāl*  
 P, Y, S, W, Š, *zar* P; (of drought)  
*uškaāl* Y.  
 year, last, v. last.  
 year, this, v. this year.  
 year before last *točvārt* W.  
 year, three—s ago *čurmosāl*, *širasāl* Y.  
 year, one—old *yāsaxo* Y.  
 years, period of two— *lohsaxo* Y.  
 yearly *arstōl* S, W.  
 yeast *ṛarvaden* Y.  
 yellow *ziyař* Pš, *zyēr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zītō* P,  
*spišē*, *zīt* Y, *zāl*, *zard* S, *zart* W,  
*zīrd* Š.  
 yes *wōya* O, *hā* P, *in* S, *balē* S, W,  
*yān* W, *amā* Š.  
 yesterday [*pārōnd* Wn], *parūn* Pš, *prān*  
 O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aze* P, *uozir* Y, *karēr*, *parūd*,  
*wecōrin* S, *yēz* W, *beyār* Š; (evening)  
*bāgā* O, *iziko* Y.  
 yesterday, two days before y<sup>o</sup>, etc., v.  
 day.  
 yesternight *nēr-feršōn* S.  
 yet, v. still.  
 yoke *yūy-luṇḍa* O, *ziy* O<sup>1</sup>, *janza*, *čūy* P,  
*yūy* Y, W, *foryay*, *yay* S, *samwōr* W.  
 yoke-peg *kāriak*, *sām* Y, *kefi* W.



yoke-rope *sar-wāndē* (v. *wandanai*) Pš,  
*sārūli* O, *frāiyo*, *yūelo* Y, *yelyār-*  
*band* S.

yolk of egg *zita-i ēvika* P.

you *tās* Wn 164, *tāsu*, *mū* Pš, *tōs* O,  
*wā*, *wākhān*, *-ō(u)* P, *maf* Y, *təmax* S,  
*sāist* W, *tama* Š.

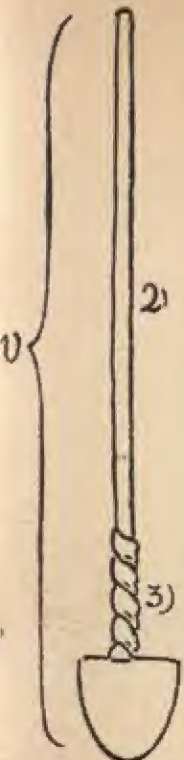
yeung *weorkai* (v. *wur*) Pš, *biltō* P, *jucān*  
 P, S, W, *ī<sup>o</sup>* Y, *naucā* P; (man)  
*zalmāi* Pš.

young of an animal *sārai* Pš, *ēūcā* P.

younger *kašr* Pš, *kwāmdr* Y.

youth *jucāni*, *nōjucāni* P.

youthful *xišrūt* Š.



Yd. sardē



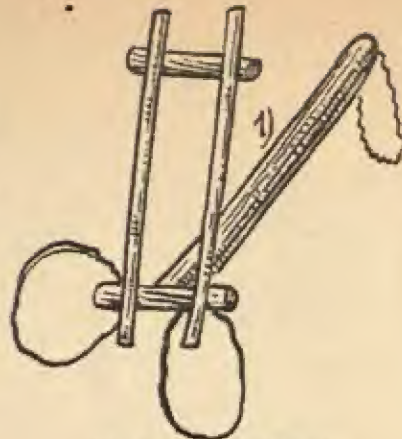
Yd. boriko



Yd. 'novnoyo



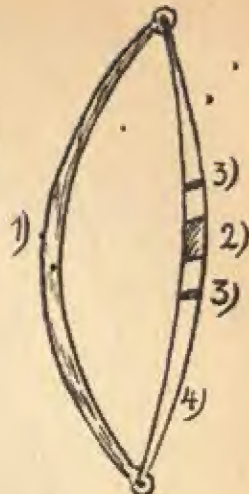
Yd. su'niko



Yd. kušco. 1) pāšku'sti



Yd. narkaf'ci

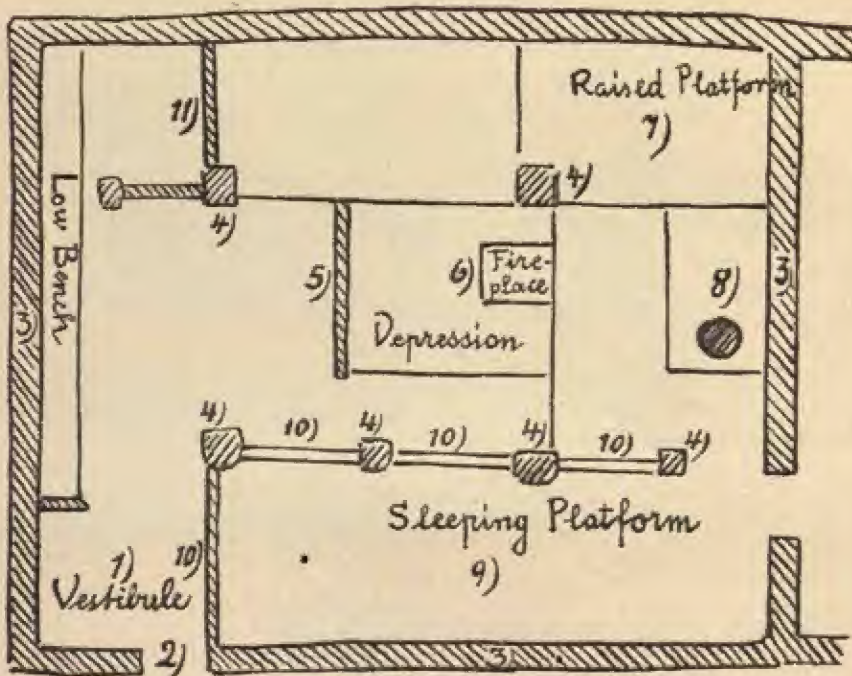


Yd.

- 1) xas'mānek (sax'mānek)
- 2) puka'ra suy
- 3) cār
- 4) žio

Yidgha:

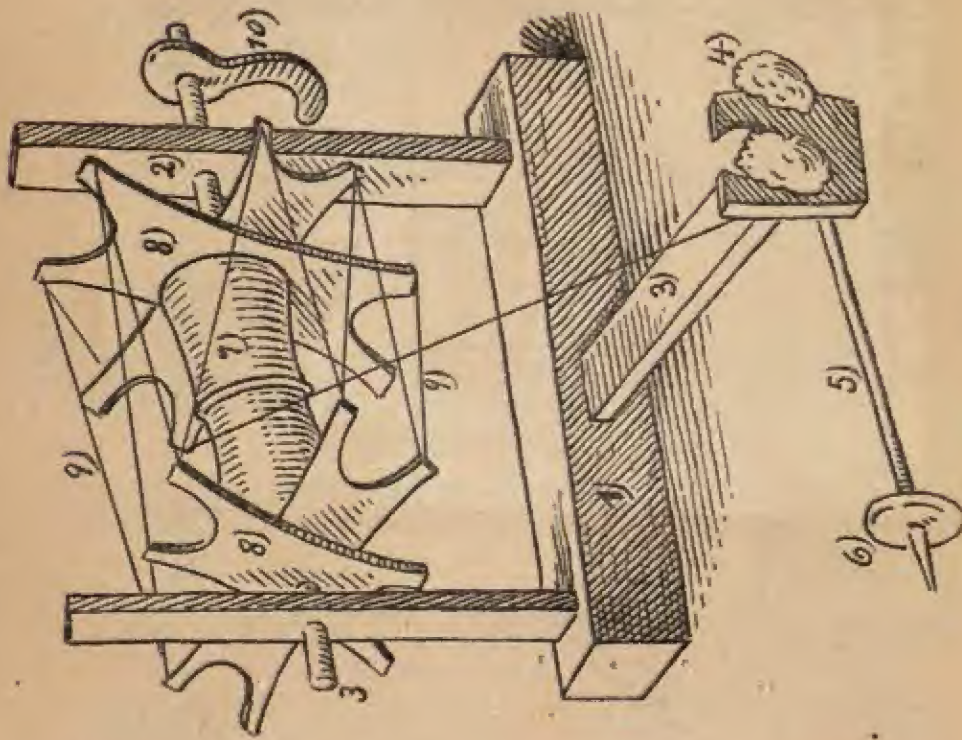
- 1) 'fia
- 2) 'lastē
- 3) 'āyo



Plan of a Yidgh House from Burbunu.

- |           |                |           |                                |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 1) astano | 4) astu'no     | 7) 'cārār | 10) san'jā                     |
| 2) b'oro  | 6) taxta'bandē | 8) 'cāro  | 11) Low, wooden partition wall |
| 3) 'āyo   | 6) Niden(ē)    | 9) žen    |                                |





Yidgha Spinning-Wheel (čarç).

- |             |               |                    |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1) alarç'ni | 5) 'čarç      | 8) 'čarç'ni        |
| 2) 'zığaki  | 6) par'vač'in | 9) tandene'ni      |
| 3) 'pienra  | 7) 'itra      | 10) čar'zanuk (Yp) |
| 4) čar'mak  |               |                    |



Plough and Yoke

- |                  |            |              |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| Yidgha           | Munji      | Sangteeli    |
| 1) 'aporo        | 'aporo     | kirug        |
| 2) kando         | kend       | apir         |
| 3) ačar'dine     | yucaso     | y'lek        |
| 4) (h)ostaganē   | dasla      | dušip        |
| 5) d'usup        | auwup      |              |
| 6) sar'čar       | yūclo      | ypr          |
| 7) fra'yo        | guy        | yel-yar'band |
| 8) yūç, (akye f) | sām        | kirug        |
| 9) 'kariak       | sam'lasiko |              |
| 10) sabo'ranj    | kugo       |              |
| Plough ka'ia     |            |              |



Ghulam Haidar from Lutkuh  
and Ali Mahmad from Munjan.





Mahmad from Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Vidgh peasants from Lutkoh.





From Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Spinning-wheel from Zhitr.



Garin - Chishma in Lutkuh.



The Maulai Shrine near Izh in Lutkuh.





From the Parabek Plain in Lutkuh.



Village at the head of the Lutkuh Valley.



Cliffs above Shoghor, Lower Lutkuh.



On the road from the Dorah Pass.





From the Dorah Pass towards Munjan and Sanglech.



The Ustich Valley south of the Dorah Pass.









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